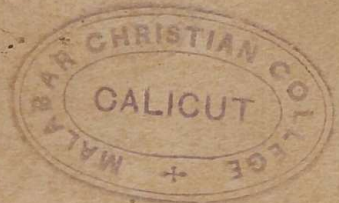


REPORT OF THE COMMISSION
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CHRISTIAN HIGHER
EDUCATION IN INDIA

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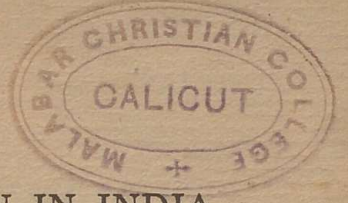
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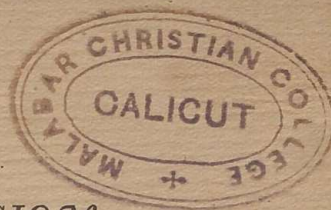
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CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA



REPORT OF THE COMMISSION
ON
*CHRISTIAN HIGHER
EDUCATION IN INDIA*

AN ENQUIRY
INTO THE PLACE OF THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
IN MODERN INDIA



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PREFACE

WE wish in this Preface to express our gratitude to the Principals of the Christian colleges in India for their co-operation. We are conscious of what a burden a visitation such as ours was puts upon busy and overworked men, and we are grateful for their continual help and for the hospitality which we received from their colleges.

We wish also to acknowledge how much we owe to Mr. W. Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, for the thorough way in which he prepared the ground for our work, by arranging for the preliminary questionnaire to be sent to the colleges, and by putting, with Miss Standley's efficient help, all available information at our disposal; and to Mr. Leslie B. Moss, Secretary of the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, for the arrangements he made on behalf of the American members of our Commission.

We owe much also to Miss Mather, who did secretarial work for us while we were preparing this Report at Mahabaleshwar and on the steamer coming back, and we should like to thank the Church Missionary Society for lending us her services.

We should say here also what great assistance we derived from the Report by the Calcutta University Commission and from Mr. Arthur Mayhew's book on *The Education of India*.

Lastly, we wish to acknowledge the unfailing help of Professor O. M. Buck, the Secretary to the Commission, both for his work as Secretary and for all he did to make our arrangements and travelling in India easy instead of burdensome.

A. D. LINDSAY, *Chairman*.

W. ADAMS BROWN.

S. K. DATTA.

A. W. DAVIES.

W. J. HUTCHINS.

S. N. MUKERJI.

N. MACNICOL.

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CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE COMMISSION AND ITS TASK

I. THE REASONS WHICH LED TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSION

THE Commission on Christian Higher Education in India and Burma, whose Report is contained in this volume, was constituted by the International Missionary Council at its Meeting at Williamstown, Massachusetts, in July 1929. The suggestion of the appointment of the Commission came in the first place from an influential conference of Indian Christian and missionary educators, held at Agra in February 1929, at which a large majority of the leading Christian colleges in India were represented. A resolution was passed asking for such a Commission and setting forth the reasons that appeared to the conference to make its appointment urgent. This resolution was submitted to the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon, along with other resolutions supporting the proposal from numerous bodies in India, including Provincial Christian Councils, Mission Councils, gatherings of educational leaders, and Councils of Christian colleges.

The request of the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council was placed before the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland and the Committee of Reference and Counsel in America and obtained their cordial approval.

The International Missionary Council, endorsing these expressions of approval, constituted the Commission and resolved that it consist of two members to be nominated by the Conference of British Missionary Societies, two to be nominated by the Foreign Mission Conference of North America and two by the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon. The International Missionary Council agreed also to appoint the Chairman and Secretary.

The terms of reference which defined the duties of the Commission were as follows :

“(a) To review the field of service open to the Christian colleges under present conditions in India and to suggest ways in which the available resources of the Church can be more effectively used for this purpose. In this review the Commission will inquire into the value of the mission college as a missionary method under present conditions in India, with reference both to Christian and non-Christian students ; into the extent to which the mission colleges are contributing to the upbuilding and strengthening of the Church, whether they could or should take any share in theological training ; into the effectiveness of the colleges in respect to their direct Christian teaching and of the influence which they exert in other ways ; into the value of hostels for students attending non-Christian colleges as a means of bringing Christian influence to bear upon the educated classes ; and into the relation of the Christian colleges to the system of higher education in India.

(b) To suggest, where the local conditions make it advisable, such co-operation as may prevent unnecessary duplication and may make possible a higher standard of education and missionary efficiency and to make definite recommendations.

(c) To consider how the needs of the Christian colleges for men and funds can best be presented in Britain and America.

(d) To report to the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the National Christian Council of India, and the International Missionary Council.”

Subject to these terms of reference the Commission, it was resolved, should be left large freedom as to matters to which it should give consideration and as to the ways in which it should do its work.

At this point it is right that it should be made clear that the International Missionary Council, in asking the Commission "to review the field of service open to the Christian colleges in India," had in mind the non-Roman Christian colleges only. Its concern was with these colleges and not with the Roman Catholic colleges. Nor was it concerned with colleges for Anglo-Indians and Europeans. Accordingly when the term "Christian college" is used in this Report it should be understood that it is used with these limitations.

In order to indicate what was in the minds of those who initiated this request and who did so because of their intimate acquaintance with the educational situation in India it is proper that, in addition to the terms of reference, the main portion of the Agra resolution referred to above should be recorded. This resolution contains the following paragraphs :

"This Conference recognises that, in view of the rapid changes taking place in India and of the strength of the new factors that are at work, it would be disastrous folly if the leaders of the Indian Church and of the missionary enterprise neglected to take stock of the situation and to reconsider both their methods and the distribution of their forces. The position is critical, and far-sighted strategy is imperatively needed. Very particularly is this so in the field of University education.

"Never has India had greater need of that ability to discern between wise and dangerous leadership which only sound education can impart. Never has the popular demand for education been so great. And with the increasing demand there is growing a new criticalness of attitude in respect of the quality of education offered, and a realisation of the dangers involved in a purely secular educational system.

"Yet while in this way the opportunity of the Christian

educationalist is enhanced, he has also new handicaps to overcome. (1) There is more competition to face. (2) There is an increasing stringency of control by Government and by Universities which may, and sometimes does, impair the distinctiveness of the contribution he is able to make. (3) While the expensiveness of education is rapidly and enormously increasing, the resources on which he can draw, both from the contributions of missionary societies and from Government grants, are either stationary or on the downward grade.

“These increasingly serious handicaps make it certain that, relatively to the total number of pupils educated, the proportion of those who have been educated in Christian institutions must rapidly decline, and that the leadership in Indian education which, in the providence of God, Christian colleges once exercised, and have not yet entirely lost, must in a short time finally disappear if it depends upon the volume of the contribution they make. If they are still to lead the way, as it is all-important for India that they should, it can only be by the quality and not by the quantity of the work they do. They must be so excellently staffed and so well equipped that even if they become a small minority amid the number of colleges in India, it will be their *alumni* that will furnish the majority of the best leaders of Indian thought and life. And they must be competent to serve the Indian Church not only by providing first-rate educational facilities for her sons and daughters, but by leading the way in that scholarly research and keen reflection which will be more and more imperatively needed in proportion as Hindu thought begins to grapple in earnest with its Christian rival.

“The call of the hour is, therefore, for a prompt, comprehensive, thorough, even radical reconsideration of Christian educational policy in the light of the above situation and of our resources. There must be a readiness to pool resources both of personnel and of money, and to sacrifice, for the sake of a grander ultimate achievement, educational institutions which have had a noble history and are still rendering good service. But no sacrifice can be too great if on a far-

sighted view this is seen to be the only way in which Christian colleges can retain their leadership in Indian education.

“The policy of co-ordination and concentration which it seems a plain duty to devise and carry out must necessitate sacrifices which will entail so much pain and even heart-break for missionaries more immediately concerned that judicious decisions cannot be hoped for without the assistance of the dispassionate judgment of minds which have no personal interests at stake. This Conference, therefore, records its conviction that a small but weighty Commission should be appointed to make a tour of India next cool season and, in consultation with those engaged in Christian education in India, to draw up a scheme of co-ordination and concentration. This would involve a study of colleges and universities, and of high schools, so far as a consideration of the latter is essential to an understanding of the main problem.”

The members of the Commission were selected as representative of the three countries chiefly concerned—India, Great Britain, and America. The two from India, nominated by the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon, were Mr. S. N. Mukerji, Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and Dr. S. K. Datta, for many years associated with the Y.M.C.A. in India and latterly with the World's Y.M.C.A. in Geneva. Dr. Datta was also for some years a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. The members nominated to represent Great Britain by the Conference of British Missionary Societies were Canon Arthur W. Davies, for many years Principal of St. John's College, Agra, and for some time Vice-Chancellor of Agra University, and Dr. Nicol Macnicol, of the United Free Church of Scotland (now Church of Scotland) Mission at Poona and, for his concluding years of service, Secretary of the National Christian Council. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America appointed as their representatives Dr. William Adams Brown, who is well known as a writer of theological works and as a Professor for many years in Union Theological Seminary, New York, and Dr. William J. Hutchins, President of Berea College, a remarkable institution which is doing a unique service

to the mountain people of the State of Kentucky. The Chairman of the Commission was Dr. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. He and the Secretary, Dr. Oscar M. Buck of the Department of Missions and Comparative Religion in Drew University, New Jersey, were nominated by the International Missionary Council.

2. THE ISSUE WITH WHICH THE COMMISSION WAS ASKED TO DEAL

It will be observed that while the actual reference under which the Commission was appointed is rather wider than the terms of the Agra resolution, in both reference and resolution it is contemplated that the Commission should not only consider the general policy and principles implied in the existence of Christian colleges under present conditions but also deal with specific problems of co-operation and efficiency with which the colleges are faced to-day.

The mission boards were further asked to inform us of any subjects which they wished us to consider, and among these we find again the same combination of questions of general policy and practical application of an accepted policy, *e.g.* "What are our Christian colleges doing for the Christian movement directly or indirectly?" on the one hand, and "Will the Commission give as speedily as possible its judgment on the proposed union of Andhra Christian College, Guntur, and Noble College, Masulipatam?"

We had not supposed that the missionary societies wanted us to pronounce any judgment upon the policy which has led to the establishment of Christian colleges as a part of the missionary task in India. To pronounce for or against the wisdom of that policy in the past would be an impertinence on our part. But the repeated phrase in our terms of reference "under present conditions in India" suggests that we are asked to review and pronounce upon this whole policy as a policy for the future. Since Christian colleges were first started, even since they came to exist in anything like the number in which they exist to-day, great changes have come over India, which might possibly affect

the wisdom of the policy adopted in the past. The Indian educational system and, in particular, the Indian university system has been largely renovated ; the non-Roman Indian Christian Church now numbers over 2,500,000,¹ and is growing rapidly ; there has been and is still taking place a great development in Indian self-government and a remarkable rise of Indian national self-consciousness.

Both in our terms of reference, therefore, and in the questions submitted to us by mission boards we seemed to be asked to consider this fundamental question about Christian colleges—whether in a changed and changing India a policy which was wise in the past is still wise in the present and is likely to be wise in the future. At the same time certain other questions were asked of us which clearly assumed the continuance of the policy adopted in the past and could be answered within the framework of the existing system. If our review of the field of service of mission colleges was to be a genuine and open review, it must at least contemplate the possibility that we should be forced by our survey of the present facts to judge that the accepted policy was, under the changed conditions of present day India, no longer sound. If we should come to that conclusion, we might have to say that it was impossible for us to give any answers to the practical questions of efficiency and application which had been put to us. For there is obviously no meaning in discussing the efficiency of institutions if the purpose for which they are to be efficient is in doubt. It appeared to us, therefore, that in spite of the requests made to us that we should give a decision on certain pressing practical questions in South India, we were bound to consider the broad question of general policy first.

Now there can be no open-minded review of policy which does not at the start at least envisage the possibility of giving a radically different answer to the questions reviewed than has been given in the past. We knew that if we should advocate a radical revision of policy we had no power whatever to bind those who appointed us to accept

¹ Census of 1921.

our findings and no certainty that when they considered our report they would be convinced by it. We were aware that if the danger we suggest should be realised, if we recommended a radical reconsideration of policy which those who appointed us could not accept, we should only have done something to discredit a policy which we could not change. This risk was inevitable to any review of general policy. It made us realise beforehand that a very grave responsibility was laid upon us ; that we must recommend no general change in policy except after the most careful survey of the facts and weighing of all the evidence available ; above all that we must to the end keep a mind absolutely open in both directions.

This risk was inevitable and had to be faced. But one thing we could do. We could do something to ensure that our very proposal to review general policy was not based on a misunderstanding, that we were not going beyond our instructions in making it. We therefore took the opportunity of a meeting with the representatives of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland on October 3, 1930, to raise the question. We quote from the minutes of that meeting :

“ Dr. Lindsay said that he would like to ask the representatives of the societies how broadly they considered the Commission might interpret the terms of reference laid down for the Commission. The Agra resolution referred to ‘ a radical reconsideration of Christian educational policy.’ Are the societies asking that the Commission should have an entirely free hand, which might mean recommendations of radical change ; or was it assumed that the main outline of existing policy must be continued and that the Commission should suggest improvements within the bounds of that policy ?

“ The group was emphatic and unanimous in the view that the Commission should consider itself free to examine the whole field with the utmost thoroughness and to recommend whatever changes or development in policy would in its opinion make for the most effective working. The societies would look to the Commission for guidance as to

the better use of their available resources and also for suggestions as to future developments should greater resources become available. In particular radical changes in policy, such as the establishment of Christian hostels within secular universities, should be fully considered. The Commission would not be expected to offer judgment as to the proper balance of the different sides of missionary work, not having been appointed with that purpose, but it would be encouraged and expected to offer most thorough and radical judgment on the whole problem of the Christian share in higher education in India."

3. THE COMMISSION'S PROCEDURE

It was originally intended that only Arts colleges should be reported upon by the Commission. Subsequently, however, at the request of the National Christian Council and of some of the mission boards it was agreed that higher theological colleges and seminaries should be included in its study "to the extent of determining their relationship to the question of higher collegiate education." The relation of the Commission to this department of its investigation is stated more fully in the chapter of the Report that deals with theological education.

The terms of reference to the Commission having been thus determined a questionnaire was drawn up and sent out to the Principals of Christian colleges in advance of the arrival of the Commission in India. By means of this questionnaire a large body of information was obtained in regard to the history of the institutions, the present conditions of their working, and possible future developments. Thus the members of the Commission had in their possession before their actual investigation began these facts, supplied fully and promptly by the Principals of all the colleges which they were to visit. The questionnaire will be found in the Appendix to the Report. A supplementary questionnaire inquiring (*a*) as to the relation of the colleges to the Christian community, (*b*) their financial position, and (*c*) the amount of freedom for experiment permitted to

colleges, was issued after the Commission had reached India. A special questionnaire, which will also be found in the Appendix, was sent out to Theological colleges.

The Chairman of the Commission, Dr. A. D. Lindsay, was not able to leave England for India until December 1, 1930. During the period of his absence, namely, from November 14, when the main body of the Commission landed in India, till December 20, when Dr. Lindsay joined them, the Vice-Chairman, Professor W. Adams Brown, acted as Chairman. The Commission completed their tour of the Christian colleges by April 4 of the following year. During the period from November 14 to April 4 the Commission—either as a whole or in part—visited thirty-seven Arts colleges and five Theological colleges of degree standard. The Commission proceeded, immediately on arrival in India, to Rangoon and spent a week studying the situation of Judson College there. Then returning to India, the greater part of the period from December 1 to January 18 was spent in studying the position of the large number of Christian colleges in the Madras Presidency and the State of Travancore. The colleges in Bengal and Bihar were next visited, then those in the United Provinces, in the Punjab, and in Bombay. It was unfortunately found to be impossible for the Commission to visit the Indore College of the United Church of Canada, but they had an opportunity of discussing the position of the college personally with the Principal both at Nagpur and at Bombay. At Nagpur in December the members of the Commission were present at the biennial meeting of the National Christian Council, and were able on that occasion both to study the position of Hislop College, Nagpur, and to have a conference on the subject of higher education with the members of the National Christian Council assembled there from all parts of India and Burma. At Guntur, Kottayam, Trichinopoly, Madras, Calcutta, Agra, Lahore, and Bombay, conferences were held with representatives of higher education in all these areas, and finally a conference of selected persons from all parts of India, able to speak with authority on this subject, was held in Bombay on March 20, 21, and 23. These conferences included in

their membership both Indians and non-Indians, and there were usually among them some who were not directly connected with higher education, but who could speak from the point of view of the whole Christian situation. A conference on the theological situation as related to the whole of India was also held in Bombay on March 19.¹

As the Commission's study of the educational situation progressed by means of the information provided through the questionnaire, by means of personal contact with those intimately acquainted with the facts, and by means of the discussions at successive conferences, certain constructive proposals began to take shape. These were placed in tentative form before the later conferences for their consideration. Finally, they were placed with considerable fulness and definiteness before the conference held at Bombay. The proposals were most cordially received by this group of men and women from all parts of India selected as able to speak with authority on the subject of Christian education, and were subjected by them to careful examination. The criticisms and suggestions of that conference proved of great value to the members of the Commission in making clear to them the form that their recommendations should take. They are embodied in the form in which the Commission finally adopted them, in Chapters VI to XI of this Report.

¹ A list of the colleges studied by the Commission will be found in the Appendix.

PART II

AN ANALYSIS AND APPRAISAL OF THE COLLEGES AS THEY ARE

CHAPTER II

THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES AND THE QUESTIONS THEY RAISE

I. A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES TO-DAY

THE members of the Commission were in the fortunate position of being able, before they landed in India, to survey, by means of the information supplied in the answers to the questionnaire, the general outlines of the position of the Christian colleges in the educational situation of India at the present time. We were able to do so because of the care and thoroughness with which the Principals of the colleges responded to our request. Replies to our questions were in our hands in regard to every college without exception before those of us who were from the West had left Great Britain. From these replies some of the basal facts of the situation could be obtained.

The colleges in regard to which we were asked to report number 43 in all. One of these, Judson College, Rangoon, is in Burma, all the others in India. Of the 43 colleges, 38 are Arts colleges, preparing men and women for the Bachelor of Arts, and, in some cases, the Master of Arts, degrees, while 5 are Theological colleges of what may be called degree standard. Of the 38 Arts colleges all do not carry their students all the way through the course for the B.A. degree. Eleven have only the first two classes in that course and are called Intermediate or Second Grade colleges. These occupy a place half-way between the high school and the full college, and have their students under their charge for less than two years.

It is interesting to note that of the 38 Arts colleges 10 have their headquarters in America, 23 in Great Britain,

and 1—that of the Basel Mission at Calicut—on the Continent of Europe. There are three colleges—all of them women's colleges—that can be called in the fullest sense union colleges, since they are maintained by the joint co-operation of mission boards in both Great Britain and America. Two of the colleges included above among those whose headquarters are in Great Britain might also be described as union colleges. In both cases, Madras Christian College, and Wilson College, Bombay, while the colleges are predominantly British in their connection, an American element of co-operation is included in their maintenance. Finally, in the Union Christian College, Alwaye, we find a college which has been founded by Indian Christians and is controlled and administered by them in complete independence.

Of the five theological colleges, two—those at Bangalore and Saharanpur—are Union Colleges. Serampore College, the oldest of them all, carrying down to to-day a splendid tradition from the days of William Carey, co-operates in the fullest measure with the other colleges in all matters relating to the Bachelor of Divinity degree which it has the right, under a charter granted in 1827 by the King of Denmark, to confer.

There are other classifications into which colleges can be divided which help to make the educational position clearer in some directions. Thus it might be noted that of the 43 colleges 14 are connected with the Church of England, 11 with various Presbyterian Churches, and 6 with the English and American Methodist Churches. Of the 38 Arts colleges 6 are exclusively for women, while in quite a number of cases women are admitted also to the colleges for men. In all except one of the six the majority—in some cases the overwhelming majority—of their students are Christians. The rapid growth in women's higher education may make it difficult for these colleges to maintain the present proportion of Christians to non-Christians among their students. If they are unable to maintain their present strongly Christian character they may find themselves in the position in which in this respect most of the men's colleges

are. In most of these colleges there is an overwhelming preponderance of non-Christian students, the Christians in all the colleges numbering one-seventh of the total. Only in Travancore, where there is a large population of Syrian Christians, do the Christian students outnumber the non-Christians. In Judson College, Burma, there is an equal number of Christian and non-Christian students, a situation due not only to the advanced position in education of the Karen Christians, but to the fact that women—largely Christian women—since they have much greater freedom in Burma than in India, attend Judson College in considerable numbers.

The number of Christian students in the colleges depends largely upon the location of the college in relation to the Christian community. Some colleges may be described as "pioneer colleges," being situated in districts where Christianity has made little progress as yet and where, in consequence, their main effort is directed towards the non-Christians. A notable instance of such a college is Edwardes College, Peshawar, which has only 2 Christians out of 118 students. The Peshawar district and the North-West Frontier Province generally have as yet been little affected by Christian evangelism. Indore Christian College is in a situation of a somewhat similar kind, serving an area throughout which the Christian population is very thinly scattered and few can aspire to a college education. It has only 8 Christian students out of 364. There are many other colleges whose position is similar. This is less so in districts where there have been mass-movements into the Christian Church, and least of all so in the south where such mass-movements are older than in the north, and, in consequence, the general level of Christian education is higher:

The difference between north and south India in this respect is brought out by the fact that the proportion of Christian students in the colleges in Madras Presidency and the Madras States is one-fourth of the total number of students in these colleges, while in the colleges of the north only 6 per cent of the students in the Christian colleges are Christians. The fact of the large number of Christians

seeking higher education in the south brings it about that there are a much larger number of Christian colleges in that area, proportionally to the population, than in the north. In the south for a population of 53,000,000 there are 13 colleges, while for all the rest of India the number of Christian colleges is 19. Among the 19 colleges of the north are to be found the largest Christian colleges in India, two of them having over a thousand students, most of these non-Christians. It is, however, to be kept in mind that in some areas in the north there are very large communities of Christians who should presently be seeking higher education in larger numbers.

It is easy to see how difficult it must be for the Christian atmosphere of a college to be maintained when it has only 37 Christians on its rolls out of 1063. This position is made still more difficult when the staff is also preponderatingly non-Christian. There is a total of 833 teachers on the staffs of all these colleges, non-Indians and Indians, Christians and non-Christians. Many of these are, of course, foreign missionaries who have come to the colleges from abroad. Of those recruited in India to staff the Christian colleges 411 are non-Christians, while only 245 are Indian Christians. If we omit the women's colleges from consideration we find that the proportion of Indian Christian teachers on the staffs of men's colleges is 35.2 per cent compared with 64.8 per cent of Indian non-Christian teachers. This is a disturbing fact, due, of course, to a variety of causes, and will come before us again and again in the course of our discussion of the position of Christian higher education.

Another fact of much interest and significance which the replies to the questionnaire discover to us relates to the financial position of the colleges. It appears that the total sum received by the colleges¹ from Government grants and fees amounts to Rupees 21,95,766 (£168,905 or \$844,525). The home grants, on the other hand, from Europe and America amount in all to Rupees 10,29,295 (£79,561 or \$397,805). The proportion of the total cost of the Christian

¹ Judson College, Rangoon, Diocesan College, Calcutta, and Sarah Tucker College, Palamcottah, are not included.

college that is contributed in India is 68 per cent, while 32 per cent comes as the contribution from overseas to their maintenance. These figures, it has to be remembered, refer to the expenditure incurred in carrying on the colleges from year to year and do not include building charges.¹

2. QUESTIONS RAISED IN INDIA AND AT HOME AS TO THE PRESENT EFFICIENCY OF THE COLLEGES

(1) *The dissatisfaction in the colleges themselves*

Such facts as these, which were brought to our attention through the preliminary statements submitted to us by the heads of colleges in all parts of the country, helped to make clear to us certain aspects of the educational situation. In this way we were enabled to acquaint ourselves with the outward circumstances in which the Christian colleges carried on their work. At the same time we were introduced to other factors that seriously affected the manner in which it was possible for them to fulfil their aims. We found, for example, in many colleges a deep dissatisfaction with the system of University education to which they were bound. The freedom of the teacher to do what he believed to be best for his students had been taken from them. "Under present circumstances," one Principal wrote, "Christian colleges are apt to find themselves—not only in respect of curriculum, but in other ways as well—so tied up with University Regulations, devised in the interests of a good average of efficiency but resulting in a dead uniformity, as to prevent their expressing their Christian individuality in the type of training they offer." So deeply was this felt that again and again, as we discovered, the remedy of breaking loose altogether from this bondage had been contemplated. In the words of another Principal, in another Province, and with experience of another University, it seemed as if "the only way of escape from the deplorable conditions that fetter University work in India" was the establishment of an independent Christian University.

¹ Detailed figures in regard to the staffs, the students, and the finances of the colleges as discovered from the questionnaire will be found in the Appendix.

The obstacles in the way of giving to the students an education that was culturally of value and that could fulfil its Christian purpose were increased by the financial difficulties of the colleges. The result was in many cases an inadequate staff, while at the same time it became necessary, for financial reasons, to go on increasing the number of students. This again was felt to have the effect of sacrificing quality in education to quantity, and of seriously hindering its Christian effectiveness. Some colleges, in consequence, felt compelled to revise their policy, and to endeavour to limit the number of their students and make the college residential so as to bring Christian influences more fully to bear upon them. These considerations have made it clear to two of the most outstanding Christian colleges in India, Madras Christian College in the south and Forman Christian College in the north, that, in words taken from a memorandum prepared by the staff of the latter college, they must "concentrate their attention and influence on a much smaller body of students in a residential college."

(2) *Mr. Arthur Mayhew on the existing situation*

This dissatisfaction, while it varied in different places both in degree and in emphasis, we found to be widespread throughout all the provinces of the country. The sense of its significance was reinforced for us by our study of certain published documents which were accessible to us all, and which those of us who had to travel to India from the West were able to study before beginning our personal investigations. It may be well to set down the general impression which we gathered from these sources before we describe what we learnt on the spot.

We shall begin by saying something about a book which, while not directly a criticism of missionary educational policy, contains a very fundamental criticism of that policy in India—Mr. Arthur Mayhew's book on *The Education of India*.¹

It is to be noted that this book is written by one "whose personal view is that moral progress in India depends on

¹ London, Messrs. Faber & Gwyer.

the general transformation of education by explicit recognition of the spirit of Christ," and is, therefore, the more relevant to our purposes. In the introduction to his book Mr. Mayhew emphasises five conclusions which deserve attention.

(a) Our education has done far less for Indian culture than for the material and political progress of India. She looks to our schools and colleges for equipment in the struggle for existence; for the secret of happy living she looks elsewhere.

(b) Emotional reaction against foreign culture affords no soil for indigenous growth. The sympathetic application of culture and scientific methods to Indian life and thought and the adoption of a "western" attitude of mind must precede the fusion of East and West that India's wisest minds desire.

(c) Indian personality and life as a whole will not ultimately be affected by any education which is not animated by religion. The forces which oppose progress can be restrained or diverted only by a religion more vital than those on which they depend for sanction.

(d) Higher education in India depends for warmth and colour, vitality and response to communal aspirations, on the measure of its freedom from the control and direction of any form of government, whether Indian or alien. The function of government in this sphere is to suppress what is harmful to the common will and to support, with the utmost elasticity, whatever is useful and effective. But for the better education of the masses, as a fundamental condition of national progress, a vigorous initiative must be taken and a financial policy prescribed by the Government.

(e) At no previous stage has Indian education needed more surely western sympathy, support, and guidance. English educational work in India will be more deeply appreciated and more fruitful when it is not associated with an alien government.

These conclusions are clearly anything but a criticism of missionary education in India. Rather they imply a

belief in its indispensable and pre-eminent function in Indian education. But they are a very definite criticism of Indian University education and, what is more important for our purpose, they assert that if religious education is to serve its purpose, it must be free. They imply that Christian colleges may have paid too high a price for their connection with the Government system.

This point is elaborated in the book. Mr. Mayhew holds that Indian University education has suffered from a divergence of aims, and that on the whole the aim of training government servants has made its mark on Indian education more than any other ; that it is, therefore, not cultural but almost exclusively utilitarian and that it has, therefore, " departmentalised " the mind of educated India ; that because it has in the past neglected the education of women, it has not touched the bulwark of Hinduism—the family, and because it has neglected primary education it has deepened the division between the educated and the uneducated classes and between the town and the country. He holds that missionary education, which had a definite and spiritual aim, has suffered from being involved in this system.

We may get from Mr. Mayhew's analysis two questions allied but distinguishable. Has the success with which Indian university education has cultivated the vocational and utilitarian end of producing competent candidates for the Government services with its consequent insistence upon examinations and regulations produced a system in which the Christian colleges are not free enough to follow their own aims and give really good education ? And the second and much graver question : Is the system so dominated by this utilitarian aim that within it there can be no real demand for what religious education is alone out to give ? Missionary societies and Christian colleges sincerely repudiate what has been called " the bait " theory of mission education. But can it be honestly repudiated in a system which is so resolutely and so predominatingly set towards material advancement ?

(3) *Bishop Whitehead's criticisms*

The same points are made, though they are put in a different way, by Dr. Whitehead, formerly Bishop of Madras, in a paper entitled, "Notes on Higher Education." He maintains that the large majority of the students in the colleges ought not to be there at all from an educational point of view. They regard their college work purely as a means to employment—employment which it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to obtain. This he believes to be the result of a wrong educational policy.

The education of the masses ought to have gone hand in hand with the education of the intelligentsia, and the majority of the intelligentsia ought to have been so educated that they would find employment in improving agriculture and in the education of village life.

Another serious defect in the present system that has often been pointed out in past years is the "disassociations" that it involves in the mind of the student between his college life and his home life.

"It is, therefore," Dr. Whitehead maintains, "a serious question whether missionary societies ought to be entangled in this vicious system at all, or at any rate whether they ought to take so large a share in the extension of the system as they do at present."

The secular side of the education, he goes on, is largely a waste of valuable time and energy, and the multiplication of university and high school students is under present conditions a positive evil and danger to the State.

It is often said that the Christian colleges are necessary to provide leaders for the Church. But this, he declares, is precisely what they do not do. They provide a body of men who are influential in Government service, at the Bar, in trade, commerce, and in politics, but not leaders of the Church. The Church urgently needs leaders in the villages, but with very few exceptions the young men educated in schools and colleges would not go into the villages.

The Bishop proposes (1) that if Christian colleges are to be retained, there should be fewer of them and each should

be small ; (2) that as the Sadler Commission¹ suggested, the reform of university education should begin with the high school. In each language area there should be one thoroughly effective Christian high school as a feeder to the college.

It thus appeared both from the doubts and dissatisfaction expressed by those actually engaged in the work of the colleges and from the observations of sympathetic observers from outside that a re-examination of the policy and the methods of these colleges was demanded. It was necessary to consider what the policy of the past had been and how far changed circumstances made it necessary that that policy should be revised. The initiators of the movement of Christian higher education in India had certain clearly defined objectives before them. We had first to realise what these objectives were if we were to judge whether they still could be achieved by the means of which they made use. We accordingly turned next to examine the past history of Christian higher education, and especially of the policy that in the past had guided this department of mission work.

3. THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE POLICY OF CHRISTIAN COLLEGES AS SET FORTH IN EARLIER DISCUSSIONS OF THE SUBJECT

While considering what the policy of Christian colleges in India should be at the present time it was naturally our concern to make ourselves acquainted with previous statements of the policy inspiring educational work. There has been, in India, no previous survey of the Christian colleges of all the missionary societies working in India, but there have been reviews of educational missionary policy which, though directly concerned only with some colleges, have attempted to express the principles on which all educational missions in India are based. We propose to call attention to three such statements of policy : (1) Those to be found in

¹ The Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19, commonly called the Sadler Commission.

the writings of Dr. Miller of Madras, one of the greatest of educational missionaries ; (2) the report of the deputation sent to India in 1888-9 by the Free Church of Scotland ; and (3) the report of the Church Missionary Society's deputation to India in 1921-2.

(1) *Dr. Miller's view of the function of the colleges*

Dr. Miller's view of the function of the Christian college is in essential agreement with that of the pioneers in Christian education, Carey and Duff. He carries forward their educational policy to a later period and states it with reasoned conviction. In an address entitled "Educational Agencies in India," published in Madras in 1893, he distinguishes two purposes in educational missions. They exercise, in his view, "a strengthening, training, developing agency," and also "a preparatory agency." This distinction corresponds broadly to the work done by educational missions for Christians and non-Christians respectively.

It is Christian education in the sense of what we now call training in Christian leadership which Dr. Miller regards as the work done for the Christian community by the Christian college. This "strengthening, training, developing agency" is, in his opinion, secondary—indeed, almost a by-product of its work for non-Christians. He goes on, indeed, to utter a word of warning. "The educational progress of the South Indian Church which may hereafter lead to a position in which it will have boundless opportunity for serving God and blessing men is undoubtedly a thing to be greatly rejoiced in. There is danger, however, that the end may be sacrificed to the means. There is danger, already manifest to the clear-sighted, lest advancement in education and the higher position to which education leads become the sole or chief object of desire to the Christian. The Church may be turned into a guild for the worldly welfare of its sons."

In Dr. Miller's eyes the main function of the Christian colleges was preparatory. In such institutions "all truth that could help to form thought and character" was to be inculcated as opportunity served. Indeed, in his opinion,

as in Dr. Duff's also, western education was in itself a *preparatio evangelica*. "A certain not valueless preparation may be made when the light of Christ is reflected from the poetry, the philosophy, and the history of a Christian land." But most important of all the subjects of study in the college were the words of scripture and especially the words of Christ. "The Scriptures were to be the spear-head, all other knowledge the well-fitted handle. The Scriptures were to be the healing essence, all other knowledge the congenial medium through which it is conveyed." So important did this "great preparatory work" appear to him to be that, compared with it, the obtaining of individual converts was a "side product," giving "signs of approval from on high," but such as should not "deflect the main stream of Scottish missionary tendency."

We find thus in Dr. Miller a clear recognition of three different purposes which may inspire Christian colleges and a perfectly definite claim that of these three the *preparatio evangelica* is the main purpose, the training of the Christian community and the conversion of individuals secondary. He definitely repudiates what may be called "the bait theory" of Christian colleges. His purpose is not "to give necessary knowledge at a cheap rate and thus by a kind of bribery get the favour of those who receive it and make them better disposed to listen to teaching upon old themes." It is interesting also to find Dr. Miller as long ago as 1912 putting both the argument for a Christian University—the necessity for freedom—and the argument against it—the rise of increasing communalism in education—the same arguments as are now given by the Principals of existing colleges when asked what they think of the proposal to form a Christian University.

(2) *The report of the deputation of the Free Church of Scotland*

When we turn to the Report submitted to the Free Church of Scotland in 1889-90 we find that it recognises the three purposes of Christian colleges which we found recognised by Dr. Miller, but its authors are clearly not

prepared to put them in the same order of importance which Dr. Miller gives them. They are troubled about the education of the Christian Church, and they would not have accepted what he says about the colleges as a means of conversion. Examining the situation that faced the educational institutions at the time of their visit they find it changed from what it had been when these institutions were founded. They, too, would say with Dr. Miller that the failure to win many converts from the higher castes was "not because the seed of the word had not been good, but because the soil was not fitted to receive it." But they see that while the influences that Christian education had brought to bear upon these classes had brought about a change, it was not quite the kind of change that had been looked for. They note "the close parallelism between what was going on in India among the educated classes and the half-religious, half-metaphysical movements in the Roman Empire during the three centuries in which the early Christian Church was struggling for existence." They draw attention to movements that appear to be "deliberate attempts to graft Christian truths on ancient Hindu philosophy or religion," and "to cultivate Christian morality without breaking with Hinduism." The fact of these movements within Hinduism, they hold, is "the great reason why converts are not now made in our colleges as they once were," and marks "the great difference between the then and now of the conditions of mission work in our colleges and high schools." Instead of being made receptive of Christianity as was hoped, Hindus were on every hand, as the deputies said, "arming in defence of Hinduism." That situation has gone on developing in the same direction since then, with the consequence that no such unified theory of the preparation as Dr. Miller held to so resolutely can be accepted as sufficient to-day.

The fact is that circumstances, as these observers saw clearly, had so greatly altered in India since the early days of the missionary movement that the principles of Dr. Miller's *præparatio evangelica* were no longer applicable in their unity and simplicity.

In another passage of their report the Scottish deputies enlarge further upon the consequences that follow from the changed conditions :

“ Professors in our mission colleges have to work much harder and in a far more exhausting way than before. The educational missionary is a hard-working man—overworked in our opinion. His work is much more monotonous than that of the evangelistic missionary. This Government connection means that the missionary has not now the same time and strength which educational missionaries had long ago for quiet personal talks on religious matters, and for gathering round them in private companies young men, whether at college or not, for instruction in Christian truth and personal persuasion to a Christian profession. We do not say that these overworked men never do this ; we do say that they have neither the time nor the strength which educational missionaries had in the earlier days. And, so far as our information goes, the conversions in the old days came, not so much from the Christian instruction in college or high school class, as from these quiet talks either to individuals, or to special parties invited privately to meet together with the missionary. The preparation for conversion was made in the class ; the actual conversion took place, as now, for the most part outside the college. The increased absorption in preparation for Government examinations is a very marked contrast between then and now, and the loss to the more direct results of mission education is a defect which ought to be remedied if the mission cause is to derive full immediate benefits from the colleges.”

The most important points affecting the work of the Christian colleges to which the deputies draw attention and which have increased in importance as the years have passed since their visit may be summed up under the following heads :

(a) While the importance of the preparatory work remains, the form taken by it and, therefore, the work which Christian colleges have to do, should alter. The education which was the best *præparatio evangelica* for the Hinduism of 1830 may not have been what was really wanted for

the Hinduism of 1889 and may even less be what is wanted for the Hinduism of 1930. Christian colleges have themselves produced a new situation in Hinduism which perhaps needs new treatment.

(b) The deputies call attention to the demands made on the educational missionaries' time by the connection with the Government system. The educational missionary is not free to spend his time on what he thinks most important. His connection with the Government system occupies an ever-increasing portion of his day.

(c) The deputies call attention to the financial dependence of colleges and schools on fees and Government grants and draw attention to the dangers of this situation. We shall see that this point is even more important now than it was in 1889.

(d) They are also concerned with the large number of non-Christian teachers in mission schools and colleges. We shall meet with this concern also in later reports.

(3) *The report of the delegation of the
Church Missionary Society*

The report of the C.M.S.'s delegation is of a much later date, 1921-2, and reflects the changes of post-war India. A new note pervades it. The task of the mission boards is to help and assist, and work side by side with, the Church of India. They must do all they can to call forth Indian Christian leadership. They distinguish the same three purposes of educational mission work which we have found described in the earlier reports. But there are differences which are of interest. The enormous importance of the preparatory work of the past is recognised emphatically, but the report suggests that the work will under new conditions take on another form, though it does not say what that other form should be. This indefiniteness is made up for by what is laid down in the report when it comes to deal with the need of the production of Christian leaders. It insists strongly that what matters in Christian education is the influencing personality. "The first factor in efficient mission educational work is the personal factor, and it is

immeasurably the most important." It is as though the authors of the report had said : " We do not propose to concern ourselves with the question of the proper substance of Christian education. Christianity is primarily a life and a fellowship. Christian education must be undertaken by a fellowship and make real the impact of the personal Christian life. If that is achieved, the answer to the other questions will be found of themselves."

It will, we think, be clear from this review that while the general purposes of Christian college education have remained the same through all these years, while, therefore, the presumption of the wisdom of these purposes is overwhelming, nevertheless their relative importance has been differently estimated by different observers and at different times, and the methods of effecting them may differ very much under differing conditions. We may make a distinction between purpose and policy : policy being regarded as laying down the general lines along which missionary education seeks to effect its purposes. The report of the C.M.S. delegation while emphasising the essential and unique contribution which missionary education has made in the past to the Christianising of India ends by saying : "In these last four years in India changes have been made, so radical, so vast, and so rapid, that this mission work which we started so many years ago we are now doing to all intents and purposes in an entirely new country. To suggest the radical changes we have suggested is not therefore necessarily to criticise the leadership of the past. . . . The really great fact which compels attention to-day while it very largely absolves the past from criticism is that the plans which were good for twenty years ago simply will not meet the needs of the present age."

We must accordingly attempt, first, to estimate the character, the extent, and the significance of the social, economic, and political changes that have come about in recent years, as also the extent to which the dominant religions—Hinduism and Islam—have become modified, and the Christian Church

has increased and developed. We shall then be able to proceed to consider the place of the Christian colleges in the educational system, and how far the changes that have been noted call for changes in the policy, as distinguished from the purposes, of missionary education, or call for a new order in the importance attached to these purposes.

CHAPTER III

CHANGING INDIA

I. SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CHANGES

(I) *The influence of economic forces*

THE stability of Indian society has depended in the past on three factors : (1) the village communities which insured the adequate exploitation of the land ; (2) the institution of caste by which society was organised on a co-operative basis with specific and complementary functions attaching to each unit of which that society was composed ; (3) a set of beliefs embodying sociological-transcendental values which gave meaning and direction to the life of the individual in his relation both to society and to the universe. As long as these factors remained intact India continued essentially unchanged. Two important influences in India's past history attempted in different periods to deflect the course of development of Hindu society. One of these, Buddhism, operated inwardly ; the other, Islam, externally. In both cases, however, the Hindu view of life finally prevailed, and it did so for the very natural reason that the methods of livelihood of the people were still adequate and consequently remained unchanged. It was not till the nineteenth century that the economic foundations on which Indian society had been built up were substantially modified, and hence the changes of the last hundred years have proved to be more fundamental than those which had preceded them. To the political writings and orations of Edmund Burke and of other British political philosophers and to the educational policy of Macaulay are sometimes attributed the revolutionary changes in the Indian outlook. While this may be true in some measure, of even greater significance are the results that followed from the activities in India of the

company of English merchants who exemplified in the east that economic thought and practice of which Adam Smith was the philosopher and James Watt the exponent.

Perhaps it may be said that we can see in the city of Benares these rival forces represented side by side. The sacredness of the river-bank on which the Hindu city stands is now equalled by the degradation of its superstition. Benares possesses no standard of moral values. It is not immoral but amoral. Religious fervour mingles naturally with religious degradation. The holiest places are meanly kept, frequently unclean, and contrast with the dignity and chaste purity of so many of the mosques of Agra, Delhi, and Bijapur, or with the spotless cleanliness and orderliness of the Buddhist temples of Japan. At Sarnath, a few miles from Benares, the archæological excavator is laying bare the foundations of ancient Buddhist monasteries with their monkish cells and chapels, among the ruins of which fragments of pillars, friezes, and the sculptured figures of Buddha have been discovered. On these stone records are the marks and emblems of the purifying and uplifting influences by means of which Buddhism attempted the reform of Hinduism. It failed. Within the city of Benares on the sacred river-bank itself Aurangzebe, the iconoclast, destroyed a temple and erected on its site a mosque whose minarets outreach every temple spire. It still stands in its insolence, an emblem of the concreteness of Islam in challenge of the surrounding panorama of that Hinduism whose philosophical basis could only be the Vedanta. Hinduism at Benares still continued to unfold itself, unheeding a Muslim emperor's defiance. This modern age, however, has brought to Hinduism its own characteristic challenge, which may prove of far greater importance than that of either Buddhism or Islam. Its symbol may be said to be the steel bridge, visible from every part of the water-front, which links together the two banks of the river, and over which constantly hasten to and fro the passing trains. Sometimes, it is true, they convey pilgrim fodder to be cast into the insatiable jaws of the sacred city, but the alien forces of which the railway is a symbol are disintegrating the material foundations of a village society

of which Hinduism is the religion. Christianity, also, has its missions in Benares, but has found Hinduism so securely established that it has been able to produce little effect upon it. Some missions have, accordingly, turned aside to other fields of service. On the other hand, the devoted and untiring efforts of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya have created a modern Hindu University, whose purpose among others is to stimulate studies in Hindu literature and culture, religion and philosophy. But what has it actually accomplished? The recognised and apparently outstanding achievement of the Hindu University has been the creation of an efficient department of engineering. Hinduism and the railway bridge are coming to terms.

(2) *Indian social organisation*

Let us look more closely at some of those elements in the Indian situation that are beginning under new influences to disintegrate. There is, as we have said, the Indian village. This may be described as a human organisation whose purpose is the exploitation of the soil, with a view to ensuring a livelihood for the community. In theory the village is structurally composed of four distinct groups of families, although in practice this structure has been considerably modified. First, there are the families which are possessed of hereditary rights in the soil. In the second place, there are families of skilled artisans whose ancestors once settled in the village as servants. These people originally possessed no rights in the land, with the exception that they were granted the use of a site for the erection of their homes, to be held as long as they continued to perform their hereditary functions. In the third place, there are groups of agricultural labourers, usually landless, whose status often can scarcely be distinguished from serfdom and to whose lot heavy manual labour and degrading tasks have usually fallen. This last group, it might be said, forms the community of the outcastes. A fourth group is composed of certain hereditary occupational castes such as the families of village priests, village accountants, and merchants. Although in theory these might possess no rights in the land, yet their

professional and material services were rated so high that they have always held an honourable, if not an influential, position in the village community. A description of these groups will perhaps give the reader a clue to the institution of caste itself—that is, to an organisation of society based originally on function, and perpetuated by the proscription of intermarriage not merely between members of these groups, but even between members of each functional subgroup.

For our purpose it will be sufficient to concentrate attention on the last group of castes mentioned above, namely, the group consisting of the priestly families, the merchants, the village accountants, and others. These are those who were possessed of a common tradition, if not of learning, at least of literacy, in contrast to the general illiteracy of the other groups. Thus this group has always provided officials for the civil administration, irrespective of the fact whether the dynasty was Hindu or Muslim, and in more modern times it was this class which benefited far more widely than any other by the system of English education. It may generally be asserted that even to-day the bulk of Government officials in India, members of the learned professions, and the hierarchy of clerks, belong to one or other of the castes included in this group. It is necessary, however, to make a distinction between what may be termed the professional castes and the trading castes. The professional castes were the first to accept European education, and were the first to enter the services to which Indians were admitted first by the East India Company and later more extensively under the Crown. The trading castes, on the other hand, were not pressed by circumstances to avail themselves of the new educational advantages. The internal trade of the country offered the fullest opportunities for careers to young men, irrespective of whether they bore the hall-mark of the new schools that the foreign government had established or not.

While the old professional castes accordingly provided the foundations of the new political and intellectual classes that were now arising, the economic development of the country

was based at first on the willing agency of the Indian trading castes under the direction of the East India Company's mercantile administration. The general trend of nineteenth-century legislation in India, the comparative efficiency of the administration, the preservation of law and order, revenue measures, creating the monopolies of liquor and opium or opening up lucrative possibilities of army and public works contracts—such facts as these made it possible for the trading classes to accumulate capital, which was reinvested by them in financing the agriculturist at rates of interest which rapidly reduced the latter to the position of a tenant on his own ancestral holding. By the end of the nineteenth century several laws appear on the statute book, indicating that the administration had become concerned at the deterioration of the status of the peasant agriculturist.

(3) *The attitude of the earlier missionaries to India's social and political problems*

These are a few indications of the changes that were coming about in the economic circumstances of India when the new influence of Christian missions entered upon the scene. The missionary movement in India in the middle of the nineteenth century represented, as far as the Indian educated classes were concerned, an intellectual, social, and even political liberalism. This liberal outlook the missionaries shared with many outstanding Englishmen in the administration. Missionary work generally and the mission schools in particular received support from administrators such as Sir Charles Trevelyan, Herbert Edwardes, and the Lawrences, who were not alarmed at the political results which might issue from a modern education in India. To them it was clear that the continued existence of the old conservatism, religious, social, and intellectual, was a real menace to good government. The events of the Indian Mutiny justified their convictions, for during those troublous days the educated class stood by the British Government and served it loyally. The Mutiny, it may be remembered, threatened with extinction the new liberalism. Hence the British administrator, the missionary, and the English-

educated Indian schoolmaster, doctor, or subordinate official were united in a common purpose of saving it from destruction. The Mutiny thus had certain important results, inasmuch as in State policy from then onwards considerations of security became the primary, if not determining, concern. The former political liberalism of the administration tended to disappear almost completely, and while reforms, such as Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government, were accepted, they were rendered more or less innocuous by the safeguards imposed on their working. The missionary bodies, as such, apart from their primary evangelistic task, were concerned mainly with carrying on their humanitarian schemes of education, medical relief, etc., not infrequently under Government patronage, and with the aid of Government grants. They found it exceedingly difficult to appreciate the fact that any group of Indians, and particularly those who had benefited by a modern education, should be politically discontented.

If, however, in their political attitude, both the administration and Christian missions had become increasingly conservative, they both recognised that it was by welfare service that they could commend themselves to India. The rising nationalism now began to make itself felt, stimulating the political liberalism of the educated classes into radicalism, while at the same time it was almost entirely successful in inhibiting the earlier tendencies of social and religious liberalism and reform. The Vedic fundamentalism of the Arya Samaj and the neo-Vedantism of Swami Vivekananda are examples of this religious reaction which now set in. Fortunately both those movements became zealous imitators of Christian welfare enterprises, and thus rendered a great humanitarian service to the country. On the other hand, this period was marked by a general resentment against such social reform as necessitated the interference of the administration by means of legislation with the customs of the people. Thus in 1891 the raising of the age of consent was bitterly opposed by B. G. Tilak, who though a political radical proved himself to be an enemy of social change.

(4) *The rise of the movement for political independence*

The victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 had very important consequences in India. It gave emotional direction to the nationalist movement, and the political demands based thereon. Of far greater consequence was the revelation that the success of Japan had depended on her economic power and highly scientific technical ability. Thus the events of the year 1905 gave birth in India to an economic nationalism, the results of which have been very remarkable. First, the effects on the university curricula were marked. Better provision was made for the teaching of the basic natural sciences and economics, with the result that the best students began in increasing numbers to transfer their attention from literature and the humanities to the study of these new subjects. Secondly, the Swadeshi movement originally initiated by the boycott campaign in Bengal, but now a newly discovered political weapon, led to the development of small scale industries all over the country. Under the urge of this economic nationalism large sums were raised for the purpose of sending students abroad for technical education. With the fusion of political and economic demands the trading classes, to whom reference has already been made, and who had hitherto remained largely aloof from politics, now begin to come into line with the political class. The Great War opened up further opportunities in India for industrial development, and before the War had come to a close the Government had yielded to public pressure and had appointed an Industrial Commission to make recommendations as to how Indian industries might best be financed and developed. It was during this war period that the steel industry came into existence, and it may also be noted that a substantial portion of the capital of the jute manufacturing industry which before the War had been largely in foreign hands, now passed into the hands of the Indian trading classes. When in the post-war period the legislatures were enlarged and more power placed in their hands, demands began to be made with success, in the name of economic nationalism, for increasingly

high protective tariffs, and, in the case of the steel industry, both for tariffs and bounties.

(5) *Economic and industrial changes in city and country*

The fortunes of the professional and mercantile classes, derived from the ancient village system, have been traced so far in some detail. The net result of the developments of the last hundred years has been the erection on the ancient foundation of caste of an urban bourgeois class consisting of Government servants, lawyers, doctors, politicians, merchants, industrialists, financiers, but no clerics, unless one includes the prophets of nationalism. In the hands of this group lies considerable power which they have wrested from either the alien administrator or from the foreign merchant, but it may be pertinently asked whether under this new leadership the peasantry, whether they are agricultural or industrial workers, can have assured to them the fullest opportunity for self-development.

The high school and the university have been the portals through which individuals who have broken from the old village system have entered the new bourgeois society, for which a knowledge of the English language has been up to the present a necessity. In recent years, however, in provinces like Madras and the Punjab, new elements representing the other groups of the village system mentioned above are entering the schools and the universities. The Muslims and Jats are sending students from among the peasant tenantry, and Christian missions are helping to educate elements of the population that belong to the class of the agricultural labourer. This accession of new elements, however, has occurred at a time when the university graduates are faced with the crisis of unemployment, with the result that the situation has become even more difficult, and is bound to lower the general standard of living of the educated class. The original standard of living of this class was set in terms of the European foreigner seeking a livelihood in India, and thus the salaries of the higher ranks of the Indian administration were fixed on that basis. As the numbers of Indians in these ranks increase, a readjustment is obviously

demanded. It is significant, in this connection, that at the last session of the Indian National Congress a resolution was carried declaring that ordinarily Rs. 500 a month should be the highest salary an official should receive under an Indian administration.

Perhaps the most important, and certainly a significant, change has been marked by a general recognition of the economic difficulties which beset agriculture generally and the peasants in particular. As far back as 1901, Mr. R. C. Dutt, who after a distinguished career had retired from the Indian Civil Service, published a series of open letters to the Viceroy, who at that time was Lord Curzon, in which the writer declared that the land revenue policy of the Indian Government was responsible for the economic depression weighing down the Indian peasant. This challenge was accepted by Lord Curzon, who in a famous State Paper attempted to demonstrate that Mr. Dutt's conclusions were unwarranted. Nevertheless the Government of India then for the first time accepted a policy of agricultural development and education. These schemes, however worthily carried out, were unable to deal with agricultural depression in any adequate degree. It is now being recognised that remedial measures lie possibly not so much in the sphere of agricultural technique as in agricultural finance. It is sufficient for our purpose to point out that the refusal in Bardoli in 1928 to pay land revenue, and the anti-landlord movements in the United Provinces during the recent non-co-operation days, are both expressions of the growing conviction that the payments of revenue and of land rents have proved a burden which makes it impossible for the peasant or the tenant to obtain an adequate livelihood from the land. The peasant himself, largely under the direction of the educated classes, has begun to ask what he receives in return for these impositions.

Very dimly, it is true, at the present moment, the leaders are becoming conscious that they are up against the baffling problem of a growing population. The figure of increase over the decennium 1911-21 is stated to have been a little over 1 per cent, and it was believed that the previous rate

of increase had at last been stopped, but the most recent census, taken this year, reveals that the increase is just under 10 per cent. It is significant of the growing interest in this subject that during the last ten years a fairly considerable amount of literature on population problems has appeared in India.

What, then, is the situation as it affects the rural masses? The size of the average holding is steadily diminishing; an increase in tenancy farming is taking place with holdings which make economic cultivation almost impossible. Finance is becoming increasingly centralised; the prices of commodities, such as textiles, have risen owing to increasingly high tariffs. Yet in spite of the contribution made by the rural masses to the wealth of the country, the peasant obtains little in return. Education for his children, medical relief, and the minimum of amenities appear to him very far away. It is hardly a matter of surprise that agrarian unrest should be so prominent a feature of these days.

(6) *Communal problems*

Other influences have been similarly operating to produce change. Of these, two that may be mentioned are spectacular and at the same time highly significant. The first is the awakening of the Muslim community, while the second is the uprising of the outcaste. Though both these movements are directed by certain powerful religious and social ideas, they may be regarded at the same time as symptoms of the pervading economic unrest of rural India. The Muslim peasant in the Punjab and the agricultural tenant in Bengal have experienced the exploiting effect of agricultural finance which lies mostly in the hands of the Hindu trading classes, and have readily responded to the anti-Hindu appeals of their political leaders. The case of the untouchables is in some respects similar. They are landless, or almost landless, agricultural labourers, who have been subjected to social disabilities. This class has a peculiar interest for Christian missionaries in India, seeing that they are largely responsible originally for the religious movement, which has so deeply affected this class, and they,

in consequence, are responsible now for a social and political movement which has followed upon the religious movement and which is deeply disturbing the whole outcaste community. The outcastes have also acquired political importance through the advent of the democratic methods of government based on an electorate. During the recent census it was stated on good authority that the Christian agricultural labourers in Sikh villages were coerced into returning themselves as Sikhs in order to increase the numbers of that community, and so to enhance its political importance *vis-à-vis* the Muslims of that province.

It is largely from the untouchables and the economically depressed agricultural classes that the industrial labour is recruited which serves the textile mills of Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Nagpur. The Trade Union movement, which may have failed to organise these labourers into a powerful syndical group, has yet stimulated the desire of the working man to know what is wrong with his world of employer, foreman, and daily wage-earner. He has learned to go to meetings and listen to the labour leader, he is willing to go on strike, and he is willing, if sufficiently stirred, to riot.

(7) *The emancipation of women*

Finally, there is no more significant fact to be noted as indicating the change that is coming about in India at the present time than that of the uprising of the women. The successive annual meetings of the All-India Women's Educational Conference have marked the steadily growing strength of the women's movement. It has certainly been immensely reinforced by the nationalist agitation and by the prominent part taken in that agitation by women of all classes. The restraints that have hitherto prevented them from taking their proper share in the life of the nation are being steadily broken down. The passing in 1929 of the Sarda Act, making fourteen the minimum age for the marriage of girls and eighteen that for boys, marked an epoch in the emancipation of the women of the land, but the passing of the Act does not in itself achieve that end. Along with it must go much strenuous effort for education and enlightenment.

This was fully recognised when Dr. Mutulakshmi Reddi, one of the most resolute of the women leaders in reform, declared, as President of the Women's Educational Conference at Lahore in January last, that "abolition of purdah, the enforcement of the Sarda Act, and the improvement of the existing schools must be given the first place in their programme of work." The demand for higher education for women in such provinces as the Punjab and Bengal bears striking evidence to this uprush out of ignorance on the part of those who have been kept so long in bondage. Nothing has hindered India's progress so greatly in the past as has the condition of her women, and no token of hope at the present hour is so significant as is the resolution with which her women leaders are taking in hand the task of their emancipation.

(8) *Resulting changes in the attitude of educated Indians*

If this diagnosis of the situation is at all accurate its significance cannot be missed by educationalists in India. The educated classes are rapidly obtaining, if not a scientific, at least an emotional, apprehension of the general condition of the masses, and the economic injustices to which they are subjected. Some are indeed convinced that further progress in alleviating these conditions is impossible without a political and economic revolution. Undoubtedly the example of the Russian Revolution has resulted in directing the thought of the younger political groups to the Marxian solution.

These considerations will explain the reason why social work, which a number of years ago was able to call forth a response among students, now fails to do so to the same extent. Palliative measures, which are the expression of individual goodwill, appear to be so inadequate to meet the situation, that interest in them has almost disappeared. More drastic policies are beginning to occupy their attention. Thus it is now comparatively easy in a landlord province like the United Provinces to obtain the services of men of education in undertaking a no-rent campaign on behalf of the oppressed peasants.

Since 1905 the method of action for the purpose of bringing about social or political reform has changed. The classical method which India learned from England, or from Englishmen resident in India, namely, protest by press campaign, or by public meeting and resolution, or by protest on the floor of the Legislature, while still retained, has become of subsidiary importance and has given place to group action in which all classes can be united. The boycott of foreign goods which was first used as a political weapon in Bengal in 1905 and the succeeding years gave to the people an appreciation of what might be accomplished by that means. Mr. Gandhi's campaign in South Africa reinforced the Bengal example. In the post-war years this weapon of group action has been used very widely among all classes of people and with quite different objectives, whether it be among students as a student strike, or as a political strike in large cities as a protest against Government action, or to obtain possession for the community of religious property, which had been misappropriated by its trustees whose rights were nevertheless recognised by the law. The Akali movement in the Punjab was of this last kind. The depressed classes also have wielded this weapon on occasion, as, for example, at Vaikom in Travancore, and within the last few months at Nasik. In these cases it was made use of in order to obtain entrance to certain Hindu shrines.

Among the educated classes religion, it would appear, is losing its former significance. The youth movements quite frankly, though not aggressively, are sceptical of the value of religion, but perhaps the authority of religion has suffered most because of the communal struggles which have so marred the political evolution of the country. Youth leadership has changed very markedly during the past few years; it lies no longer with the older men, and the new leaders have come into touch with European continental socialism. The foreign-returned student is playing a much more important rôle than he did in the past.

Such are some of the disruptive effects of new economic forces in an old traditional society. What is their significance

for the task of Christianity? There is a notable passage in Professor Halévy's great volume on *England in 1815* when he stops at the conclusion of his survey of the economic forces in England at that time. He has been describing the social effect of the coming of the Industrial Revolution on the traditional society of rural England. He points out that to any one who took account of the disruptive forces produced by these changes it must appear plain that England in 1815 was a society heading straight for revolution and civil war of the most bitter and destructive nature. He then asks, Why did this consequence, apparently so inevitable, as a matter of fact not result? His answer is, "Because of the Wesleyan revival and its effects on the whole religious life of England."

The ancient social system of India is far less ready than was England in the eighteenth century to adapt itself to the new economic forces, and the danger of disruption and chaos is correspondingly greater. There surely was never a greater challenge to the healing and transforming power of the Christian message than this chaotic and troubled India of to day.

2. NEW INFLUENCES OPERATING IN HINDUISM AND ISLAM

(1) *Hinduism as the early Mission colleges faced it*

When Christian colleges were established in India their task as over against Hinduism was comparatively simple. Christian monotheism could be preached in contrast with a crude and unphilosophical Hindu polytheism, a spiritual conception of God and of religion in contrast with degrading idolatrous worships, the Christian moral ideal in contrast with a religion revealing at that time no ideals and no incentive to duty. The period at the close of the eighteenth century when modern Christian missions began in India was, as far as we can judge, a period when Hinduism was intellectually and morally at a very low ebb. That this was so in Bengal is testified to by Dinesh Chandra Sen in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, while the writings

of Raja Ram Mohan Roy are full of evidence of it. It was indeed this condition of things that produced Ram Mohan Roy and made him the initiator of the modern social and religious reform movement. In such a situation, as we look back at it to-day, the task of the Christian college seems simple. The situation that faced it among the "higher classes" was scarcely different from that which faces the missionary who to-day works among the village population. There was even then, of course, a philosophical tradition in Hinduism, but it had been largely submerged, and where it was known it was for the most part divorced from the conduct of life and permitted such horrors as that of "suttee" to go on all around, not only without any restraint from it, but with the full approval of its exponents.

(2) *Recent changes due to the revival of Hinduism*

It is easy to see how fundamentally the situation has changed to-day from what it was in these circumstances, and how different therefore the task of the Christian college must now be from what it was then. A change in the soil of Hinduism, such as Dr. Duff and Dr. Miller aimed at bringing about by their *preparatio evangelica*, has indeed been produced, but it has not quite brought with it the consequences that they anticipated. Though there has been a profound transformation of Hinduism between those days and to-day the result cannot be said to be that "the Seed of the Word" finds the new soil more receptive than it was then. How far this change can be said to be the direct result of Christian and missionary influences no one can determine. All we can say is that contact between India and the west during the past century through the invasion of India by western education, western government, western commerce, and western religion, has profoundly affected the whole Indian situation, awakening and transforming Hinduism, reopening old springs within it, giving it new vigour and a power over men's minds that is not merely the power of custom and tradition. The result has not been that the light has shone over India in the manner in which apparently Dr. Miller anticipated that it would. There has been illumination

and awakening and re-birth, but these have had the consequence, temporarily at least, of strengthening rather than overcoming the power of Hinduism to resist Christianity.

There is no reason why these facts should cause dismay to the Christian missionary. What has happened can be realised more clearly if we consider the similar situation in which reforming sects like the Brahmo and the Arya Samajes find themselves. The Brahmo Samaj especially finds itself, after a great period of usefulness, no longer serving any valuable purpose in Hindu religious or social reform. Truths to which the Samaj formerly bore testimony and of which its leaders, such as Keshab Chunder Sen and Mahadeo Govind Ranade, were prophets are now the common property of the educated people, as truths to which they give their assent though they may not always by any means follow them. The Brahmo Samaj no longer towers over the educated Hindu community in the witness it bears : they have climbed in large numbers to its level and are able, while remaining nominally within Hinduism, to accept its teaching. Thus this Samaj finds its occupation gone. This is not as true of the Arya as of the Brahmo Samaj, for the Arya Samaj had a patriotic, as well as a religious, appeal, and that patriotic appeal finds a greater response to-day than ever. The task of religious and social reform, however, of the Arya, as of the Brahmo Samaj, has largely been accomplished, and so there appears to be to-day little justification for the existence of either of them. Some might say that this is true also of the Christian colleges : that they, too, might cease to bear their testimony in the new India. The difference in their case, however, is that they have immensely more to give to India than the Samajes had, that they have a far fuller and richer message than one merely of social and religious reform. Therefore, though India has learned much that the Christian colleges set out to teach, the central truth round which all these lesser truths revolve, and which gives them their real power and significance, remains for the most part undisclosed to educated India, and indeed its newness and splendour are in danger of becoming less mani-

fest as India grows in knowledge and understanding. If this is not to be the case, but the Christian colleges are to succeed in the great task to which they were originally, and are still, called, it is necessary that the new Hinduism should be understood and that we should be convinced of the power of Christianity to answer its appeal and to supply what it lacks.

(3) *Factors which have produced the change in Hinduism*

There are at least three factors that have been at work in India for some time and that are still operating and producing a changed situation of which the Christian college must take account and to which it must address itself. These are additional to, and sometimes in conflict with, the continuous effect that the cultural invasion of the West through various avenues, including the Christian colleges, has been producing, since a still earlier period, upon the whole Indian outlook.

(i) Of these new factors the first that should be noted is an aggressive Nationalism. It is not necessary here to try to determine its origin or to trace its history. We have already noted that the defeat of Russia by Japan was one of the elements that entered into its making. The crash of that defeat, as Lord Curzon said, "reverberated through the whispering galleries of the east," and awakened in them a new sense of possibilities within them that they had not before dreamed of. But however this new force arose it could not but relate itself to what was so central in India as the religion of the people. At the same time such a spirit, being essentially this-worldly, was scarcely likely to awaken real religion. What it produced in the main was an artificial return to orthodoxy. Hinduism for the Hindu was viewed with a new pride as part—and a large part—of Hindu India's cultural inheritance. It would not be fair to say that this could not become a means to a sincere recovery of faith in the old religion. But with very many a sincere return to the old Hinduism was not possible. When Bal Gangadhar Tilak revived the cult of Ganpati, and when the students of Bengal returned to the worship

of Saraswati, these worships were really made use of merely as symbols of the reawakening nation, as flags round which they could rally and which helped to bind them together. This is seen in the mustering of Hindu forces on the one side and of Muslim forces on the other. Religion has become the centre round which their conflicts gather—religion represented by an idol of Ganpati or a cow led to sacrifice or music played by Hindu processions as they pass a mosque. These have become incentives and stimuli to antagonism, and old dying religious passions have flamed up again all over the country. At the same time it is probably true that a deeper and worthier nationalist spirit sometimes creates the desire to be one with the common people, and may even send educated men back to the old idolatries and the old animisms in the hope by these means to restore the sundered ties that education has severed and that the new feeling of kinship longs to knit up again into national unity. What is unreal and what is real in this patriotic orthodoxy can only be fully revealed when the hostilities that have stimulated nationalism to take these shapes have passed away and more natural religious relations are restored.

(2) A second factor in the situation—partly, no doubt, the result of years of non-religious teaching in the colleges, but accentuated also by the example of adjacent nations such as Russia, Turkey, and China, and by the spectacle in India itself of the demand for national unity thwarted by religious conflicts—is the setting in of a strong current among the educated elements of even this traditionally religious people towards what has been called secularism or “anti-religion.” This tendency is much more marked in some provinces than in others. It is perhaps most strongly evident in Bombay Presidency and least so in Bengal. The popularity of the study of science has, no doubt, helped to strengthen it, as also has the occupation of so many with economic problems and the belief that their solution is the one thing that matters for India’s salvation. The political aspect of this anti-religious movement may be traced in the exclusion of the religious question altogether from the Nehru plan for an Indian Constitution and in the attitude to re-

ligion of such an outstanding leader of the younger India as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Youth League of which he is the leading figure does no more in its Constitution than state that it aims at fighting communalism and "working for the abolition of antiquated social and religious customs," but, as a biographer of Pandit Jawaharlal says, this states its ideals "rather euphemistically." The same writer describes the League as "an organisation to fight religion," and that, no doubt, represents the spirit that inspires many of its adherents.

One may certainly say, in the words of a leading Arya Samajist—one concerned just as the Christian educationalist is to promote religion—that the young men of India to-day are more occupied with "the outward polish" of life than with its inward religious springs. This observer illustrated the difference between the past generation and the present by a cartoon that appeared in a Punjab paper which showed a father engaged in his *sandhyā* prayers, while his son was occupied in shaving. A Syrian Christian teacher in Travancore went so far as to say that it seemed to him that religion was dying out of the heart of the educated Hindu youth of the present generation. That it is possible to say that of Hindu India is a grave portent and presents a challenge and a call to the Christian Church and the Christian college.

A half-way house to the bold affirmation that all religions are equally false is the assertion that all religions are equally true. That is a saying that is very frequently on the lips of the educated Hindu. An extreme example of this attitude is the statement of a Bengali student that he prayed daily to Buddha, Krishna, Christ, Kali, Mohammed, and Socrates. It is easy, no doubt, for a pantheistic religion to indulge its fancy in this fashion, and it is the pantheism of the Ramakrishna sect, of which we shall have something to say below, that enables it to include the saints of all religions among those whom it reveres. But not within the Ramakrishna sect only but everywhere throughout India we find this spirit of easy accommodation which the pantheistic attitude creates blurring distinctions of truth and untruth, of right and wrong. This, which has sapped the moral strength of

India through all the ages, is exercising the same enervating influence still. Its temper of acquiescence is quenching the spirit of free inquiry and lulling people into a slothful contentment with things as they are. When the claim is made that "Indian religion is utter catholicity in belief and practice," it would appear that we have here an example of the most generous religious tolerance. It may well prove, however, that this attitude is due not to tolerance but to indifference, and that it will inevitably be numbing and sterilising in its effect.

(3) Alongside of these two new forces affecting Hinduism, namely, the new nationalist fervour and the extrusion of religion by secular and other interests, there is plainly visible in all parts of India a significant effort after what we may call the reconditioning of the old Hindu faith.

On the whole, such attempts to give Hinduism a good standing in the modern world take the form most frequently of endeavouring to give it more energy in action and, in particular, to direct such energy towards the service of men. There are two motives discernible here: the one the desire to give Hinduism a place in the modern world of activity and competition; the other the desire to teach it to serve, or to show that it can serve, moral aims, and especially that aim of social service which is so highly considered in the west.

This movement is so widespread and takes such a variety of forms that it is not possible to do more than indicate its significance by reference to one or two of these. When one finds a president of the orthodox Hindu Maha Sabha advocating military training and the eating of meat by Hindus, one has an indication of the desire to exchange the traditional Hindu ideal of passivity for a new one of vigour and self-assertion. This end, however, is being sought by other and more religious means than these. Another indication of this new religious tendency is seen in the widespread popularity of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Expositions of this Scripture are continually appearing, one of the most popular and most influential being the *Gītā Rahasya* of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the most popular and powerful of the leaders in the

nationalist movement during the period immediately before the War. The *Gītā* at that time became almost the charter of revolution. This is because this ancient Scripture is throughout a call to action. "It is not enough to abstain from action to free oneself from the act. . . . Activity is superior to inaction." The *Gītā* with its call to such active effort as will be at the same time free from the desire for reward has proved, in the words of M. Romain Rolland, "a breviary of action and of inspiration to Gandhi and Arabindo Ghose," as well as to Vivekananda, that "prophet of the New India."

It is true that Vivekananda does not give prominence to the influence of the *Gītā* in his teaching and claims to go back to the Upanishads for strength, but it is strength that he, too, and the important Ramakrishna sect of which he was the prophet, seek to recover for their countrymen. In the case of this sect what is sought is definitely strength for the service of humanity. Vivekananda believed that the old Vedanta that taught that acts of duty and love belonged to the world of *māyā* had done incalculable harm to his country, and so he preached "practical Vedanta." This sect, whose influence and missionary activities are spreading all over India, is one of the most significant facts in modern Hinduism. "Our idea," says Swami Ashokananda, one of its contemporary teachers, "is to awaken the higher conscience of Hinduism." If it is really possible to achieve this and to set Hinduism on the path of active service and benevolence, such a reconditioning of the old religion may have important consequences. The Ramakrishna sect are endeavouring with much energy and considerable success to render this service to their country.

A similar note is struck in the teaching of another remarkable personality who is exercising an important influence in Bengal, Arabindo Ghose. His aim is indicated when he is reported as saying that "the spirituality of India, emerging from the cave and the temple, must adapt itself to new forms and set its hand to the world." So men are to become "canals of action." Again this same call to a new type of religious expression can be perceived at work in the Arya

Samaj, within which indeed it already existed from the time of its energetic founder, Dayananda. The call of to-day moved the great Arya Samaj leader, Lala Lajpat Rai, to establish a few years ago his Servants of the People Society. Still another example of the prevailing tendency of the time within Hinduism may be found in the Rādhā Swāmi sect which in recent years has developed an "active" side by means of its educational and industrial enterprises in its Colony at Dayal Bagh, near Agra. While this development is not claimed as an expression of their religion, which retains the Hindu ideal of detachment, the fact that "the movement," as they themselves say, "acquired an unprecedented momentum" in this direction a few years ago, indicates how the tide is setting even within a Hinduism that clings to the old doctrines of *maya* and of karma and re-birth.

(4) *The permanent element in Hinduism*

While this ferment is in process within Hinduism, changing many of its aspects, all the time the ancient doctrines of the Vedānta retain control, consciously or unconsciously, of the Hindu mind and mould the fundamental attitudes to life of the vast majority of the Hindu people. Politics with its contentions fills the air with clamour; patriotic passion sways the lives of many, creating widespread unhappiness and disquiet. But these things affect only the surface of their spirits. In the words of the Arya Samaj teacher quoted above, those things that occupy so much attention to-day may be described as the outward polish of life. All the time, unknown for the most part to themselves, the ancient pre-suppositions upon which Hindu life is based remain unchanged. As the Swāmi of the Rādhā Swāmi sect put it, their educational and industrial enterprises belong to the lower plane of human life: there is another and a higher plane which for them alone belongs to the region of reality.

It must accordingly be realised, if we are to give a true account of the life of the modern Hindu, that there is a profound contradiction deep within his life which has not yet been resolved and which produces dissatisfaction and conflict within him. The Vedānta with its consequences

of apathy in face of an unreal world, its indifference to the problems of a life which is illusion, and its desire to fly from them rather than to solve them—that ancient system still rules India and forms the background from which its deepest motives issue. The life of the Indian people cannot, one must conclude, attain to harmony and purpose until this conflict between the old and the new is resolved. Even the fine efforts of the followers of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda to turn India towards service are bound to be thwarted unless a better readjustment is attained. The aim of this sect is, as a Hindu interpreter has described it, to place “Vedanta on horseback,” and Vedanta has in that situation an uneasy seat.

The dominant figure in the Indian landscape is still the Hindu ascetic and sceptic, sitting by the Jumna's bank, watching the phantasmagoria of existence with indifference mingled with contempt. An alliance is not impossible between this attitude to life and the attitude of “secularism” with its implication that life and its ordering are determined by forces with which we have no relationship save that of submission. If India is really to recover hope and energy for the service of men and the rebuilding of life it must reach a deeper readjustment than it has yet attained. It must believe in the reality of life and its values and of the personal relationships through which eternal values are revealed. It must have enduring standards by which what is precious and what is vile can be measured. It must, in a word, accept the faith of the Incarnation.

(5) *Changes in Islam*

These are, perhaps, sufficient examples of the movements of readjustment that are at work within Hinduism, with a view to making it more suitable to the times in which we live, and of the ancient and indomitable forces against which such modern movements have to contend. What is true of Hinduism is true also in large measure of the other dominant religion in India, Islam. The adherents of these two religions have lived so close to each other in this land, breathing the same air and coming within the scope of the

same influences, that, different as the religions are, movements within Islam are observable that are closely parallel to those that we have observed within Hinduism. This is especially so in the case of educated Muslims and educated Hindus. Thus one finds within Islamic India just as within Hindu India two contradictory movements, the one towards orthodoxy and the other not only away from orthodox adherence to the old faith but away from religion altogether.

Orthodoxy is not indeed a new feature of Indian Islam. It will often be found that a faith away from home, as in the case, for example, of Puritanism in New England, asserts itself more uncompromisingly than it does where it is more at home. It has to resist hostile influences and must assert itself if it is not to lose its character. Muslims in India—especially when they are a small uneducated minority in the midst of a dominant Hinduism—have often, it is true, conformed to the prevailing customs of the country, accepted caste, and even bowed in the house of Rimmon or of Rama. But such a situation produces also a reaction and a return with renewed ardour to the ancient orthodoxy. The Wahabis are the Puritans of Islam, and we are told that the Wahabis of Delhi are more zealous for the faith than those of Arabia.

But the nationalism that has strengthened this movement of reaction in the case of the Muslim is a more complex thing than the nationalism of the Hindu. The Muslim's country is not only India. There is a patriotism also that binds him to the whole brotherhood of Islam. It is not easy to weigh the influence in the mind of the educated Muslim of the passions and disappointments that have gathered round the Khilafat¹ and the varying fortunes in recent years of Turkey and Arabia. These events have affected the Indian Muslim in ways the effect of which it is hardly possible as yet to estimate. First, there was the entente of nationalist Hindu and Khilafatist Muslim and their brief and uneasy alliance. When that came to an

¹ The Khilafat Movement was a movement to restore the power of the Caliph as head of the Muslim Faith.

end new suspicions and jealousies and rivalries awoke, separating them more widely than ever before. The economic struggle was accentuated, and, in addition, there was now the struggle for political predominance. It is impossible to disentangle the various ingredients of passion, religious, economic, political, that have combined to produce the violent conflicts of Hindu and Muslim that are so grave a feature of their relationship with each other in recent years. Here we can only direct attention to the fact without making any attempt to determine how far its cause can be described as religious.

Orthodoxy has manifested itself, however, in another direction in a definitely religious form. Just as the Arya Samaj, two generations ago, though a reforming sect, proved to be an energetic defender of the Hindu faith, so within Islam a service of a similar character is being rendered by the sect of Ahmadiyahs. Though followers of this sect are in some respects heretics they have given themselves with much zeal to the defence and propagation of the religion. By their literature in defence of Islam and by their reinterpretation of it to suit modern ideas they have done much to strengthen its position among the educated classes not only in India but in other countries as well.

At the same time there has to be noted here as in the case of Hinduism a decided movement not merely away from the Muslim faith but away from all religion. This may take the form of indifference to the precepts of their religion, neglect of its appointed prayers and its appointed fasts. This indifference is said to be particularly marked at Aligarh, which should be the headquarters of loyalty to Islam. But not only do we find such indifference, which, after all, might be found among students at almost any time. The same definite hostility to religion which we found to be present among Hindus is increasingly present also among educated Muslims. Lahore and Peshawar are said to be aggressively irreligious, and the example of Russia is exercising continuously its influence upon the Muslim as upon the Hindu. Whether this secularist spirit is more powerful among Hindus or among Muslims is a question upon which there is some

difference of opinion. The opinion, however, of an Arya Samaj Professor that the situation was more serious among Hindus is probably to be accepted. As he pointed out, there is more education among Hindus, and one of the causes of this abandonment of religion is, undoubtedly, the influence of science as it is taught in most Indian colleges and of the scientific determinism which accompanies it. There are evident indications that a leading Muslim was not too alarmist when he spoke of India as "this growingly irreligious land."

(6) *The rise of secularism with its challenge to all religion*

We have dealt already with this new enemy which is making its presence felt among the educated classes in every province of India—among Hindus, among Muslims, among Parsis, and within the Christian Church as well. Secularism is indeed the common enemy of all the religions since it demands in India, as it does elsewhere, in the name of reason and progress, that religion shall be rejected in a world where religion has no rights. It is largely the product in India of a godless education, of interpretations of the world in science and in history that find no place in them for God. Of a young Hindu, an ex-student of a Christian college, who was baptized into the Christian Church during our visit to India, we were told that in his case there were no Hindu bonds to be broken. He passed directly from unbelief to Christianity. A missionary who was intimately acquainted with a group of Hindu students declared that for them their old religion had no longer any interest, and a knowledge of it on his part would have given him no access to their needs. It would be a mistake to generalise from facts like these, but that they are facts indicates, as other evidence also proves, that this spirit is abroad and spreading. The works of Bertrand Russell, we are told, are in constant demand in bookshops in Madras, being bought by students, Christian and non-Christian alike. Giant Pagan is indeed far from being toothless and impotent. Hinduism is far too deeply entrenched in the soul of India to be reckoned as defeated yet. As a matter of fact, the philosophy of Vedanta

and the life of secularism are perfectly natural allies. To much in the teaching and influence of both the Christian colleges will inevitably find themselves opposed. Both alike reject many of the values that Christianity seeks to create and to preserve, and with them, therefore, Christianity can make no terms.

3. THE GROWTH OF THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH

(1) *New problems presented to the colleges by the growth of the indigenous church*

A third factor conditioning the task and problem of Christian education in India is the growth and increasing self-consciousness of the churches. The Christian community as compared with that of the non-Christian is still, of course, very small. What are 5 million Christians among 351 millions?¹ Yet numbers have never been the determining influence in any great movement of the human mind or spirit. There is always the remnant that redeems, the handful of leaven in the measure of meal, the small but penetrating light on a candlestick that illuminates the room. In round numbers there are 2,750,000 Protestants, 1,750,000 Roman Catholics, and some 500,000 Syrian Christians (Jacobite and Mar Thoma).

The significant changes that have been taking place in recent years in Indian sentiment and life have not been without their profound effects upon the Christian churches of the land. The Christian communities, while owing their origin and many of their attitudes and customs to Christian missionaries from the west, are yet essentially part and parcel of the population of India and cannot be separated from it. Living alongside his non-Christian neighbour, flesh of his flesh, and breathing the same air, the Christian is not left undisturbed when new words and strange ideas are passed from man to man.

The changes in the Christian communities may not be visible throughout. Those communities that are urban have naturally responded more quickly and more thoroughly than those that are rural. It must never be forgotten that

¹ Census of 1931.

the hundreds of thousands of the depressed classes that have entered the Christian Church and form now the bulk of the Christian population can only very slowly appropriate the new visions and think the new thoughts. The wheels of the Christian Church drag heavily in the sand of their age-long inferiorities and disabilities.

In these responses of the Christian groups to their Indian environment a strange paradox appears. On the one hand, there is an increasing confidence in Christian Indians on the part of their non-Christian neighbours, both Hindus and Muslims. The time was, not so long ago, when to be a Christian was to be cut off from the life of the land—from its traditions, its societies, and its loyalties. The Christian had surrendered to the foreign missionary and a foreign Christ, and had become foreign to his own people. Happily, this condition is changing. As a result of the indubitable devotion to the welfare of India of individual Christians, and as a result of the increasing chasm between Hindu and Muslim, the Christian, again and again, finds himself in a position of trust by the choice of his non-Christian neighbours, and is given a larger chance for disinterested service of the community than would otherwise fall to his lot. On the other hand, alongside this Indianising of the Christian is an increasing suspicion of his religion as being far too aggressive—"proselytising" is the damning word that falls from Hindu lips—and also at heart something that, whatever its social and ethical merits, is fundamentally out of tune with the religious life of India. The effect of this twofold attitude of the non-Christian is clearly apparent in the recent developments of the Christian churches.

(2) *The growing self-consciousness of the Christian community*

There has been a decided growth in self-consciousness on the part of the Christian community. The Indian Christian community is no longer an abstraction or an idealisation. Through its representatives it has begun to meet in provincial organisations, and also annually in an "All-India Christian Association," which claims to speak in the name of the Christian community on the great problems

and movements of the day. Chief, perhaps, among the actions of these Christian organisations has been their voluntary offer to surrender the privileges of communal voting, to which the Christian community has a right as one of the recognised minorities among the politico-religious groups, in order that thereby the communal spirit with its bitternesses may not be perpetuated in the new constitutions of the land. This act of self-denial has won great praise for the Christians from their non-Christian neighbours who are themselves so deeply involved in the necessities of communal thinking and acting, and has assisted in the breaking down of prejudices against Indian Christians as foreigners in their own land. The Indian Christian community, if it maintains this attitude and continues to insist on losing its own life as a political entity, is bound to find it again in ways that mean infinitely more to the upbuilding of the true life of the land.

Not only as a community but as indigenous churches there has been considerable advance toward self-consciousness and self-determination on the part of Indian Christians. The missions which come from the west and represent the desire of the "older churches" of Europe and America to share and to help, have been, on the whole, eager that the younger, indigenous churches of India should take over their own government and support. Various methods of co-operation have been worked out between the missions and the Churches. For instance, within the Anglican communion the Churches are now organised with diocesan councils and synods that are independent and autonomous. The various Anglican missions working in India are rapidly being merged in these diocesan councils, and have already in several dioceses placed at the disposal of the diocesan councils, which have a predominantly Indian membership, their contributions in men and money. "In the Methodist Church, while no distinction is made in theory between Church and mission, there are several groups which in effect function as mission groups within the Church body. Steps are now being taken so to change the make-up and working of these groups that they will cease to be missions in practical

working, but will become responsible to and a part of the Indian Methodist Church. In the Presbyterian and Congregational societies, the presbytery or church council concerned has set up joint boards of Indians and missionaries for administering the work taken over from foreign societies. The societies give to the joint boards grants which, supplemented with what they are able to raise from Indian sources, maintain the work transferred. In other instances, committees for evangelistic work, educational work, etc., are set up on which both the mission and the Church appoint representatives and the mission gives grants for such work to these committees. These arrangements that have come into existence between Churches and missions have been in the nature of experiments. Defects in their working, therefore, are carefully noted by both parties concerned, and steps are taken from time to time to remedy them. There can be no doubt that the relationship that is being established and developed in this way between the younger Churches in India and the older Churches of the west is along the right path, the path of co-operation and partnership."¹ As a result there has been marked development of Indian leadership, of self-support, and of the interest and participation of laymen.

Not only as a community and as distinctive Churches separated from, but co-operating with, the "missions," but also in local Churches is this development of self-consciousness and of autonomy to be seen. It is the rule now that in the larger cities of India the Christian Churches are entirely self-supporting in the matter of their pastoral support. Indian ministers, not foreign, preach from the city pulpits. The more costly institutional work—the hospitals, schools, colleges, publishing houses, etc.—has not yet been assumed by the Indian Churches, but even here there is increase of participation both in government and in finance. Many of the larger towns and even certain of the village communities can boast that they carry on their work at their own expense. This local pride and sense of responsibility are bound to grow as the national spirit spreads.

¹ P. O. Philip in vol. iii., *Jerusalem Conference Report*, pp. 156 f.

(3) *The movement for organic unity*

Alongside the developments in autonomy is a tide setting in toward organic union of separate denominational bodies. India leads the world in this matter of Church union. Where else have negotiations for organic union between Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Wesleyans progressed so far as in the matter of the proposed union of the South India United Church with the Church in the Province of India, Burma, and Ceylon and the Wesleyan Methodist Church? Where else have Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists gone so far along the road towards union as in North India? In the former case, negotiations have progressed so far that it is almost inconceivable that organic union should not result in the near future; in the latter, the preliminary stages of friendly gesture and desire have been passed and the second phase of serious conference entered upon. These great movements toward union, involving the largest Christian bodies in India, are full of significance not merely for the whole Christian world but especially for the future of Christianity in India. They signify impatience with western religious divisions that have no meaning for India and a determination on the part of Indian Christians that the Christian voice shall as far as possible be no Babel of strange tongues but a clear, strong, convincing, and unified word backed by the full force of Christian peoples living together in brotherly love.

This spirit of willingness to push co-operation to its fullest possible extent is of immense significance to the possibilities of Christian higher education in India, especially since the movements toward union do not imply loss of any intrinsic or valuable features of denominational life, but rather attempt to conserve for the benefit of all what has proved inspiring and precious to each.

(4) *Special tendencies and problems*

(a) *Problems raised by the mass movement*

The open door among the depressed classes has remained open and the number of mass movement converts

has greatly increased. It is not, however, by multiplying numbers that Christian strength really comes, and this the Indian Churches have begun to realise. The mass movement, it is seen, must be carefully studied as a whole. This the recently appointed Mass Movement Commission is attempting to do. The subject, however, is one of vast dimensions, and but little has been done to lift this immense mass of village Christians to a new level which corresponds more closely in economic and intellectual privilege with the life of the higher castes. How to accomplish this is a problem which up to the present time has utterly baffled the Indian Church. Surely the Christian colleges have a contribution to make at this point which is above and beyond any programme of rural reconstruction, however excellent it may be, which may be launched apart from them.

One of the most difficult phases of this problem with which the Christian Churches are now struggling is the failure of boys and girls of the Christian mass movement communities to climb the ladders provided for them by the system of Christian schools. Whether due to faulty methods of gathering and pushing forward the brighter boys, or due to the inherent disability of outcaste boys and girls to master the subjects taught, the fact remains that at the top, in the Christian colleges, we are teaching non-Christians and the sons and daughters of Christian preachers and laymen from the towns and cities, while Christian boys and girls from the villages, coming out of the mass movement areas, are rarely to be found. The average village Christian boy stops before he has become fitted to furnish any intelligent leadership to his people.

(b) *Problems raised by recent accessions from the higher castes*

A most interesting phase of the mass movement work during recent years has been the large increase of converts from the Sudras in the Telugu-speaking areas. In South India these Sudras rank among the higher castes, the Kshattriyas and Vaisyas being practically non-existent. They are landowners and prosperous. The Christian movement among them is, therefore, of very great signi-

ficance, one of the most hopeful developments in the Indian Christian Church to-day. Out of such a group would come most naturally the resources and the leadership for a strong Christian Church in the Andhra field.

Converts from the Brahmans, from the great middle castes of Hinduism, and from the Muslims are still few. Such as do come, if carefully shepherded in their early years while severe readjustments are taking place, exercise considerable influence in the Christian community. It is remarkable to note the place in the Indian Churches to-day that is held by the grandsons and great-grandsons of the early Brahman converts of Alexander Duff. They are a constant reminder that Christian work in behalf of the high castes dare not be neglected. In the Christian colleges, in the high schools, in evangelistic work such as is carried on by Dr. Stanley Jones, in personal contacts in a thousand ways and places, the high-caste Hindus and the Muslims need to have opened to them the vision of the unsearchable riches of Christ.

(c) *The growing spirit of service*

Examples of the increasing sense of responsibility for others which is found among Indian Christians are seen in : (1) The very remarkable development of the National Missionary Society, founded in 1905. This indigenous missionary movement has its work in various parts of India and supports 112 missionaries and helpers working in 47 centres, in 8 different provinces, and in 9 different languages. Its policy is not to establish independent Churches but to work alongside of the older missions and Churches, contributing to the upbuilding of these. (2) The interest in work among students. This is manifest in the vigour with which the Student Christian Association is carried on, with branches in the various Christian colleges. (3) The interest of Indian Christians in the various movements for economic and social reforms. While names of Christians are not given much publicity, yet quietly in many places, in villages and slums, in factories and in homes, the Christian conscience and the compassionate Christian heart

are being applied by Christians themselves to the healing of India's hurts.

(d) *The increasing Indianisation of the Church*

The last of the changes which we shall indicate is an increasing attempt on the part of Indian Christians to bring Christian thought and effort and worship into forms of expression that will not seem utterly strange and foreign to the Indian mind and heart. This is not a phase of the shallow syncretism that pervades the minds of so many Christians in the west, and of the Hindu and the Theosophist in India. It is loyal to the distinctive Christian message and purpose, but seeks a better understanding and presentation of the Gospel in the light of the unique and manifold heritage, temperament, and environment of the Indian peoples. Both Indian Christians and missionaries from the west are adventuring in this field. Examples of it may be seen in the various "ashrams" or places of retreat, where withdrawal from the world and social service are combined; in the emphasis on silent meditation; in lyrical evangelism using Indian metres and tunes; in the experiments in combining Christian Church architecture with Muslim and Hindu; and in the study of Hindu and Muslim scriptures and their use in homily and illustration. One of the most valuable of such experiments in comprehension and adaptation is found at Sat Tal in the foothills of the Himalayas, where from time to time, under the leadership of Dr. Stanley Jones, groups representative of the various Churches, together with a few non-Christians, meet together to examine in the light of Christian truth and Christian experience some of the problems that India has to solve.

CHAPTER IV

THE SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA AND THE RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES TO IT

I. THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

(I) *The beginnings of Christian higher education in India*

THE circumstances in which western education was introduced into India were such as to favour the development of colleges under Christian control, but they had to struggle for the right to establish themselves.

The inclusion in the India Act of 1813 of a clause requiring the annual expenditure by the Directors of the East India Company of a lakh¹ of rupees on education marked the first acceptance by the British Government of responsibility for the education of the people of India. This sum, however, was spent on the encouragement of Oriental education only, though the advocates of western education soon made their voices heard.

In 1815 the ban upon private enterprise in the Company's territories was removed, and the first school and college of western learning in India was established by the joint efforts of David Hare and Ram Mohan Roy in 1817. This institution, called the Hindu College, was the result of a semi-rationalist movement which disputed with the missionaries the control of the early stages of western education in Bengal.

But the missionary movement had a stronger driving force behind it. Carey had already established a group of schools in the Danish settlement of Serampore. In 1818, along with Marshman and Ward, he opened the first missionary college there. In 1820 Bishop's College was founded by the Church of England. In 1830 Alexander Duff founded the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta. This was followed shortly afterwards by the establishment

¹ £7500.
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of the two Scottish colleges in Bombay and Madras. Thus there came into India that strong Scottish influence which has through these great institutions played so large and fruitful a part in the history of Indian education.

Meanwhile the controversy between the advocates of eastern and western culture grew sharper and more vigorous. It was brought to an end by the famous minute of Lord Macaulay in 1835 and the adoption by Lord William Bentinck of the policy advocated in the minute. It was decided that the Government while remaining neutral in religious matters should throw its weight on the side of western education. This did not mean that financial help was given to the Christian colleges. Government funds were devoted almost exclusively to Government institutions. Nevertheless the Christian institutions profited by the change of policy, for they had freedom to develop in a direction which they had themselves advocated, and there was a growing demand for what they could give. Moreover, the missionary societies were just at the beginning of a period of rapid expansion and strong financial support.

Mission institutions thus established themselves as separate and independent institutions, preparing students for the new Government entrance examinations, but also able to offer to eager minds the new outlook upon life which came to them from the assimilation of ideas which were at that time fresh and thrilling. To the missionaries themselves came all the inspiration of being engaged upon a task every part of which seemed to them to be part of the process of opening closed minds to liberalising influences—Christian in very large degree—and taught in circumstances which made natural and relatively easy the parallel inculcation of direct Christian teaching.

(2) *Changes introduced by the acceptance of grants in aid*

The next stage strengthened still further the position of the Christian colleges. It was ushered in by the great educational despatch of Sir Charles Wood after the Parliamentary inquiry of 1853. Two of the principal witnesses in the educational inquiry had been Trevelyan and Duff,

and it is said that Duff's influence can be clearly perceived in the ideas and even in the phrasing of the despatch.

It was in pursuance of the policy of the despatch that the Government of India proceeded to construct a comprehensive educational system from the primary to the University stage. Departments of Public Instruction were set up in every Province, and three Universities were established at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. These were to be essentially examining bodies, and to admit to their examinations candidates who had studied in affiliated institutions. These affiliated institutions were to be left free to carry on their work in their own way, and the Universities were given no power over the staff or equipment of the colleges, and even the power of affiliation or disaffiliation was little more than nominal.

The most important feature of the new policy from our point of view is to be found in the introduction of the grant-in-aid system. The plan was that every honest educational agency—whether religious or not—should be encouraged to the utmost. Government would maintain the policy of religious neutrality, but would give help to the secular work of the institutions out of public funds. As the only colleges at this time were either Government or missionary institutions, it is plain that by this new policy the Christian colleges received very great assistance and encouragement. Not only did they receive financial help, but they were left the largest freedom in the control of their own life and organisation, while the missionaries themselves had ready access to the Government officials, and their advice and help was greatly valued. Men like Dr. Duff in Calcutta, Dr. Miller in Madras, Dr. Wilson in Bombay, Dr. Ewing at Lahore, to mention only a few, were able to exert a profound influence upon University and Government policy. This period, from 1859 to 1904 and later still, was the great period of the Christian colleges. Great opportunities were seized by great men, and Christian influence in higher education was at its height.

But already influences were at work which could only in the long run create difficulties for the Christian colleges.

The policy of 1854 not only gave freedom to missionary institutions, but to all private institutions which should fulfil the not very onerous conditions which qualified for grants-in-aid. Moreover, the great demand for English education, the chief passport now to Government service, made it possible for such institutions, especially in Bengal, to draw a sufficient income from fees to enable them to dispense with Government aid and so to escape from Government inspection. The result was a rapid increase in the number of private high schools and deterioration in their quality. The recommendations of the Commission of 1882 resulted in the extension of the same process to the colleges, for Government, in order to release larger resources for primary education, transferred some of its own colleges to local bodies of trustees and encouraged the establishment of other private colleges. It became inevitable that greater control should be exercised upon the high schools and colleges if the whole system of higher education was not seriously to degenerate.

(3) *The growth of Government control*

In 1902 in Lord Curzon's viceroyalty another Commission was appointed, and its recommendations were given general effect in the Acts of 1904. The main effect was to tighten the control of Government over the Universities themselves and to increase the power of the Universities over the colleges so as to give them the right to lay down conditions of staff and equipment as qualifying for affiliation in a particular subject. At the same time, while ordinarily leaving teaching entirely to the colleges, they made provision for the establishment of University chairs, though the Professors, where they were appointed, confined their lecturing almost exclusively to post-graduate students.

Thus under the 1904 Acts as under those of 1857 the character of University work and life were fundamentally the same. Each college was practically independent in the matter of the appointment of its staff and the ordering of its own life. Each was responsible for all the teaching at least up to the degree standard, and even post-graduate work

was in the main undertaken by the colleges, though some of the Universities, notably Calcutta, were developing a post-graduate system of their own.

But the independence of the colleges was not anything like as complete as it had been before 1904. Independence had been abused and the Universities and the Government were compelled to tighten their control. Inspections became stricter, regulations more rigid and more detailed. If the licence of the bad colleges was curbed, the liberty of the good colleges was curbed too. Meanwhile the demand for University education, or rather for the certificates and diplomas of the Universities, increased and competition among the colleges became severe. At the same time, the Universities required higher standards of equipment, while the rapidly increasing demands upon the resources both of Government and the missionary societies imposed a severe strain upon the Christian colleges and compelled them to concentrate their main energies upon fulfilling the conditions which would satisfy the requirements of the University and provide what the majority of the students, whose fees became an increasingly important consideration, demanded.

Meanwhile there was a growing dissatisfaction with the whole University system, which had in essentials remained unchanged since 1857. Indian students were visiting Europe and America for University studies in increasing numbers, and were growing familiar with Universities with which the Indian Universities compared very unfavourably. The organisation of London University on which the Indian system was modelled had changed out of all recognition since it served as a pattern for India. More thoughtful students of educational theory came increasingly to doubt the wisdom of a system which encouraged the wide distribution of colleges large and small, each of which was in isolation responsible for the whole of the teaching of the students within its walls—a system which prevailed in India almost without exception from 1857 to 1915.

In 1913 the Government of India in a Resolution pointed out the dangers inherent in this unrestricted expansion and suggested that it was necessary to limit the area of affiliating

Universities and also to create new teaching and residential Universities. It is interesting to note that the first new departure in this direction was made in the case of the Benares Hindu University, a University which grew out of the Central Hindu College at Benares. It was founded as a purely localised University, its sphere of activity being limited by the terms of the Act to Benares itself, though it is probable that the Government of India in imposing this condition was guided less by the conviction that the unitary type of University was educationally sound than by the fear of the possible effects of the establishment of a communal University with powers of affiliation extending over the whole of India.

(4) *The Calcutta University Commission Report*

The end of the uniform reign of the affiliating University in India was marked by the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler in 1917. It is true that the Commission's field of inquiry was limited to Calcutta University. But inasmuch as the constitution of Calcutta University was almost precisely the same as that of the other four great affiliating Universities—Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, and Lahore—it was inevitable that the recommendations of the Commission should have a very immediate bearing upon the whole University situation in India. Indeed, ironically enough, the University which has been least affected by the recommendations of the Commission has been Calcutta University itself, although its distinguished Vice-Chancellor—the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji—was one of the signatories of the Report.

But the responsibility for action rested not as hitherto with the Government of India but with the Provincial legislatures, for under the constitutional reforms of 1921 education became a purely provincial subject, and one the responsibility for which was transferred to the hands of Indian ministers. Co-ordination of University policy and central guidance became impossible.

One of the great difficulties with which Christian colleges are faced at the present time in India arises from the fact that the various Provincial Governments have dealt with the problem of University reform in different ways. This itself bears witness to the great influence which public opinion and vested interests have been able to exert. It is no longer possible, as it was up to the year 1915, to visualise a single University system operating throughout the whole of India and Burma. Neither the authorities of the missionary societies nor the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India can any longer look out upon an administratively simple and homogeneous system of which any one part could be taken as a fair sample of the whole. And if the difficulty of grasping the present complex system is great, the difficulty for the individual college in determining its policy in a period of continuous change and uncertainty has been greater still.

The recommendations of the Sadler Commission touched every phase of University life, and though they were not concerned with secondary education their recommendations if given effect to would have made far-reaching changes in the school system as well as in the University.

The main features of their recommendations apart from those which specially affected Calcutta were concerned with the following subjects :

1. The type of University for India. They recommended the unitary¹ in place of the affiliating type.
2. The constitution. They proposed that the control of Government should be very greatly reduced and that the general public should have considerable influence on the broad policy of the University, academic matters being placed in the hands of bodies truly representative of the teachers.
3. The relation of the University to the high school. They adopted the view that the two first years of

¹ A unitary University is a University where all the teaching is at one centre and under a staff appointed by the University.

the University course were really school work, and they therefore recommended that they should be removed from the Universities and attached to the two high classes of the schools so as to form a new type of institution which they called the Intermediate College. At the same time they proposed that the University degree course should be extended to three instead of two years.

4. The control of pre-university work. They recommended that a Board of high school and intermediate education should be created in each Province to be responsible for the intermediate colleges and high schools.

(5) *The founding of unitary Universities*

Within two years of the publication of the Report there were founded five Universities at Aligarh, Rangoon, Lucknow, Dacca, and Delhi; all different from the old affiliating University, and all aiming with greater or less definiteness at the unitary type. The colleges in the Central Provinces were detached from Allahabad to form a new affiliating University with its centre at Nagpur and, with the transfer of her other external colleges to a new University of Agra, Allahabad, without altering her motto, "Quot rami tot arbores," became a unitary University. The vast area within the jurisdiction of the Madras University saw the founding of unitary universities at Mysore and Hyderabad, and in the Telugu-speaking or Andhra area the foundation of an affiliating University. Proposals were made for the establishment of a University in Malabar and also for a Tamil University, but these have been put aside for the present. A small unitary University has been established at Chidambaram, south of Madras.¹

¹ At the present time there are seven affiliating Universities of the old type, namely, those of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore, Nagpur, Andhra, and Agra, and seven of a unitary or "semi-unitary" type. It is with the former that we have mainly to do in this Report, for it is with them that most of the Christian colleges are associated.

Even where there has been no revolutionary change as in the constitution of the Bombay, Lahore, and Madras Universities, or in the new affiliating Universities of Patna, Nagpur, and Agra, there have been large departures from the 1904 models. These Universities are much nearer to the true federal than to the pure affiliating type. They have been given much greater control over their own destinies. The teachers in the colleges are fully represented on all University bodies, and the Universities have for the most part been given the power to assume considerable teaching functions which some of them are, in the case of post-graduate work, already exercising.

The recommendations of the Commission about the removal of the intermediate classes from the University to the high school stage and the extension of the undergraduate course from two to three years have nowhere been fully adopted. No University has added a year to its ordinary course, although some have introduced a three years' honours course which had been the practice in Madras for many years. The United Provinces attempted to give effect to the policy of separating the intermediate and degree classes, and carried out the policy so far as the removal of these classes from the jurisdiction of the Universities was concerned. A Board of Intermediate and high school education was set up and given control of these classes. The Benares University has its own Board. Aligarh followed suit, but has since reverted to the old practice and brought the Intermediate classes back into the University. In the Agra University the Intermediate classes are treated as a part of the colleges, although not coming under the jurisdiction of the University. Allahabad and Lucknow Universities have nothing to do with the Intermediate stage, although these Universities send representatives to the Provincial Board of Intermediate and high school education. In the Punjab a number of Intermediate colleges have been established on the model recommended by the Calcutta University Commission, but the Intermediate classes of these colleges are under the jurisdiction of the University. Madras University (which includes Intermediate classes)

has declared against the Intermediate, or, as they are there called, second grade, colleges urging that colleges of this kind should either develop into degree institutions or revert to high schools.

From what has been written—and more could be added—it is evident that the Indian University system can no longer be charged with dead uniformity. The present situation reflects alike the independence of the Provinces, the wide variety of opinion on University theory, and the power of resistance exercised by vested interests whether of the Universities or of the colleges. The period of change has not come to an end. It is impossible to foretell what developments are in store when Indian Governments have realised the full powers which are likely to be accorded to them in the near future. One Indian observer warned us that we should see a complete upheaval of the whole system. This judgment hardly takes account of the very real extent to which Indian opinion has itself influenced alike the radicalism and the conservatism of the past ten years—and perhaps especially the latter. But whatever the future may have in store, it is certain that the past ten years have been difficult years for all colleges and especially for the Christian colleges.

(6) *Problems raised for the Christian colleges by the present system*

We have seen that whatever were the educational drawbacks to the pure affiliating system it provided the Christian colleges with a unique opportunity to order their own life and character in their own way. In the early days when students were few and reasonably well selected, when individual missionaries were able to exercise a great influence upon University policy, and when the range of subjects was limited and the college authorities able to exercise an effective influence over the combinations taken by their students, the Christian college was a powerful Christianising force in the life and thought of its students. Under the pressure of the influences which we have described above this freedom was increasingly circumscribed. Nevertheless, the college remained responsible for the whole teaching of

its students and for the appointment of its staff. It was conscious of the severe pressure under which it was working, and realised that it was prevented from making anything like full use of the opportunities which it was itself creating. Yet it always lived in hope of additional resources which should give it a staff strong enough to attract the best students, and an income which would make it sufficiently independent of fees to be able to limit the numbers of its students, and by giving leisure to its teachers make possible those intimate relations between teachers and students which it knew to be essential to effective Christian influence. But for these things the independent self-contained college seemed to be essential. With the changes in University policy the colleges have in some Provinces been faced with acute problems arising from threatened or actual modifications of the character and function of the individual college in relation to the University.

This has been particularly true in the case of Burma, the United Provinces, and Delhi. It is true in respect of the second grade or intermediate colleges of Madras University.

In Burma the new University of Rangoon was projected on lines which would in effect have excluded the powerful Judson College from any real share in University work. The college was able to put up a strong resistance to the original proposals, which were so modified as to secure for it a permanent place within the University under a constitution which gives it effective control of its own life, together with an honourable share in the fruitful co-operative teaching system of the University.

The American colleges in the United Provinces were less fortunate. When the unitary Universities were established at Lucknow and Allahabad it was provided in the Acts that all colleges within ten miles' radius of the senate halls of these Universities must either become internal colleges of the University or must cease to exercise any University teaching functions. As the functions of an internal college were defined as the provision of tutorial and supplementary instruction only, Ewing Christian College and the

Lucknow Christian College were faced with a revolutionary change in their status. It was impossible to foretell what would be the character of the internal colleges provided for in the Act. We have given reasons elsewhere for believing that this type of institution may be a more effective instrument of Christian education than has yet been realised, but the fact remains that these two Christian colleges, by no choice of their own, were suddenly faced with an issue which affected their very existence. Ewing Christian College was in a position to give a trial to the internal college while maintaining its intermediate classes. Lucknow Christian College was obliged to withdraw from all part in the University and to transform its well-equipped college into an intermediate institution. This policy was forced upon these two colleges merely because they happened to be situated in cities which were selected as suitable centres for the development of the new unitary type of University.

It was expected that the policy of separating intermediate classes from the Universities would be carried out in the United Provinces on the lines recommended by the Sadler Report, and there was a good deal of opinion in favour of the change. If it was to be successful it would have to be part of a thoroughgoing rearrangement of the University and high school system of the Province. Christ Church, Cawnpore, understanding that this was contemplated, deliberately elected to withdraw from University work and to transform itself into the type of intermediate college which was recommended by the Sadler Commission and which it was understood was to be adopted as the regular system for secondary education in the Province. But for various reasons the Government was unable to carry through the reform. Christ Church College was fortunately able to regain its University status, but the incident illustrates the anxieties with which the Christian colleges—and indeed all the private colleges—were faced at this time.

The decision to establish a teaching University at Delhi raised in acute form the question of the place which would be given in the new University to the strong St. Stephen's College, hitherto one of the affiliated colleges of the Lahore

University. The question has not been finally settled, but the constitution of the University, as now interpreted, has happily left the college with a strong independent position and a powerful influence in the policy of the University itself.

Long-drawn uncertainty as to the centre to be chosen for the Andhra University has seriously affected the plans of the Christian colleges at Masulipatam and Guntur, while the status of the Union Christian College at Alwaye was long held in doubt owing to uncertainties as to the probable character of the projected Kerala University. In determining upon the site for the rebuilding of Forman Christian College at Lahore the question of the conditions likely to be laid down by the University for participation in post-graduate work in science have to be very carefully considered. In determining the relative importance of centres like Trichinopoly and Madura in any general educational plan, a factor to be reckoned with is the decision taken by the University as to the places which it will recognise as centres for honours teaching. St. John's Intermediate College, Palamcottah, owes its present character to the conviction of the Principal that the reasons given in the Sadler Report for the union of intermediate and high school classes in a single institution are sound, and that education of this type is best suited to the needs of the Christian boys of Tinnevely. Such a policy is in conflict with the recently declared policy of the University, though the University recognises the wisdom of allowing a special experiment of this nature.

These examples are enough to illustrate the changed conditions to which the colleges are required to adapt themselves. It cannot be taken for granted that methods which were suited to the day when every college was a self-contained unit are equally adapted to the varied systems in which the colleges find themselves to-day. It cannot be denied, we think, that the purely affiliating system is open to many of the criticisms which have been levelled against it. We recognise that the changes of the past ten years have on the whole resulted in a higher standard of work in many of the Universities. We think the Christian colleges should

welcome these changes on the whole. But we think that they demand that the colleges shall have a very clear idea as to what is the characteristic function which as Christian colleges they are called upon to perform in order that a wise judgment may be passed as to how far they can usefully and conscientiously co-operate in the University systems with which they are incorporated in India to-day.

2. THE POSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

(1) *The contribution of the Christian colleges to the Universities*

(a) *Need of considering this question on its merits*

We turn to an examination of the Christian colleges as a whole in relation to the University system which we have just described, and we shall begin by considering what contribution they make to the system of higher education in India. We do this without prejudice to the question as to whether it is the concern of missionary societies to contribute to the educational system of India, whether, in other words, it is from a missionary point of view a justification of Christian colleges that they are a gift from Christian England and America of a system of education which Christianity has inspired and made possible. Whatever we may think of that theory, the fact remains that the colleges have from almost the beginning of their history claimed and obtained grants from Government on the ground that they were making a valuable contribution to Indian education. At least two-thirds of their income comes in the shape of fees and Government grants from those who are concerned, not with their Christian character, but with their educational efficiency. Some colleges owe their existence to the fact that Government or the local community wanted a college at a particular place, and thought that a missionary society would run such a college at least as efficiently as any one else and would be generally welcomed. The position of the Christian colleges in Indian

public opinion, the support they receive and the field of service open to them, depend largely on the fact that Hindus and Muslims, even where they have no sympathy with the missionary purpose of the colleges, recognise the great and lasting service which these colleges have rendered to India. The teachers in Christian colleges have from the first been concerned with the welfare of Indian higher education, have played a large part in directing it, have given and are giving unstinted service to it for its own sake.

Now even if we are to regard the specifically educational work of a Christian college apart from the religious instruction which it gives, as justified mainly because it gives an opportunity for direct religious teaching and influence, yet the instrument of opportunities must be something in itself intrinsically worth while. No medical missionary would give medical treatment or advice in which he did not believe because more patients would accept bad than would accept good medical treatment, and because he would by denying what he believed as a doctor have more opportunity of teaching what he believed as a Christian. Men cannot go on doing bad educational work because it gives them good Christian opportunities. They may co-operate with men of other religions in the hope that that co-operation may lead to the growth and furtherance of the Church of Christ, but they must co-operate in something which they think worth doing, and their contribution must be something in which they can take pride. It is, therefore, important to appraise the contribution which the Christian colleges make to the system of higher education in India.

(b) *The educational standing of the Christian colleges*

We may begin by considering the standing of Christian colleges in the University system. On the whole, though there are considerable differences between them, their standing is high. We quote from the report of the Sadler Commission, prefacing the quotation by saying that we think that what they say of the missionary colleges in Bengal could be said equally well of other parts of India. "The influence which has been exercised by

the missionary colleges upon the development of education in Bengal has been of the highest value and importance. No colleges wield a deeper influence over the minds of their students. None have a stronger corporate spirit. The strength of the Mission colleges is very largely due to the fact that they can command the services of a group of men of ability and devotion, who have given themselves up for a long term of years specifically to the service of their college, and who, unlike the teachers in the Government colleges, are, for the most part, not liable to be transferred to other spheres of work. The missionary teacher may not always be a man of the highest academic qualifications, though in point of fact some of the ablest teachers in Bengal, and some of those whose influence is, and has been, greatest in university affairs, belong to this class, but for all these aspects of university life which are outside of, but are no less important than, the formal studies of the curricula, the missionary teachers have, as a body, exceptional qualifications. It is they who have laboured, with the greatest earnestness and the most marked success, to cultivate the humaner side of student life, to provide the student with healthy conditions of living, with moral guidance, and with the opportunities for physical training. The influence of the missionary teachers over the minds of their students is, doubtless, further deepened by the fact that they have obviously undertaken their work from no motives of self-interest. Even though they represent a foreign faith and must be for that reason in some degree suspect, they approach more nearly to the spirit of the old Hindu *guru* than many college teachers in modern Bengal. The value of the contribution made by the missionary teachers to the life of the University can scarcely be over-estimated."¹ And again: "We are strongly of opinion that the missionary colleges form an element in the educational system of Calcutta and Bengal which is of the highest value, and the withdrawal or weakening of which would be real impoverishment."

Similar testimony was borne by deputations representing

¹ *Report*, vol. i. chap. xiii. p. 372.

non-Christian public opinion in almost every province and district which we visited, as well as by individuals, both officials and non-officials, whom we consulted. It would be easy to multiply such appreciations. There is no doubt that the Indian system of higher education would suffer seriously from the withdrawal of the Christian colleges, and that, as Mr. Mayhew says, the proposal to withdraw would excite public resentment. Nor is there any doubt that in the movement for the refashioning of Indian University education, of which there are already hopeful signs, the Christian college may play an important part.

(c) *Their diminishing prestige as compared with Government institutions*

When we come to ask what is the standing of Christian colleges as compared with others, it is rather more difficult to give a decisive answer. The difficulty, while in part inherent in the nature of the question, is so only in part. In part it is due to the almost complete lack of statistical information as to the present occupations and influence of the graduates of the Christian colleges. While most of the colleges have "old boys' associations" and many of their alumni have proved loyal friends, the colleges themselves have done little in the way of that systematic follow-up of their alumni which has been so characteristic a feature of many colleges in the West. We believe that this is a failure which should be corrected, and at a later part of our Report we have made a recommendation on the subject. If, however, we may give a general impression, it is that the Christian colleges in the large University centres rank academically behind the Government colleges, but above other aided colleges, but that, for reasons which we shall discuss, their relative standing is not so high as it used to be. The smaller colleges in the country districts fall very much below the standard of these larger colleges, but with some exceptions rank high among similar colleges. There is considerable evidence that the Christian colleges are not now getting, as they used to do, the pick of University students. The Government colleges have a much larger

field of candidates to select from. The Christian colleges, on the whole, are getting the second best.

It has often been said in the past that the superiority of the Christian colleges to other colleges was evident from the unmistakable stamp which they set upon their students. There is little doubt that this was true at one time. The Christian colleges both got the pick of the students and undoubtedly did more for them than other colleges. The "old boys" of Christian colleges include many of the most distinguished men in Indian life at the present time. We have tried to find out whether this difference between the product of a Christian college and the product of other colleges is still obvious. This is, of course, a very difficult matter to decide. Some of those we spoke to were prepared to say that on the whole the ex-students of Christian colleges stood out among the ex-students of Indian Universities; others, whose experience and judgment seemed to us as good, said the opposite—that they could discern no difference between the students of Christian and the students of non-Christian colleges. So far as this kind of evidence goes, and we would not lay too much stress on it, it seems to confirm the statement quoted from Madras Christian College that the Christian colleges, though they still stand high, have not the pre-eminence they once had.

We cannot do better than quote some of the statements made in the appeal entitled *The Challenge of the Hour*, issued by Madras Christian College, and in the same College's answer to our questionnaire. They are the more striking because Madras Christian College has in our judgment an academic standard surpassed by none of the Christian colleges in India. Its graduates are to be found prominent among the teaching staff of mission and non-mission colleges all over India. What we are going to quote, therefore, is the judgment of a mission college of the first educational rank. We were very much impressed by the high educational standards of its staff.

"It is difficult," we are told, "to resist the impression that already there has been decline, not to the second-rate, but to a lower relative status than the college formerly

occupied." Proceeding, the writer claims that still the college remains a "college" and "not a mere centre of intellectual industry or a manufactory of degrees." "But judged by the vulgarly more appreciable criterion of percentage of passes and of the scholastic attainments of its best pupils, it can claim no pre-eminence, and in respect of equipment, and variety of subjects provided, it not only—as is natural—lags far behind the Government Presidency College, but has other serious rivals. . . . Its rate of advance has not been equalled by the rate of advance of the institutions by which it is beginning to be overtaken." . . . "Under the great pioneers Christian education, besides being Christian, was foremost in educational quality, as on the whole it still is in the case of girls. Nowadays in the men's field it is at the best only a little better in educational quality than what is supplied in non-missionary colleges, and much of it falls far below its best."

To these quotations from *The Challenge of the Hour*, written by Dr. Hogg, the Principal of Madras Christian College, we would add a quotation from a statement by Professor Corley, inserted in the Madras Christian College answers to our questionnaire. "Are we," he asks, speaking of the "picked men" of the colleges, "making the best use of this talent when we put it into college work? As things are, as things are likely to be (apart from some definite change in policy), I do not think we are. To use it all just to give a limited number of students an education which may be a little better than what they would have got in any case, is to squander it. To use it in order to bring an even smaller number of students under strong constructive Christian influence, to give them an education 'better than the best,' would be a wise expenditure. But so long as the whole business of college work is a struggle to make ends meet, while our libraries are starved, our apparatus and equipment inferior to those of many of our rivals, and our men too fully occupied with routine teaching to do the advanced work, the informal additional instruction, the conduct of social, philanthropic, and 'border line' studies, in which Christian personality and the Christian outlook

on life will tell most decisively, that ideal is unattainable. To take the Madras Christian College by way of illustration : with our 800 students, with a senatus of about 16, with laboratories and libraries cramped for lack of funds, we cannot hope to do better than mark time. With numbers reduced to 600, with a senatus maintained at a strength of 24 men actually on the ground, and with equipment correspondingly generous, I believe we could go forward, could do what the situation of forty years ago made possible with inferior resources, lead a real advance in education and bring the élite of the Madras student population under Christian influence."

With the judgments expressed in these quotations we entirely agree. If all other colleges have not expressed similar criticisms of their work and standing, it is not because they have less cause for it, but because they have felt compelled to yield to the difficult circumstances under which they are working and to accept the lowered standard which these circumstances produce. We should also like to say that, if there is cause for these criticisms and searchings of heart, it is not through any failure of the men on the spot who have done wonders with the means at their disposal, but because of the inadequate resources of men and equipment with which they have had to face their task. Christian colleges have sometimes been commended as a cheap form of missionary enterprise—cheap at least to the missionary societies. We think—and we shall have to come back to this point again—that the cheapness has been costly.

(d) *Reasons for this loss of prestige.—(i) Lack of opportunity for research*

There is one other point in Dr. Hogg's memorandum which concerns the standing of the Christian colleges, and which goes far to explain the loss of prestige of which we have been speaking. He quotes the following resolution passed by the Agra Conference of 1929 : ¹

"If Christian colleges are still to lead the way, as it is all-important for India that they should, it can only be by the quality and not by the quantity of the work they do.

¹ See pp. 3 ff above.

They must be so excellently staffed and so well equipped that, even if they become a small minority amid the number of colleges in India, it will be their alumni that will furnish the majority of the best leaders of Indian thought and life, and they must be competent to serve the Indian Church not only by providing first-rate educational facilities for her sons and daughters, but by leading the way in the scholarly research and keen reflection which will be more and more imperatively needed in proportion as Hindu thought begins to grapple in earnest with its Christian rival."

Dr. Hogg adds the following comment : " The last part of this quotation touches on a further consideration that is very relevant. If the present condition of Christian colleges affords no ground for confidently expecting the best of India's sons to seek their education from them by preference, neither would it be reasonable, as things stand, to count on them for adequate intellectual leadership in the issue between Christian and Hindu ways of thought. In all of them the pressure of routine duties denies to the teachers the leisure without which 'scholarly research and keen reflection' is all but impossible."

We shall come back to this point when we consider what the colleges are contributing to the upbuilding and strengthening of the Church. Here we are concerned with the effect on the standing of the Christian colleges in Indian Universities and on their educational efficiency of the fact that their teachers are unable to take an adequate part in "scholarly research." Unless a University teacher has some time to do new work and find things out, he is in danger of becoming a hack. Many teachers in Christian colleges have started to work at problems suggested by their work in India and have had from stress of other duties to give it up. We have found only one Christian college in India, Forman Christian College at Lahore, where any considerable amount of research work was being done. Most of our teachers are working under conditions which make any such thing quite impossible.

The Indian University system has in the past been occupied almost exclusively with teaching and examining.

There are still far too few opportunities for any original work even in Government colleges. What research work is being done in India is mostly being done in Research Departments and institutions separated from the teaching colleges and from the Universities. Such are, for example, the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, the Zoological and Geological Surveys, and the Archæological Department—all of them outside of the Universities and the colleges. Far too few students in India have had the great good fortune of being taught things by men who have themselves found them out. Far too much of the teaching has in the past been second hand. But there are signs of a new order of things, of keen, alert teachers who are themselves discoverers. If the Christian colleges are going to help the new life which seems to be springing up, their teachers must have time to discover and find out as well as to teach. If we continue so to staff Christian colleges, that “scholarly research and keen reflection are all but impossible,” these colleges will be restricted by Indian Universities to doing only the most elementary teaching. That has happened already here and there. There is a strong tendency in some Indian Universities to confine honours and post-graduate work to the Universities and to allow the colleges only to do pass work. We think with the authors of the interim report on education of the Indian Statutory Commission¹ that this policy is from the University point of view a mistaken one. But the policy will only be defeated, as it has already in some Universities been defeated, when the colleges are so well equipped with first-class teachers, able to discover as well as to teach, that the University cannot do without them.

(ii) *Indian prejudice against western institutions*

There is another characteristic of Christian colleges which now distinguishes them from other colleges and the effect of which is hard to estimate. The Indian Universities, and the colleges other than the Christian colleges, are now controlled and almost entirely manned by Indians. We have the impression that Indian opinion is

¹ Cmd. 3407, chap. vi. p. 138.

dissatisfied with, and critical of, the existing system of University education. There is plenty to criticise in Indian Universities as they are and as they are now being run, but there are also signs of a new spirit, faint as yet but evident. The fantastic examination-ridden system of to-day is not necessarily going to last. There are certainly many keen and alert young Indian teachers who are determined to try to make a University system fitted to develop the culture of modern India, with its strange mixture of East and West, ancient and ultra-modern. If the transformation comes, there will be little sympathy shown for colleges which are felt to express the cultural domination of foreign nations ; which are not fit to play their part in fashioning an indigenous system. The Christian colleges as they stand are not only teachers of Christianity, they are teachers of characteristic British and American culture. We believe that both Britain and America have much to give to modern India, but only on condition that modern India is free to take from Britain and America what she needs and use it for her own purposes. She is not likely to submit to cultural domination. It has been a great advantage to us that we have been a mixed Commission, of different nationalities. The so-called Anglo-Saxon nations share the foible of thinking that the manner in which they happen to behave is part of the eternal order of nature. If we had not been of different nationalities, it might not have been so strongly brought home to us how Scotch the Scotch colleges are, how English the English colleges, and how American the American colleges, and in comparison with all the rest how Indian was the one Christian college we saw which was founded by Indian initiative and is entirely under Indian control. If the Christian colleges are to take part in shaping an indigenous University system, they must make room for Indian Christian initiative, and Indian Christians must be free to accept or reject, as seems to them best, what foreign culture has to give. How to contrive that this should come about is not easy. Any simple transfer of the colleges from non-Indian to Indian control would not have the desired effect. Neither the West nor the East can give best what each has to give unless both

co-operate together on equal terms. The ideal is not western control nor yet Indian control, but equal and cordial co-operation. But some change in control is, we believe, essential. We have given much thought to this question, and our recommendations about it, to which we attach great importance, will be found in a later chapter.

(iii) *Weakness due to a divided purpose*

One last point remains to be considered. Its consideration will form the transition to the next section of this chapter. The Christian colleges have to a large extent a double purpose, an educational and a missionary purpose. That perhaps ought not to be the case, but as things are it undoubtedly is. The colleges have to play their part in the higher educational system of the country, and we have been considering their standing in it. But they also have a purpose—their missionary purpose—which they do not share with the rest of the educational system. We shall consider in our next section whether their educational aim perverts or weakens their missionary purpose. We are here asking whether the missionary purpose perverts or weakens the educational. The passage quoted above from the Sadler Report¹ makes it clear that in the opinion of that Commission the distinctive character of the Christian colleges contributes a most valuable element to the educational system. We think the opinion is widely shared. Indian public opinion values Christian colleges because of their character and the atmosphere and spirit which their missionary purpose gives them, not only because they are efficient educational institutions which happen to have a missionary purpose. But while this is so, it is sometimes thought that the Christian colleges are so much concerned with their missionary purpose that they acquiesce in a low educational standard. We think that this has sometimes happened, though not often. Again it is thought that they cannot be altogether depended on to play their part, say, in a system of intercollegiate or University teaching, because they attend to their missionary purpose first and their educational purpose second. There is perhaps some

¹ See p. 80.

slight ground for this view. But however this may be, it is certain that teachers in Christian colleges have, because of their Christian purpose, much more work to do, many more calls upon their time, than teachers in non-missionary colleges, and therefore that a staff which would be adequate in a non-missionary college is altogether inadequate to the tasks imposed on the staff of a missionary college.

The evils produced by this diversity of aims depend, of course, on how far the aims are diverse. Mission educators have often declared that they ought not to be. That their educational and their Christian purposes are not directly opposed is obvious. The statement from the Sadler Report bears witness to this. But we shall see in our next section that there is at present a real diversity between the educational and the missionary purpose of the Christian colleges; that most colleges, in so far as they have any clear conception of what they are doing, are working on what has been called "the opportunity theory." The educational work of the college is done because it provides the Christian teachers with the opportunity of religious teaching and influence. Under these circumstances there is not only a danger that the Christian colleges may be so much occupied in the work of maintaining these opportunities that they have not time to use the opportunities created. There is also the danger that they may judge their educational work not by proper educational standards, but be content with a standard only high enough to create the opportunities they desire. It is essential, therefore, if the Christian colleges are to make their full contribution to the Indian University system, that they should recover that singleness of aim which so inspired the great work of Dr. Miller of Madras, and gave unity to his work both as a teacher and as a Christian.

(2) *The effect of the University connection upon the colleges*

We have so far been examining the contribution which the colleges make to the Indian system of higher education, considering whether they have the capacity and equipment to do work in that system which is intrinsically

worth doing. We are now to consider two different questions: (1) Whether that system is such that work intrinsically worth doing educationally can be done in it, and (2) how the work that can be done in it affects the missionary purpose of Christian colleges.

(a) *The domination of the examination system*

The first question will not seem astonishing after what has been already said of the actual working of the system. The Christian colleges take part in an educational system which they to some small extent guide and control, but it is in the main dominated by forces over which they have no control. One of these forces, the influence of which is powerful for evil, is the economic interest which makes examination success of such vital importance in the lives of practically all the students. The Sadler Report contains many quotations from representative opinion, condemning the system wholesale for its demoralising effect upon the minds of its students; and many of the teachers in our colleges feel that they are asked to take part in a system which has little educational value, which does not encourage the life of learning but kills it, which is so dominated by the desire for individual advancement that those who are taught in it cannot possibly listen to the teachings of the Gospel.

When we read or listen to these condemnations we are bound to put the following question to ourselves: May it not be true that the secular education which on the old theory was to prepare the minds of students to receive the Gospel, is given—or is it fairer to say received—in an atmosphere where the minds of the students are not prepared for the Gospel, but where their hearts are hardened against it?

Mr. Mayhew has described the Indian University education as narrowly utilitarian, in spite of the fact that it has till quite recently been little occupied with utilitarian subjects. Its utilitarian character comes not from University regulations nor from its curriculum, but from the economic pressure on its students. We shall deal shortly with the

question as to how far University regulations pervert or limit the purpose of the Christian college. But we must first face this much more fundamental issue. We are told that the examination system has such an overpowering effect on the minds of the students that they will study subjects only in so far as, and only in the manner in which, they will lead to examination success, that they will grudge the time spent on any subjects which are not connected with examinations, and will therefore not listen to Scriptural instruction, however much they may be made to be present at it. If this is so, and if studying for purposes unconnected with examination success is as rare and impossible as the Sadler Report, for example, makes it out to be, does it not follow that Christian colleges are deliberately sowing their seed on stony ground? Ought the Church not rather to wait, now that access to the educated classes is open in so many other ways, and try to reach men's minds when they have grown older?

But to do this would be to abandon as hopeless the student population of India. If men are not going to see visions when they are young they are not likely to do so later. Nothing, not even an examination system, can prevent the student population from being filled with hopes and ideals and being ready for devotion and sacrifice, but if they are brought up in an atmosphere unredeemed by service and sacrifice, in a wholly utilitarian atmosphere, the ideals to which they will devote themselves will reflect their own disillusioning experience. It would surely be worth almost any effort on our part if only we could succeed in preserving the youth of India from being convinced that economic motives are the only real ones, that the civilisation in which they live and the Universities in which they are taught are actually inspired throughout by material aims, and that the high sentiments and ideal reflections they find in the books they are forced to study mean nothing.

There is evidence enough that the system and those learning in it are not impervious to Christian influences; that idealism and sacrifice and service can be taught through it. That the examination system does make things much

harder is undoubted, but the moral is that this extra difficulty must be recognised and special provision made to meet it. We quote from a memorandum by an experienced and judicious college teacher which seems to us to be on the whole the fairest statement of the position :

“ The limitations in the way of our realising more ideal methods are to be found not so much in anything imposed by the University or by Government, as in the character of our students and staff and the limitations of financial support.

“ The poverty of the average student and the economic pressure upon him result in a concentration on the aim of passing an examination in the shortest possible time. An educational institution must provide the means for this—unless it is to cater only for the idle rich—and will be judged by results. Hence the lectures, the dictated notes, the ready-made answers to examination questions, and all the other stock-in-trade of the ‘successful teacher’; and students who learn to do little, and to think little for themselves.

“ It is only gradually, and by patient effort, that this can be changed; and it must be changed not merely in a few isolated mission schools and colleges, but through the influence of these in the raising of the general level.

“ Our chief need is not for protests against restrictions, but for a financial support and a supply of qualified men which will make it possible for our institutions to restrict the numbers of their students (being largely independent of fee-income, which at present we are not) and to strengthen their staff in proportion.”

(b) *The hampering effect of University regulations*

From a consideration of the examination system we pass to a consideration of the general effect of University regulations. We have found in the answers to our questionnaire and

in discussion with Christian college teachers the most varying opinions as to the restrictive character of University regulations on their colleges. The truth seems to be that no general statement can be made on this subject. The influence of Christian colleges on University regulations varies very much in different Universities. In a small University like Delhi or Nagpur the Christian college has a large voice in determining the University regulations. In a large affiliating University like Madras the Christian colleges have very much less power, and they find the regulations correspondingly irksome. Affiliating Universities are in their nature bound to run to regulations. The larger they are and the more colleges they have under them the more meticulous and cramping will their regulations probably be. As the Sadler Report says : " Since one of the primary duties of a University of this type is to make regulations, these tend to become extremely elaborate, and the freedom of the teacher tends to be proportionately restricted." The Report goes on to describe the University of Calcutta as having " achieved a dead uniformity of curriculum unknown, we believe, elsewhere in the world, certainly outside India," to accuse it of " needlessly and mischievously tying the hands of the better colleges," with the result that " the colleges are wooden models turned out to a pattern in accordance with the regulations of the University." These evils are undoubted, but they exist mainly in Madras and in Calcutta. They are recognised by enlightened Indian University opinion. Some of our Christian colleges feel them very little, and all can make some headway against them. The bureaucratic nature of Indian Universities, therefore, is to be regarded as an additional difficulty, but not as a fatal obstacle to the Christian college working out its proper purpose. It does mean under all circumstances that our college teachers have to spend much of their time in University administration, sitting on endless committees, in order to preserve some freedom for their colleges. We quote again the same teacher whom we quoted above. The University to which his college is affiliated is an affiliating University, and the conditions he describes

are probably neither the best nor the worst among Indian Universities.

“The University is no doubt concerning itself very much more closely with the work of its colleges, and extending its regulations and system of inspection. On the other hand, comparing our situation in the subjects I know as it was in 1912 with its present condition, I find a great improvement in respect of liberty of teaching method. In 1912 I found myself, in every part of my subjects, tied to the exposition of a prescribed book. There was no tutorial work and practically no library ; hence no possibility of reading on the part of the student outside the prescribed book (*if he had a copy*) and cheap cram books in the bazaar.

“To-day we have, in many cases at least, fairly elastic syllabuses, and a variety of books recommended. Examination papers give a wide choice of questions ; and with more intelligent students we could adopt very much freer methods.”

“On the whole our regulations are helpful. None of us would wish to be free to increase our classes beyond 60, or to make our Professors lecture more than 18 hours a week. Indeed we are largely protected in this way from unfair competition, through sweated labour, on the part of other colleges.

“There are, no doubt, suggestions in regard to an extension of regulations regarding security of tenure on the part of the staff, and a possible minimum amount of formal teaching to be expected of recognised teachers, which will have to be watched ; but we have no reason to anticipate an unreasonable attitude on the part of our University authorities.”

(c) *The resulting loss of educational initiative*

But even when University regulation is least irksome the general effect of the colleges having to play their part in this University system is, as we have seen, to deprive them to a large extent of their educational initiative. They have

to conform to University regulations, to maintain a certain standard of equipment, to follow a curriculum devised for other colleges which is professedly impartial as regards religion.

In all this they are meeting regulations prescribed to them from without, determined by purposes alien or at least indifferent to their own peculiar purpose. They find themselves also engaged in competition with other colleges. It is one of the worst results of the Indian system of self-sufficient colleges within an affiliating University that co-operation is difficult and competition almost unavoidable. If the Christian colleges are to get the students most worth teaching, the students who are to have most influence on the community in future, they have to win prestige in the eyes of possible students. That prestige depends but little on real educational merit, much more on examination results, even sometimes on positively bad qualities such as excessive numbers. When college teachers have to be so much occupied in maintaining their position in a competition whose rules are imposed by the University and not for the purpose of the college, they begin to suffer almost inevitably from an ambiguity of purpose. The conditions and the aims of much of their work are prescribed from without. They have to make the best of the possibilities put before them, and they come inevitably to regard much of their work as justified, not because it is intrinsically worth doing or involved in their missionary purpose, but because it provides them with an opportunity of getting in contact with their students and influencing them through religious instruction and in other ways.

The result of this position is that the Christian colleges have suffered a loss of initiative. They are not really in a position to see to it that the education they give is what is demanded by their missionary purpose. They have rather to follow the conditions prescribed to them from outside and make the best of them. There is a great deal of experimentation in education going on at the present time, but it is to be found mainly in such places as Santiniketan or Moga—places outside the University system.

This loss of initiative shows itself in three ways. In the first place, the curriculum of Christian colleges, apart from the definite religious instruction, is largely determined by outside conditions. Colleges have to accept subjects authorised by the University, and though they have considerable power in inducing the University to authorise new subjects, the reasons for their offering this or that subject are often determined by their endeavour to attract the best students. If one college in the University offers economics and it is found to be attractive, the Christian college must follow or see the best students go elsewhere. And so colleges are tempted to add one subject after another to their curriculum, overstraining their resources and losing sight of any idea that the content of the secular education they offer should be determined by its fitness to serve the distinctive purpose of the college.

Secondly, the result of this state of affairs is often that the size of the college is determined by alien considerations. A college may start by believing that if it is to be a true community, if there are to be real contacts between its staff and its students, it must not grow beyond a certain size, but as new subjects are added to attract the best students more students have to be enrolled in order that their fees may pay for the expense of the new subjects. The dependence of college finance upon fee income is often a more serious danger than their dependence on Government grants. We found college after college feeling that if it was to carry out its missionary purpose properly it ought to be of a certain size, but confronted with the financial impossibility of doing without students' fees. We are not asserting here that there is an ideal size for all Christian colleges, only that it is quite evident that colleges can teach in the manner satisfactory to University regulations a far greater number than they can teach in the manner prescribed by their missionary purpose, and that there is continual pressure upon them to increase their numbers beyond this latter standard.

Thirdly, the failure of colleges to maintain a Christian staff is largely due to the extent to which they have to

submit to these outside conditions. The large proportion of non-Christians employed by Christian colleges is to an outsider one of the most extraordinary facts about them. Any one unacquainted with the conditions under which Christian colleges work might suppose that they would naturally have only Christian teachers, and only offer such subjects as those for which they could find Christian teachers ; that the range of subjects which they offered would grow with their success in building up a Christian staff, but not otherwise. How has it come about that, for example, a large majority of those who are teaching science in our Christian colleges are non-Christians? The explanation of what has happened is simple. Colleges cannot just offer such subjects as they think they can teach adequately. They have got to offer a certain range of subjects if they are going to be recognised by the University and maintain their affiliation to it, and unless they are so recognised and affiliated they have no chance whatever of obtaining students. When there is a vacancy on their staff they cannot wait to fill that vacancy until they find a competent Christian teacher. They have to fill it in the time prescribed by the University. Thus in all these ways the necessity laid upon the Christian colleges of maintaining their place and prestige in a system over which they have comparatively little control tends to confuse and pervert their missionary purpose.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES

I. THE INFLUENCE OF THE COLLEGES ON THEIR OWN STUDENTS

(1) *Ways in which this influence is exerted*

IN this chapter our purpose is to examine the colleges as Christian institutions, to consider the character and effect of their religious influence, to ask how successfully they convey to their students—whether they are called Christian or whether they bear any other religious label—the message and the spirit of Christ and His Gospel, and to weigh the service rendered both to the Church and to the nation. It is impossible to do so without expressing judgment as to the value of those methods or implying criticism where some of the methods suggested have not been made use of. As a matter of fact there are few of the suggestions which we have to make and which will be set forth as our recommendations in a later chapter that have not been anticipated in some of the colleges. One of the most distinguished of India's leaders told us that where the Christian colleges had the advantage over other colleges was in the relationship between Indian and non-Indian members of the staff and between the staff and the students, and in the example of Christian love and service which these colleges give. But while that is so, and we rejoiced to find it so, and while we appreciate the good things we found scattered over the whole field of the colleges, all of them were not by any means to be found in all the colleges, and we think they ought to be. We desire especially to emphasise anew the importance of bringing together and practising in college relationships those opportunities of friendship and of mutual help through which, and through which alone, Christianity can be worthily exhibited and

made real. Wherever Christian men, professors and students, come together in natural human relationships the Christian life and its sources in faith and worship will inevitably be revealed, and so they have been revealed in large measure in the Christian colleges in all their history.

Forty years ago the deputation from Scotland that investigated the missionary situation in India asked the question, "Is all the educational work calculated to draw men to faith in Jesus as their Saviour, and to a profession of that faith in baptism?" We have to ask the same question to-day and to determine as far as possible to what extent the Christian colleges are still effective in the new situation in which they now find themselves for the central purpose for which they exist. They exist primarily to serve the Church in India as institutions in which the scholar and the teacher can make their characteristic contribution to the Christian movement. The teacher makes that contribution through the subjects that he teaches and the knowledge that he imparts to his students. It centres in what is often called "the Bible period," though it extends, of course, to all the other subjects taught. In the words of Dr. Miller, already quoted, "the Scriptures are the spear-head; all other knowledge the well-fitted handle."

But the teacher in the Christian College has other relations with his students besides those he discharges in that capacity. Because he is a Christian he must bear a relation to his students which we may describe as that of pastor. Because he is a Christian and seeks to live the Christian life in his college, all his relations to his students, Christian and non-Christian, should be relations which become inevitably channels that convey to them the Christian life and bear testimony to the truth of the Christian message.

We shall deal in what follows, first, with the use that has been made in the colleges of "the religious period," and thereafter with the methods by which, outside of the classroom, the spirit of the college is manifested in life and worship.

(2) *The use of the religious period*

The ways in which the religious period has been made use of vary greatly according to circumstances and needs. They are affected, for example, by the size of the college, and so of the religious class that has to be taught. Another factor is the amount of knowledge of Christianity that the students already possess. They may be Christians, or non-Christians who come from a mission school, and so have some knowledge of Christian truth, or they may be completely ignorant of Christianity. Methods of instruction have to be selected in the light of these varying facts. In some colleges, for example, the Christians are taught separately on the ground that they require instruction of a different and more advanced kind than that which is appropriate to those who are not Christians. In most colleges they are taught along with their non-Christian fellow-students in the belief that there is much good to be gained from their fellowship together in religious study and much danger of evil if communal differences are emphasised. In one college an attempt is made to obtain the advantages of both these methods by having two periods in the week when the Christians are taught by themselves and one when they are taught with the non-Christians, a separate course being followed in each case.

When the college is large the religious classes, in consequence, are apt to be too large for much direct personal contact to be possible. In these circumstances the teaching is almost necessarily of a general character and not specially adapted to individual needs. It has, however, to be recognised that instruction of this kind, given to students to whom the Christian religion is foreign and for that reason probably disliked, will not easily find its way through the barriers to the heart and conscience. Some non-Christian teachers in a Christian college, not unsympathetic to the aim of the college, urged upon us that teaching that follows the letter of Scripture is often dreary and unattractive to the Hindu or Muslim student. It is natural that that should be the case

when the instruction is given in a foreign language, and much in it for that reason appears remote and strange. Only an exceptional teacher in such circumstances can overcome the obstacles in the way of an effective presentation of his message and obtain the spiritual results that he desires. Dr. Hogg of the Madras Christian College in an interesting passage in his reply to the questionnaire makes high claims in behalf of "the mass lecture." "After all," he writes, "it is easier to hit home and search the conscience under cover of the impersonalism of the right kind of sermon or class lecture, addressed to the many, than it commonly is in a face-to-face individual conversation." There is much to be said for this view. We find, however, that he at the same time attaches very great importance to the "life and personality" of the lecturer behind the lecture.

The religious class, especially in the early years of the college course, is usually occupied with an endeavour to present the figure of Christ Himself in all His power to win men. Courses of instruction are framed with a view to making the religious teaching continuous from such a beginning until a full presentation of Christian truth is accomplished. One difficulty that presents itself here, however, is that the number of students, even in the largest colleges, who take a whole four-year course, is limited. There is a decided break at the end of the second year, and it frequently happens that at the beginning of the third year many new students, who may be wholly ignorant of Christianity and full of prejudice against it, enter the college. Courses accordingly have to be carefully arranged so that they shall be completed within a year, and that the student who then leaves the college shall have received instruction that is as far as possible a coherent whole. Further, it has to be remembered that hostility is often awakened where there is the feeling on the part of the non-Christian that his religion is being implicitly assailed. A missionary, able to speak on this subject with an authority such as few possess, urged upon us in the strongest terms that Christian teaching in such circumstances should never take the form of a comparison of religions, as such comparisons almost inevitably

created or strengthened hostility and closed the ears of the hearers to the truth presented.

The question arises here of the qualifications necessary in the teacher who has to present a subject of such significance, and to do so in a situation that is often so difficult. The situation is evidently much more difficult in some parts of India than in others. One Principal emphasised strongly the need that he and the other Christian members of his staff felt of a better knowledge than they possessed of the Hindu and Muslim religions in order that they might meet objections and arguments brought forward by their students. For this reason in another college only those members of the staff are selected to teach the subject who have had theological training or such long experience as is an adequate substitute for such training. On the other hand, some Principals find that the younger Christian members of their staff, in spite of their inexperience, are able to teach with a freshness and simplicity that has an appeal of its own to the students. It can be affirmed without any hesitation that a knowledge of the religions of the non-Christian students, and so of their ways of thinking, is of the utmost value to the teacher who has charge of this subject. He should not make use of his knowledge in the class in order to refute their doctrines or to suggest the inferiority of the faiths they follow, but his knowledge should enable him so to present the truth he teaches that it will be understood by them and will appeal to their minds and hearts.

It must not be supposed from what has been said that the Christian teacher is always faced in the religious period by an attitude of antagonism on the part of his students. Even when there is a fringe of indifference or of hostility he invariably finds a core of interest and attention that encourages and cheers him. There were few colleges in which the Christian teachers were not able confidently to claim that their Christian message was effecting a real influence and finding a real response. At the same time, there are other facts that make many teachers feel that the policy of compulsory religious instruction in Christian colleges requires to be examined anew. This has been

felt by them quite independently of the fact that proposals have been brought forward in various Provinces for what is called a "conscience clause." We are not concerned to discuss that matter in this connection. Although relevant here it is also concerned with the question of the independence of the colleges and their teaching, and will be dealt with when that problem is considered.

What we have to note here, however, is the psychological conditions of which the Christian teacher is aware, and which often make it difficult for him to find a way for his message to the hearts of his pupils. The Principal of one important college, while maintaining that these conditions have not hindered hitherto the effective use of the religious period in his college, expresses doubt as to whether this will continue to be the case. We feel confident that such prejudice as there is at the present time in India against the Christian message and the Christian messenger is due to temporary causes and will pass away, and that this road of access will once more lie fully open. The importance of the period reserved for specifically Christian instruction remains as great as ever it was, and every effort must continue to be made to secure that it is put to the fullest use. But there are, in any case, other avenues of approach to the hearts of the Indian student which, even in the midst of the misunderstandings and antagonisms of the political situation, have never been closed, and of these the missionary in a Christian college can make full use.

(3) *Other ways of exerting religious influence*

(a) *Personal contact of teacher and student*

Most important of all among these is that of personal contact and of the influence exercised in those personal relationships of sympathy which should unite the teacher and his pupils. The importance of this factor in the missionary success of the early colleges must be recognised. Thus, writing of that period of the past, Dr. Miller says, "The pupils of the Scottish Colleges were few in those days and

the influence of the missionaries was proportionately great on each and the Spirit of God wrought powerfully." The deputies who visited the Scottish colleges forty years ago bear the same witness. "So far as our information goes," they report, "the conversions in the old days came, not so much from the Christian instruction in the college or high school class, as from those quiet talks, either to individuals or to special parties invited privately to meet together with the missionary."

If the numbers of conversions and of baptisms have gone down from those days, one reason for that, one can hardly doubt, is that the opportunities for such personal contact with individual students as will produce sympathy and understanding of their needs are often very difficult to obtain. Christian instruction delivered at a distance from the students is not often effective, and a variety of circumstances have combined to widen this distance and so to make personal contact and friendship more and more difficult to secure. Not all small colleges can point to conversions and baptisms from among their students, nor are the large colleges wholly without this evidence of the fulfilment of God's purpose through them. Nevertheless, the evidence of such conversions confirms fully the view that nothing has contributed so much to bring them about as personal contact and personal influence.

The conditions in which such contact and such influence can be most effectively achieved are those which we find in a small college. Nowhere, for example, have we found the atmosphere of any college so satisfactory in this respect as in the case of the women's colleges and of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. These are small and compact colleges within which such personal relations are easy to maintain. That large colleges may achieve the same end it is desirable that place should be made within the larger whole for units or "Halls" which can have a family life of their own within which the staff and students will be able easily to come together in close relationship of understanding and sympathy.

As colleges have grown in size and the burdens that the members of the staff have to bear have gone on increas-

ing it has become more and more difficult to maintain close personal contact with the students. We do not wish to exaggerate the difficulties which size imposes upon the teachers of the Christian college. As we survey the history of Christian education in the past, we find striking instances of the way in which those difficulties have been overcome. That history reveals the fact that those colleges which have been pre-eminent for the influence which they exerted were those, whether they were large colleges or small, in which remarkable and outstanding personalities impressed themselves upon their students through friendship and a personal knowledge of their needs. It has often been remarked that the loyalty of the Indian student is not commonly given to an institution but to individuals in institutions to whom he has felt himself to be bound by ties of reverence and affection. These precious relationships which are found so richly present in the Christian colleges through all their history, and which constitute the most valuable contribution that they have made to the life of India, should be still more easy to achieve in colleges organised in the manner which we have described and with staffs able to find leisure to cultivate human relationships with those whom they teach in the classrooms.

It is recognised, of course, that it is not enough that the Christian staff should be sufficient in numbers to exercise this ministry. They must also be unified in their Christian purpose. They may be hindered, obviously, by the presence of such a non-Christian staff as will break up their unity and thwart this purpose. The Principal of a college in the United Provinces gave as one of the chief influences attracting to Christ the one convert his college has had in recent years the spirit of the college as expressed through the Christian staff, united in their Christian aim. It is, no doubt, this need of a company of teachers, united among themselves in their recognition of the Christian purpose of their college, to which Dr. Hogg refers when he underlines in his defence of the "mass lecture," to which reference has been made already, the condition "*provided the college has the right kind of staff.*"

(b) *The chapel service*

The method of personal influence and the requirement, if that influence is to be strongly reinforced, of a unified Christian staff, suggest a further method which centres round the Chapel, a place of worship and devotion set apart from the ordinary activities of the College. The Christian religion is not only or mainly a body of doctrines : it is centrally worship. "Religion," in the words of Baron von Hügel, "is adoration." The presence of the Chapel symbolises that fact, and reminds the non-Christian as well as the Christian of this need of the spirit. The need for such a centre of Christian worship has been felt strongly in recent years. In earlier times a Chapel did not often, except in the Anglican colleges, form a part of the college equipment. This may have been due to the fact that in those days the Christian students were few, but the sense of the need for a Chapel and the feeling that it should have an important place in the life of the college indicate something of a change of emphasis. Not only is there often a Chapel, but sometimes there is also a quiet room which is made use of for personal and private devotion by the devout non-Christian student as well as by the Christian. But in addition, the Chapel calls Christian staff and Christian students, and any others who may feel drawn to join them, to a common and repeated act of worship. This and the frequent meeting of the staff for prayer or for the celebration of the Sacrament, remind the Christian members of the college of their common dedication to the service and obedience of their Lord. There is perhaps no more marked feature of the colleges of to-day, distinguishing them from most of the colleges of a generation ago, than the importance given to the Chapel and to what the Chapel symbolises, namely, a relation with God to which the Christian religion continually summons men.

(c) *The college hostel*

The college hostel is a yet further medium through which the Christian message can be effectively presented. The more a college becomes residential in character, with

hostels in which Christian as well as non-Christian students live, and where effective personal contacts can thus be made with them by the staff, the more fully and persuasively should it be possible to make known the Christian life as well as Christian truth. The realisation of the value of this method of presentation has caused a continuous increase in hostels in the colleges and the desire to make the community life more real. The Chapel and the hostel are important elements in the creation of that Christian atmosphere in which the reality of the Christian life can be alone fully and effectively demonstrated. This is why much thought has been given in some colleges, as, for example, in St. John's College, Agra, to the size and arrangement of the hostels with a view to securing that within them this family life may be possible. Students, Christian and non-Christian, and members of the staff can thus be associated together in close fellowship. The Christian student is an important element, along with the Christian staff, in producing this situation, and much will depend, of course, upon the reality of his Christianity. Sometimes the Christian students are accommodated in a hostel of their own, separate from their non-Christian fellow-students. It is generally felt, however, that Christians should live alongside of non-Christians in those relations of daily fellowship through which a living Christian witness can most of all be borne.

(d) *Christian social service*

There is yet another mode in which the spirit of Christ cannot but express itself, and in which it is to-day expressing itself in many of the colleges. Christianity demands the opportunity of exercising Christian love in the service of those who are in need. A fine example of how this opportunity can be provided in the life of a college is to be found in the close relation of the Alwaye College with a "Settlement" where boys of the depressed classes are cared for by former students of the college. Reference could also be made to the Scout work done in the Gorakhpur College and in other colleges, to the village school work and various kinds of village work carried on by the American College, Madura,

to the Social Service League in St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and to many other similar activities connected with many of the colleges.

There can be no question of the value, both as a testimony to the true ends of religion and as a witness to the Christian law of love, of such opportunities of service and of help in which the students may share. We are told that two of the students of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, recently baptized, were attracted towards Christ by their recognition of His power as lying behind the work for the poor of Delhi carried on by one of the members of the college staff. In Trinity College, Kandy (a College which did not, however, come within the scope of our investigations), where many students have come into the Christian Church, a study of the influences that had this result in the case of the men of one year is said to have shown that all of them were won by the demonstration of Christianity given by such service of others. This aspect of the Christian witness should have all the more power over students at the present time, when all over India the duty of service of those in need is being recognised and institutions are being created such as the Seva Samitis, the Seva Sadan, the Servants of India Society, and so on.

At the same time there is a danger lest these opportunities of service should be artificial and unreal, and not genuine and spontaneous demonstrations of the spirit of Christ moving in His children. Tasks of service that come naturally in the life of the student should be free from any such suspicion of unreality, and should fulfil their Christian aims all the more effectively because of the wider purpose which these ministrations are meant to serve. The call to Christian service is a call not merely to bind up the wounds of individual sufferers, but to set free the oppressed and to lift up from their degradation the whole body of the people. That is the kind of social service that rightly appeals most powerfully to the Indian student at the present time.

(e) *Other methods*

These are some of the ways in which in many of the Christian colleges the witness of the Christian message is

reinforced by the practical demonstration that Christian worship, Christian fellowship, and Christian service bring. Other methods as well are used which need only be mentioned. Most colleges encourage among their students the formation of branches of the Student Christian Association, and the Christian members of the staff co-operate with the Christian students in the organisation of student camps and retreats. Not only are the Christian students themselves helped in this way, just because they are helping themselves, but sometimes—and all the more for that very reason—non-Christians are attracted and interested. In some colleges a member of the staff is specially entrusted with the guidance of the religious life and teaching of the college, and partially relieved from other work in order that he may have the necessary leisure for this purpose. Some colleges, again, show a concern lest their Christian students should be alienated from the life and service of the Church, and take pains to secure that they shall have opportunity of joining in its worship and of taking part in its activities. Their failure to effect this is not always due to the fault of the college. All these are methods of great value that may be made use of to supplement and make more real the teaching given during the period of religious instruction, or, in cases where attendance at such classes for religious instruction is voluntary, to provide channels by which the Christian message and the Christian influence of the college may be conveyed even to those who do not choose to submit themselves to religious instruction. No “conscience clause” can deny to a Christian college its right to exhibit in such ways as these the life that is Christ Jesus, or can forbid the creation in the college by such means of an atmosphere in which the students must surely be attracted towards Christianity.

(4) *The question of conversion*

The question now arises whether, as a matter of fact in the Christian colleges as they are to-day, conversions, or baptisms which we look for as following upon conversions, are actually taking place. It can hardly be said that they are. During the four months spent by us in visiting thirty-eight

Arts colleges we heard of few baptisms as actually having taken place during that period, and certainly not of many who were under instruction for baptism or desiring to make this profession. It is not probable that the total number of baptisms from all these colleges in the last ten years would be more than, if as many as, a dozen. That is so in spite of an earnest longing for such results on the part of the Christian teachers and much distress at the apparent lack of success of their earnest efforts. Into all the reasons for this it is impossible to enter, but some are obvious. Some, indeed, are inherent in the times and the circumstances in which men live to-day, and especially in the times and the circumstances in which men live in India. The life of to-day with its engrossment with the externals of life is everywhere hostile to the claims of religion. But those things that shut men's ears everywhere to these claims are multiplied many fold in India and in the relationship that the messengers of Christianity are inevitably seen to bear to those to whom they bring their message. Of the obstacles that have here to be overcome it is not necessary to speak. We have seen how they have contributed to strengthen Hinduism and Islam, and they have contributed simultaneously to weaken the power of Christianity to draw and win men, when these men are ardently patriotic and apt to be prejudiced. But further, and certainly not less important, there is, in the case of the students in the colleges, the pressure of the whole examination system, which, as we have seen, thwarts and constricts the cultural value of the education it is meant to give, and which similarly thwarts and constricts the seeking and questioning religious spirit of the students it is meant to help towards truth. The students find it difficult in these circumstances to give their minds seriously to anything that lies outside of the examination programme, to which they are bound, like Prometheus to his rock, by the bonds of economic necessity.

This enslavement of the student on the one hand and of the teacher on the other is what, more than anything else, prevents the Christian college from being effectively Christian. We were told by the Principal of a women's

college that the parents of a Christian student withdrew her from the college and sent her to the Government college in order to save for examination purposes the time given to the Scripture class. Mr. Corley has already been quoted as saying that so long as the staffs of Christian colleges are so overworked that they cannot find time or strength to engage in "the conduct of social, philanthropic, and 'border-line' studies, in which Christian personality and the Christian outlook on life will tell most decisively," the ideal of giving an education of high Christian quality is unattainable. In these circumstances we need not be surprised if the Christian results we desire are not attained. In the early years of the Christian college things were different. The examination machine was not then in control; there was leisure on the part of both teacher and student. If we are to have the results that accompanied this early Christian witness we must find some means whereby we can win back for the teacher the opportunity to bear effective witness and for the pupil the mind set free to reflect.

There is one thing more to be said, and it may best be said in the words of one of those with most authority to speak on this subject both by reason of experience and of reflection. "A good many years ago," he says, "it seemed to become clear to me that one main reason why we won so few baptized converts—why those whom our teaching and influence helped to real discipleship so frequently felt no obligation to ask for baptism—was that too many of us Protestants have no adequate sense of the place of 'the fellowship' or Christian community in the essential Christian experience. We present the essential Christian life as the individual's response to the revelation to himself of God in Christ, and we think of baptism mainly as the individual's way of publicly confessing the personal response he has made to that revelation. Is it any wonder, then, that the Hindu who has been won to a Christian response to the Lord Jesus is apt to regard baptism as an unimportant ceremony, and not as joining a community, fellowship in and with which is of the essence of the Christian life?"

(5) *Indirect influence of the colleges upon the religious life of India*

But are the colleges exercising their influence in another way, and, while not obtaining baptisms, "Christianising" the whole community? This was, as we have seen already, the aim that Dr. William Miller saw to be in his day that which Christian colleges should set before themselves, not the winning of men by the evangel, but the *preparatio evangelica* for the later day when that evangel could indeed win men. We have dealt in an earlier section of this chapter with the question whether it is the case that the Christian college sets an unmistakable stamp of character upon its students which distinguishes them from the students of other colleges. The conclusion there reached is that while in this matter Christian colleges still stand high, they have not the pre-eminence they once had. That is as near as we can get, without more accurate records than are at present available, to any judgment on this subject. The statement of a Principal just quoted is relevant here, and we can be sure that there are a considerable number of "unbaptized Christians" who issue from the Christian colleges and have their leavening influence. At the same time any wide-spread "Christianising" is less in evidence now than it was a generation or two ago. Christian ideals have, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, become to a considerable extent the common property of the educated classes. Whether they come by a Christian channel or are recognised as Christian they are largely in the air such people breathe and have an influence upon them. For that reason the Christianising influence of the colleges is not as apparent as in former days. In a sense it is true of these classes that "all can grow the flower now, for all have got the seed." Whether they possess the Christian motive may be another question, but they largely measure their lives—or other people's lives—by standards that may be called Christian.

There is, however, another way in which the influence of the colleges is being exerted. They have undoubtedly had a large share in that permeation of Hinduism and of

Islam by what we may call Christian ideals and Christian sentiment to which we called attention in an earlier chapter. We find Professor Radhakrishnan, who was himself a student in two Christian colleges, setting forth "the Hindu view of life" in terms which would appear to be considerably influenced by Christianity, and, indeed, making use at times of the language of the Bible to convey his ideas. He, indeed, and others also are endeavouring to build a bridge between the two religions. It is true, as has been shown already, that the teaching of the Christian college is sometimes said to have the effect of making the student claim that all religions are equally true. What has been called "the blight of interreligionism" may well be a consequence of a shallow study of Christianity. At the same time there is a valuable permeation of non-Christian religions with such ideals as those of service and of love of one's neighbour which are cardinal to Christianity. This permeation is undoubtedly operating as a real *præparatio evangelica* among the Hindu and Muslim population. What Dr. Porter says of Gordon College in Rawalpindi could be said of the influence exercised by many other colleges. "The college is serving a great purpose," he writes, "in opening up the Trans-Jhelum and the Frontier Provinces for evangelistic work. Itinerating missionaries find the homes and villages of college students more accessible than other places."

2. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE COLLEGES TO THE CHURCH AND TO THE NATION

(1) *Ways in which the colleges touch the life of the Church*

In what has been said so far of the influence that Christian colleges are exerting we have considered them mainly in their relation to their non-Christian students. But we must not forget that they have another field of service to which attention has been called in an earlier chapter and which is of constantly increasing importance. There are now all over India, and especially in the south, colleges

whose manifest duty is in the first place to the Christian population round about them. There are, indeed, a few "pioneer colleges" in which the number of Christians is almost negligible and is likely, unless something unforeseen should happen, to remain so for a considerable period. But with these exceptions, in all the other colleges special attention must be given to the care of the Christians. It is fully recognised nowadays that there is nothing that matters so much for the future of Christianity in this land as the health of the Church. The creation of men of character and ability to lead her and to serve her is a task of supreme value, of which the colleges have been realising increasingly the importance. Only through such men can Christianity be so planted in the land that it can take root downwards and bear fruit upwards. Colleges like the Union College projected for Bezwada, Murray College at Sialkot in the Punjab, and Scott College at Nagercoil in the extreme south have a task laid ready to their hands in the service of the Christian population coming up from ignorance round about them. The aim, too, of the plans for work of extension and research which we are inviting the colleges to regard as one of their most important functions is that these colleges may by such means serve the cause of the poor and the neglected everywhere, and especially of those among them who are Christians. The colleges have too long been out of relation to the Indian Church. They are now called to place themselves at her disposal so that the needs of the Church and her problems shall, along with the needs of the whole body of the people, be their special care and interest. To help the Church to understand the Christian faith in the context of the Indian religions; to help her to find a Christian answer not only to such theological problems, but to those of an economic character that so life may be made more liveable for the people; and to place at her disposal the knowledge that she needs and that will lift her up from ignorance and bondage—these are tasks that the colleges should be asked to undertake, for they are part of the debt that the learned owe to those who are unlearned.

There are two ways in which the contribution of the colleges to the work of the Church can be conceived. We may think of it as a direct contribution through theological teaching such as is now being carried on in theological colleges, or we may think of it as indirect through the provision of workers, lay and clerical, and the furnishing of such general knowledge, economic, social, and industrial, as the Church needs for the carrying out of its task in India.

Our terms of reference require us to deal with both forms of service. We shall consider in a later chapter the subject of theological teaching, and there explain the relation which we think the Arts college should have to the Theological college and the service which each can render to the other. Here we are concerned with the more general form of service which the colleges are rendering to the Church.

We turn, therefore, to the next subject upon which the judgment of the Commission is expressly requested in our terms of reference, viz. "the extent to which the colleges are contributing to the upbuilding and strengthening of the Churches." This has always been recognised as one of the main objectives that Christian colleges should have before them. Dr. William Miller saw education in his day as, in one of its aspects, "a strengthening, training, developing agency" for Christians. This was not, indeed, in his view the primary aim of the Christian college; he viewed it "as secondary, as almost a by-product of its work for non-Christians." He was afraid that educational advancement and "the higher position to which education leads" would become "the sole or chief object of desire to the Christian." This danger of which Dr. Miller was aware is certainly as real in the colleges of to-day as ever it was. And yet the danger must be faced and the "strengthening, training, developing" task of the college in its relation with the Christian Church must be reckoned as no longer secondary, but as having a place side by side with the ministry of reconciliation which it discharges by its work for non-Christians. There is no function that the Christian college performs at the present time in India that is more important, nor any that has more significance for the coming of the

Kingdom of God to that land, than this of strengthening the fibre of the Christian people, of serving them in all their highest interests, of inspiring and equipping them for their calling as witnesses to India of what Christ is and what He can do for men.

There are various ways in which this service can be rendered. It may be rendered by the direct participation of professors and students in the work of neighbouring churches. It may be rendered by solving problems which perplex the leaders of the Church and furnishing them with the needed knowledge for the shaping of their policy. It may be rendered by training workers either as laymen or as ministers, and, in general, furnishing leadership in the Christian enterprise.

All these things the colleges are doing, but, for the reasons we have already explained, they are doing them imperfectly.

(2) *Contribution of the colleges to the leadership of the Church*

To make the Church in India not, as Dr. Miller feared it might become, "a guild for the worldly welfare of its sons," but what Christ meant it to be, a leaven in the midst of this non-Christian land, an instrument for the bringing to it of His Kingdom—that is the service of the Church that the colleges have to seek to render and that they have in a considerable measure been rendering. The C.M.S. delegation which visited India ten years ago bear witness that "the leaders of the Indian Christian community, and indeed many of the leaders of the non-Christian community also, are the standing monument of the far-reaching and beneficent influence of mission education in the past." It is a monument in which the college may well rejoice. Forty years ago the Scottish delegation gave some examples of the service of this kind rendered by the Scottish colleges. "One of our educational converts," they wrote, "has converted 1200 Mangs, another has organised a splendid system of girls' school at Madras and has been able by quiet, continuous work to provide Christian school-mistresses for

every class." Again the authors of *The Story of Serampore and its College* write: "To those acquainted with the history of Indian Christianity in the north, and especially in Bengal, the claim that Serampore supplied the leadership in the Indian Christian community of the past few generations will appear neither extravagant nor partisan." What was done in that earlier generation is still being done to-day. Of what Bishop Azariah has done in one of the great mass movement areas it is unnecessary to speak. An able convert from Islam in the north, a graduate of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, is the missionary worker in charge of a large village area in the Punjab, serving the poor and the illiterate, while a convert of the Mannargudi Wesleyan College is the trusted leader of the humble people in a similar district in the south. These are a few outstanding examples of a service of incalculable value that the colleges are continually rendering to the whole Church. The colleges furnish the upper rungs of a ladder by which the "lad of parts" climbs to a position of influence, a position which some at least learn to make at the same time a position of service rendered for Christ's sake. To teach their students, Christian and non-Christian, that he who would be first among them should be the servant of all has been a task that the colleges have always kept before themselves, believing that this is the one road of hope for India. Mr. Mayhew expresses the conviction of every educational missionary when he declares that moral progress in India depends on the general transformation of education by explicit recognition of the spirit of Christ.¹

It is true that not as many as one could wish, having climbed the ladder, have been willing to give themselves to the humble ministry of the ignorant and the poor. One must remember how deep the descent which that ministry demands has to be. The great mass of the members of the Church have come up from bondage and have still upon them many of the bonds of ignorance and of evil habit. We must not minimise the sacrifice that a man of education and of culture has to make if he is to give his life to lifting

¹ *The Education of India*, p. 210.

these people out of their degradation. It has to be frankly recognised that not as many as we could wish have been willing to face this sacrifice. Bishop Whitehead, in an indictment of Christian Higher Education that has been already referred to, writes : " With very few exceptions the young men educated in the high schools and colleges will not go to the villages. Bishop Azariah illustrates the good which men of education can do in the villages ; but there are very few men like him, even in South India." That has to be fully admitted. Not many of the graduates of the colleges have been willing to make the sacrifice that is involved in becoming pastors of congregations that are seldom able to afford to give such salaries as a graduate hopes for. " Not many wise men after the flesh," St. Paul says, but he does not say " not any." There are some others who are like one convert from Brahmanism, a graduate of Hislop College, Nagpur, whose life is an exemplar of the true pastor serving in self-forgetfulness " the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost."

(3) *Isolation of the colleges from the Church and the problems it raises*

Fully as one recognises the service that the colleges even to-day are rendering to the Church by the leadership that the members of their own staffs give to the Churches of which they are members, by their provision of men who serve the Church as teachers of Christian boys in High Schools and by the notable example that some have set in blazing the trail for their fellow-Christians by their labour for the uplift of the people, the fact remains that much that every one desires that they should do in this direction remains undone. As the college staffs have become more and more burdened with the increasing load of University requirements, as they have become increasingly slaves of the machine, it has become less and less possible for them to find time and opportunity to engage in tasks outside of the curriculum for the good of the Church or even, perhaps, to do all that needs to be done to awaken in their Christian students a full sense of this calling in Christ Jesus. It is seldom, now-

adays, for example, that an educational missionary from outside India can master a vernacular sufficiently to enable him to lead the worship of a congregation or to take part in evangelistic effort. In the spacious days when first the colleges arose such things were possible, and William Carey and John Wilson and Bishop French were able to add to their duties as teachers an immense amount of work for the extension of the Church and its strengthening and up-building. Individual foreign missionaries who are on the staffs of colleges have made contributions of distinction to literature and research in spite of the burdens that their teaching duties place upon them. But it is not expected of colleges as such that they should be centres for the production of literature in English or in the vernaculars. Dr. J. N. Farquhar, the inaugurator of a new era in the study of Indian religious thought and practice, was indeed at one time a Professor in a Christian college, but it was not as such but as Literature Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. that he rendered his great service to Indian scholarship and Indian Christianity. The first newspaper ever printed in any Indian language, the *Samachar Darpan*, was issued from the Serampore Press in the same year as that in which the Serampore College was established, but no one considers to-day that vernacular journalism and the Christian college have any relation to each other. Serampore College also from its foundation had as its aim not only the provision of an ordinary liberal education, but also "the preparation of missionaries from those born in the country." Since that day, however, it seems to be taken for granted that these two types of education should travel by separate ways and that theological training is no concern of the Christian college. Even when the Henry Martyn School was established for the advanced study of Islam it was not proposed that it should be related to one of the already existing colleges. The life of these colleges had become isolated and they were absorbed in their own concerns. Least of all would it ever occur to any one that it was possible that they could in any organised fashion serve the needs of the village Christians who to so large an extent make up the Indian Church.

It is manifest that there is urgent need, both for the sake of the colleges and of the Church, that these two that have become so separated from each other should be brought together. The Church in her poverty and ignorance cries out for the ministry of the college to lift her up and give her of her knowledge ; the college has to learn how blessed it is to give to God's poor. In this way, and in this way alone, the college will be brought out of its isolation into the stream of human life and human need, and all its activities and interests will be thereby revived. There are questions to be answered, books to be written, religions and philosophies to be understood and interpreted, all for the purpose that the Christian people to whom we are in the first place bound may be lifted up out of ignorance and led into the light. These things the colleges are manifestly called to do. Hitherto men have been enabled to climb one by one up the ladder of learning ; there must now be opened a highway for the general body of the ignorant to travel by. This highway in the desert the colleges can build. What Serampore was in the days of William Carey every college should be, serving the Church by the provision of literature in English and the vernaculars, by conducting extension schools for village teachers and village pastors, by studying the economic problems of the rural and industrial population, by the study of the problems that Hinduism and Islam present. Thus being brought together in mutual understanding and sympathy, both the college and the Church will find their reward : the one the reward that the service of others always brings, the other the reward of the breaking forth upon her of a new dawn of hope.

(4) *The contribution of the colleges to the life of the nation*

What we have seen to be true of the relation of the colleges to the Church, of which they are in a special degree the servants, is no less true of their relation to the nation as a whole. Here as there we see a great opportunity of service of which only partial and inadequate use is being made.

When we ask what is the greatest contribution which the colleges can make to India's need in the changeful and

perplexing situation in which she finds herself to-day, we feel that we have answered the question in principle in what has already been said. To give the students who come to them a sound education, to open their minds to the opportunities of service which are all about them, and through contact with the Gospel of Jesus Christ to inspire them with the spirit which will enable them to render that service effectively ; to furnish leaders for the Christian community, which in its growing numbers and enlarging influence is becoming a factor of increasing importance in India's national life ; and through the studies of its scholars into the baffling problems—economic, social, and religious—which cry out for solution, to lay a firm basis on sound knowledge for wise action : this is to do for India what India most needs.

This is in fact the service which the Christian colleges have rendered in the past—a service whose significance it is difficult to exaggerate. They have trained men and women who have been leaders in many fields of useful activity. What is even more important, by their resolute opposition to a narrow communalism and the demonstration which they have given in their own community life that friendship and understanding is possible between caste and caste, religion and religion, they have set an example which is never more needed than in these days of increasing communal tension.

That India appreciates this service was shown in an impressive manner at the celebration which took place last December of the centenary of Dr. Duff's college in Calcutta, when national leaders of the extreme left and of the extreme right united in their testimony to the service that the college had rendered through a hundred years. Just a month later, in Edinburgh, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri paid an eloquent and moving tribute to Dr. William Miller for his part in "shaping the whole of the higher education of the Madras Presidency." "Tens of thousands of families," he declared, "remember his name to-day, and cherish it with profound affection and love." We were deeply impressed, wherever we went in Madras Presidency, by the evidence of the influence the Madras Christian College

is exercising and has been exercising for so many years, through its alumni, upon the public life of the Province. Its students, the Principal tells us, "are to be found in all walks of life up to membership of the Governor's Executive Council, Ministers in charge of 'transferred departments,' the High Court Bench, the I.C.S., the Episcopate." And what is true of these great colleges is true also in its measure of many others.

Yet, while all this is true and we have a right to rejoice that it is true, it is also true that, for reasons which we have already explained, this service is being rendered less effectively than in the past, and, unless conditions are radically changed, is likely to be rendered still less effectively in the future. What we have seen to be true of the growing isolation of the colleges from the life of the Church, is true in the larger field of the life of the nation. Useful though they may be in the narrow circles in which they work, valuable as is the contribution they make to the lives of individual students, they are no longer on any large scale centres to which the thoughtful men and women of India look for the inspiration and enlightenment they need.

It is because our survey has helped us to realise how greatly India needs such inspiration and such enlightenment that we desire for the Christian colleges the recovery of such freedom and initiative as will make it possible for them to render this service in the most effective way.

CHAPTER VI

A REVIEW AND CRITICISM OF PROPOSED ALTERNATIVES

I. THE ISSUES DEFINED

IN our attempt to sum up this appraisal of Christian colleges as they are, the picture presented is that of our colleges working hard against great odds. They have been and are doing most valuable work under these conditions. We do not want our criticisms to be taken as criticisms of what the colleges have done. What we are asking ourselves is whether the conditions under which we are allowing our Christian teachers to work are not often wasteful of their best gifts. The chief impression that we get is that, if nothing can be done to mend matters, the alliance between the Christian colleges and the Government and University system, while it has of course given the colleges great opportunities for service, has on the whole been bought at too great a price. Christian higher education has seemed to be financially a cheap form of missionary enterprise. The Missionary Societies have contributed, as we have seen, not more than a third of the total cost of the Christian colleges. But for this cheapness they have had to pay in more serious ways. They have largely lost control of the content of their education. They have had to give their teaching and exercise their religious influence in an atmosphere largely perverted by the necessity of examinations. They have had to spend so much time and energy in creating and maintaining their opportunities for service that they often have not time and energy to use these opportunities as they might. They have had to attach to their staff a large proportion of non-Christian teachers who for the most part are indifferent to their Christian purpose and sometimes actually work against it.

This situation has come about not because the purpose

and policy originally inspiring the Christian colleges were mistaken, but because the conditions of the alliance between the colleges and the University system have changed. How that change has come about has been described in an earlier chapter. The effects of the change may be summed up by saying that the University system has become more rigid and systematic, leaving less room within it for the free development of the distinctive purpose of the Christian colleges, and at the same time the colleges have become more subdued to the utilitarian purpose of success in examinations for Government service.

So dominating and prevailing is that utilitarian purpose that it infects the character of the teaching even in the Christian colleges. The conditions which made the alliance between the Christian colleges and the Government and University system defensible and advantageous no longer exist, or exist only in a small degree.

These are criticisms of the colleges in regard to their relation to the University system. We have also had to notice in our last chapter that they are too remote and separated from the rest of the Christian enterprise. The India of to-day and the Christian community in India are crying out for the enlightenment of Christian knowledge, of scholarship and science informed by the teaching of Christ. But this is not being given, except in small degree and in indirect ways, by the Christian colleges.

What is being done—the education of students—is being done under great and growing disadvantages, and one great service, which only institutions of higher learning can render, is hardly being performed at all.

We may notice finally that these criticisms are not criticisms of this or that college, but of the general conditions under which the work of all the colleges is being carried on. They can only be cured, therefore, by a general plan which shall somehow change the system as a whole, and by the co-operative action of all concerned.

Nevertheless, as we have said in an earlier chapter, the needs of the student population of India present an opportunity for Christian service which cannot be neglected.

What, then, are we to do? Three alternative policies were put before us:

- (1) We might persist in the present policy, in spite of all its defects, for the sake of the opportunities which it offers.

The other two alternatives suggested ways in which we could serve the students of India without acquiescing in the evils of this present system.

- (2) We might withdraw from the task of higher education altogether and endeavour to reach the students and the educated classes of India by other methods.
- (3) We might set up a Christian University.

We propose in this chapter to review these alternatives and to explain why none of them seemed adequate.

2. THE FIRST ALTERNATIVE: PERSISTENCE IN THE EXISTING POLICY

There is first the policy which is actually being pursued, the acceptance of conditions as they are for the sake of the opportunities they offer. The Christian colleges in India to-day have, as we have seen, in great measure largely abandoned the attempt to control the content and method of their education: they are largely taking the system as they find it and concentrating on what has always been a characteristic contribution of theirs—their work of character building and personal influence and their religious teaching. From our review in the previous chapters of the colleges as they are, there has emerged a remarkable contrast between the pioneering experimental work which is going on in the colleges in regard to personal influence and religious teaching and the absence of any such initiative and experiment on the purely educational side. In our appraisal of the religious work of the colleges, we have found many fruitful experiments being made and need only recommend their general adoption. There is nothing corresponding to this

in our account of the place of the colleges within the University system. Their initiative and experiment are largely lacking, for there the Christian colleges have abandoned the lead which they once possessed.

This alternative of accepting the University system as it stands, abandoning the attempt to make the colleges' share in it distinctive of their Christian purpose, being content to regard it as an opportunity for personal influence and religious teaching, is not, we are convinced, a policy in which we should acquiesce. We have said a good deal above about the evils it involves. We would only add two points.

(1) It is an unstable policy. For inasmuch as the colleges do not really make their own opportunities for further service by the distinctive character of their educational work, but use the opportunities provided by the system, they are at the mercy of changes in the system, and inasmuch as they no longer lead in the system, they are having less and less control over these changes. What has happened in the United Provinces is a significant warning of what might easily happen elsewhere.

(2) It puts our teachers in an intolerable position. Our colleges ought to be places in which men can make the characteristic contributions of the scholar and the teacher. But we are asking our teachers to do second-class educational work in order to have the chance of doing first-class religious work—a position in which no Christian teacher can acquiesce.

For to use the argument from opportunity to defend persistence in the present policy is not really defensible. The moment we are content with a service, not because we really believe in it or think it intrinsically worth doing, but because it gives us an opportunity for service we believe in, we are admitting something unworthy into our work which will sooner or later spoil the whole. We must regain the unity of spirit which inspired the work of the pioneers of Christian education in India. If we cannot make our educational work an integral part of our Christian service, if we cannot inform it with the spirit of Christ, we had better

abandon it. But it remains true that the need of the student population of India for what Christianity has to give is so great that we cannot acquiesce in such abandonment till we have considered every possible means of remedying the defects which have brought us to these considerations.

3. THE SECOND ALTERNATIVE : WITHDRAWAL FROM HIGHER EDUCATION IN FAVOUR OF OTHER METHODS

We turn then to the second alternative which has been proposed ; namely, that the Churches should abandon the attempt to supply facilities for higher education in colleges of their own, and should find other ways of bringing Christian influence to bear upon students in institutions of higher learning. Among the more important ways which have been suggested are : (a) the maintenance of hostels for students attending non-Christian colleges ; (b) what has been called the " Ashram " method ; (c) the production and distribution of Christian literature.

All of these seem to us useful, but, for reasons presently to be explained, none of them provide adequate substitutes for the existing colleges.

(a) *Hostels for students in non-Christian colleges*

We have been charged to make inquiry as to " the value of hostels for students attending non-Christian colleges as a means of bringing Christian influence to bear upon the educated classes." There have been several hostels of this kind whose record is notable and whose influence upon the educated classes has undoubtedly been considerable. One of these is the hostel in Allahabad formerly carried on by the C.M.S. as the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, now under the American Presbyterian Mission and known as Holland Hall. Holland Hall has a direct relation with the teaching University of Allahabad, its students being students of that University and receiving from the members of the staff resident in the Hall " tutorial and other supplementary instruction." These may be, and two of them actually are, in addition, members of the regular teaching staff of the

University. It will thus appear that Holland Hall is in a position intermediate between a hostel that is actually part of a college equipment and a hostel entirely outside of a college. Formerly, as the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, it was in the latter relationship with the colleges round about it, serving them from the outside. It had when it was in that position, and it has now, a unique place in the student life of Allahabad, exercising upon its students a Christian influence the significance of which cannot be doubted.

The Oxford Mission Hostel of St. Luke in Calcutta is another hostel with a long and honourable history. It receives students alike from missionary, Government, and private colleges, and aims at having one missionary superintendent living in the hostel for every twenty students. The warden is of opinion that where a Christian college cannot be established, hostels for Christian students should be provided to which a small proportion of non-Christians should be admitted.

The Y.M.C.A. also maintains at various centres hostels which are available for students attending any college. There is a small hostel of this kind in Bombay and another in Calcutta with fifty students. These have established a fine tradition, and in the case of the latter we are told that its students feel a loyalty to their hostel which is often stronger, in the opinion of the warden, than their loyalty to their college. The warden is able through a night school and a wolf cub pack to give them opportunities of service of which they take advantage.

There can be no question of the value of the work that is being done in the face of adverse conditions by the hostels named above, and they are by no means the only ones that could be named. Of special interest is a small hostel which has been recently established in connection with the Christa Seva Sangh in Poona. Its experience is still too limited to supply material for any judgment on the usefulness of hostels in general, but it undoubtedly offers a valuable opportunity, which should be fully used, to help to stay the drift from all religion which is an increasingly marked

feature of student life in the non-Christian colleges of Poona.

There are other hostels, however, of which it is not so easy to give an encouraging report. Surveying the field as a whole, it seems clear that the opportunity of the hostel is becoming steadily more limited in its scope. Just as in the case of the college itself, so here, with the continually increasing pressure of the examination system and with the pressure of economic need demanding that examinations be passed, there is less and less leisure that the student can give to the extra-curricular activities of the hostel, and less and less inclination on his part to give his mind to anything except the obtaining of those qualifications that will enable him to earn his bread. The hostel becomes, in consequence, simply a boarding establishment in which he eats and sleeps.

The conclusion to which we are led, therefore, is that Christian hostels can never adequately take the place of Christian colleges. Where, however, such colleges cannot be provided, hostels for Christian students have their use, and to these hostels, as has been suggested above, a limited number of non-Christians should be admitted. Such hostels are especially needed in Government colleges where men or women are trained in such specialised subjects as medicine or agriculture or engineering. They would at least protect the students residing in them from some of the temptations to which Indian students residing in the great cities are often sadly exposed. Their success, as the examples quoted above demonstrate, will depend largely on their having as their wardens men of strong Christian character and personality who will be able to attract and interest the students in spite of the thralldom in which they are held by their examinations. They must be able also to maintain discipline even though they do not possess the authority that the member of a college staff can exercise. Here as elsewhere it is the exceptional individual who will succeed in overcoming the adverse circumstances that are undoubtedly to an increasing extent limiting the opportunity that the hostel presents.

(b) *The "Ashram"*

Another method that has been employed with considerable success is the creation in the student quarter of a town of a centre to which students are attracted, where lectures are given on religious subjects and subjects such as are likely to interest an educated audience, and where such persons are welcomed and relations of friendship established with them. The Danish Mission and the Wesleyan Mission carry on such work in Madras. In some cases there is a hostel in association with the lecture-hall and reading-room. The Christa Seva Sangh at Poona is attempting to elaborate this method in such ways as may make it possible to bear a more impressive witness to Jesus Christ. It forms a brotherhood or ashram within which Indians and Europeans live a common life together of prayer and service. By the example of their lives and of their worship, by the study of the non-Christian religions in the light that Christ gives, and by means of lectures and of literature, they seek to find a way to the hearts of thoughtful Indians of the educated classes and to share with them their religious experiences and aspirations.

The "ashram" method—to borrow the name of an old Hindu institution which lends itself to adaptation to modern conditions—is one which may be more widely used and will prove of real value. Its central purpose—and that in which, beyond all else, its value consists—is that it offers to the students and the educated classes the gift of Christian friendship—a gift more precious than any other which we can offer to India at the present time. These classes are to a large extent wanderers, with no house of faith in which their spirits can dwell. Its success—like that of all similar methods—must be tested by the extent to which it succeeds in winning a way to the hearts of these young people, often so lonely and dissatisfied. To break down the middle wall of partition, so making peace—that is what every Christian enterprise, whether it be college, hostel, lecture-hall, or ashram, must seek to accomplish, and in doing so it will open a way for Christ Jesus into the hearts that need Him.

(c) Christian literature

A third alternative to the college is Christian literature. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this. Anti-Christian books—the publications of the Rationalist Press Association, for example—are on sale everywhere. There is a constant demand, we are told, by Christians and non-Christians alike, for the works of Karl Marx and of Bertrand Russell. How urgent then is the need that books that present the Christian message in such a way as shall appeal to the educated classes should be readily available. Those who have tried to bring Christian books to the notice of students find them often eager to buy and read them. There is often a demand, for example, for books dealing with the devotional life as well as for lives of Christ. If it should prove to be the case in days to come that Christian colleges shall have to become fewer and that their opportunities of making Christ known shall become more restricted, the highway of Christian literature will still remain open for all to travel by who care to do so. Far more should be done in the provision in English for educated Indians of such books as are directed towards their ways of thinking and furnish answers to their questions.

Of what is already being done to meet this need nothing has been more valuable than the work of the Literature Department of the Young Men's Christian Association. Of the many useful services that the Y.M.C.A. has rendered to the educated and thoughtful people of India none has been greater than this. Reference has already been made to the work done in this field by Dr. J. N. Farquhar. Dr. Farquhar, as Literature Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., may be said to have inaugurated a new era in the production of Christian literature and to have brought about, in considerable measure, a new orientation of missionary effort in India towards the non-Christian religions. Similar work of great value in this field is being done by the Christian Literature Society of Madras. Of the importance of this work there can be no question, and of the need that it should be strengthened

and brought into closer relation with the Christian colleges and the members of their staffs.

(d) *Other methods*

These are the most important methods which are being used to bring Christian influence to bear upon the educated classes, where the more intimate contact of the college is not available. But they by no means exhaust the list. The Y.M.C.A. has been specially fertile in devising means for establishing helpful contacts with educated Indians and especially with the student class. It arranges classes and courses of lectures dealing with religious and other subjects. It provides opportunities for healthy exercise in its gymnasias and in its playing fields ; and in many other ways shows itself ready to render friendly service in the spirit of Jesus Christ.

Finally, mention should be made of such special missions to students as have been conducted in recent years in many of the cities of India. The work of Dr. E. Stanley Jones is most familiar, but it is by no means the only example. Such work has been undertaken during the past year with gratifying success by a group of Burmese students who have visited India under the guidance of Mr. Dyer, and have conducted missions in many Indian colleges. It is a familiar experience in western lands that such missions often bring to the happy fruition of changed lives the labour of the ordinary teacher or preacher. A process of deepening conviction of which the student has been scarcely conscious is confirmed and strengthened, and he is led to take the decisive step of confession. There is reason to hope that this will be the experience of many an Indian student as well.

Such are some of the methods which are being used, and may be used still more fully in days to come, to supplement, or take the place of, the Christian teaching imparted in the

college classrooms and the life of devotion and fellowship and service that bears its Christian witness within the college walls.

But while these methods are a useful supplement to the work which can be done by Christian colleges, they cannot be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for it, and that for two reasons.

In the first place, they cannot exercise such a far-reaching and profound influence upon the lives of students. They can at most do in a slight degree what the colleges are already doing to a considerable extent and with greater success. And in the second place—and this is the decisive argument—to give up Christian colleges in favour of these methods would be to renounce the idea that Christian scholarship and learning have a significant and momentous contribution to make to the life and thought of India. No doubt we have criticised the existing colleges because they are not at present in a position to make that contribution to anything like the extent that they ought. But the moral of this is that they should be enabled to perform this much-needed service more effectively, not that we should abandon them in favour of methods which cannot perform it at all.

4. THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE : A CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY OR UNIVERSITIES

These considerations lead us to the last of the alternatives which were put forward for our examination—the proposal of a Christian University. This is the proposal that we should establish, under Christian auspices, a complete system of higher education independent of and parallel to the present University system. Why, it is asked, if this system so seriously hampers our freedom, should we any longer submit to it? Why should we not follow the example of the Hindu University at Benares and the Muslim University at Aligarh?

This proposal may take two different forms : One is that we should cut loose from the University system altogether and do without Government grants or Government

or University recognition. But though under such conditions colleges might do experimental work of great value, the experience of Santiniketan shows that they would find it difficult to attract any larger number of students.

The proposal for a Christian University on the lines of Aligarh or Benares, on the other hand, would not imply doing without Government assistance or recognition. It is rather advocated as a means of acquiring freedom to carry out the distinctive purpose of Christian education and yet remain within the system of Government grants and recognition. The proposal has on the face of it much to recommend it. A Christian University which would be free to consider how it could best serve the Christian community ought to be in a position to break down the separation between the colleges and the Christian community which we have deplored. It should also be free to make the characteristic contribution of Christianity to the learning and culture of India.

We have therefore given careful consideration to this proposal. We have concluded, however, that the plan it advocates would be both unwise and impracticable, at least at the present time. It would be unwise, because it would have at least the appearance of increasing the communalism which is already the curse of India at the present time. It would be impracticable, because it would involve great and for the present all but prohibitive expense, and, in any event, even if financially practicable, it would not accomplish what we desire.

The proposal for a Christian University had been advocated before our Commission was appointed, and we were able in our questionnaire to gather the opinions of the colleges about it. We found a very strong though not a universal belief that the establishment of such a University would give the impression that the Christian Church in India was abandoning the attitude of opposition to communalism which it has hitherto consistently maintained. A minority, to be sure, do not share this view, but it is held widely enough to weigh heavily against the proposal.

A more definite objection is that it would not be possible to establish a Christian University of the affiliating type. Universities in India to-day, as we have seen, are of two kinds : unitary and affiliating. At a unitary University all the teaching is done at one place and under a faculty appointed by the University. In an affiliating University the teaching may be done in independent and often distant colleges, the responsibility of the University being confined to prescribing the course of study, conducting the examinations, and supervising the work of the affiliated colleges. If it were possible to establish a Christian University of the affiliating type, it would be possible to work out a consistent plan for the colleges as a whole and make it easier to realise the ideal of a Christian education in the colleges all over India.

We have found reason to believe, however, that even if the right to establish a Christian University were granted, the condition would be imposed, as in the case of the Hindu and Muslim Universities of Benares and Aligarh, that it must be of the unitary type. But no single unitary University could adequately meet the needs of Christian higher education in India. There would have to be several such Universities, a plan which would require a sum of money so large as to be practically prohibitive, and even then the needs and difficulties of the smaller colleges would not be adequately met.

Our review of the colleges as they are has brought us then to the position that while we cannot persist in the existing situation, none of the proposals which have been suggested as substitutes offer really practicable alternatives. We have then to ask ourselves whether there is any way in which the colleges without giving up their place in the University system of India can both recover the initiative and power of experiment to express their Christian purpose which they once possessed, and at the same time be brought

into closer and more real relation with the Christian Church in India.

We believe that there is such a way, and in the following chapters we propose to explain what it is, and to give our reasons for believing that it is a practicable way.

PART III

A PLAN FOR THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES OF INDIA

CHAPTER VII

INTRODUCTORY

ON THE CHARACTER OF THE CHRISTIAN WORK AND IN PARTICULAR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AS BEING DISTINCTIVE BUT NOT EXCLUSIVE

I. THE PROBLEM OF CO-OPERATING

WE have seen in the last chapter how the Christian colleges are suffering from an ambiguity of purpose imposed on them by their position in the University system. We have considered and rejected two proposals through which that ambiguity of purpose might be removed—the proposal that colleges should come out of the University and examination system altogether or that they should, following the example of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and the Hindu University at Benares, seek to found a Christian University. We are going to try to find a solution for our difficulties inside the system. We think such a solution possible; but just because it is not so direct or downright as the two proposals we have rejected, it is a solution implying risks. We are not now talking of the risks which may arise from changes in Indian educational policy or from the possible attitude of a changed Indian Government to all religion or to Christianity in particular. We are concerned with the much more subtle risks incidental to the necessary difference of purpose between the Christian colleges and the Universities or colleges with whom they are co-operating.

There might seem to be two different problems involved—the one concerned in the co-operation of a college with a distinctively Christian purpose with a University system which does not share that purpose ; and the other with the general problem of the terms on which Christians in a Christian institution may fruitfully co-operate with Hindus or Muslims. But in India the two problems are so interwoven that nothing would be gained by treating them separately.

Our Christian teachers in the Christian colleges are co-operating in the University system with Hindus and Muslims, and not only in the University system but in many other ways. Co-operative service in working for the needs of India is one of the greatest ways in which Christian witness is being borne in India. In that sense the Christian colleges are not communal colleges. They do not exist for the benefit of the Christian community. If they feel that they have special obligations to the Christian community and pay special attention to their Christian students, it is because they have a special duty to train that community for service for India ; and they must and do set their face against the idea that Christian colleges exist to make it easier for Christians to gain success in life. We may remind ourselves of Dr. Miller's warning against the danger of making the Church a guild for the benefit of the Christian community.

But there is another sense in which the colleges are not communal. The Christians, Indian and non-Indian, who are co-operating in the Christian colleges are convinced that they have a message which alone is a solution for the problems of humanity and therefore of India. They believe themselves to be bearers of good news which they wish to share with others. Their hope and desire is that India may become Christian. They can never acquiesce in the position that different religions are good for different communities, that all religions are fundamentally the same, and that it is for each religious community to seek to make the best of the possibilities of its own religion. This does not mean that their special work is evangelism. They are to

make the special contribution of a teacher : the main part of their work is preparation, preparing the mind to receive or fortifying the mind to maintain the Gospel. Different colleges, as we have seen, have in the past put different emphasis upon the distinguishable purposes of conversion, edification, and preparation. These are all necessary elements in the Christian enterprise, and colleges and individual teachers in the same college have their different tasks in the Christian enterprise according to their different gifts. Nevertheless, because all they do is part of that enterprise, it all has the distinctive mark of a religion which claims to have a message for all the world.

The colleges therefore find themselves in the position that they are continually co-operating with Hindus and Muslims and rejoicing in such co-operation, and yet at the same time they are pursuing a purpose with which Hindus and Muslims cannot in all respects co-operate. This does not apply only to the relation between the Christian colleges and non-Christian colleges. On the staff of practically every Christian college in India there are non-Christians who whole-heartedly co-operate with the work of the college not only in its academic teaching but in its social service and its upbuilding of character, but who do not and cannot co-operate in its evangelistic purpose.

Further, while abundant testimony is borne in India by Hindus and Muslims alike to the disinterested devotion of the Christian colleges in all kinds of service, that testimony is as often as not combined with complaints against the missionary, or, as it is called, the proselytising purpose of the Christian college, and Christians are told continually that India welcomes their co-operation in service but does not want their Christianity.

It is not an easy thing to reject all proselytism in the bad sense of that word, to be eager to co-operate in all ways with the Hindu and Muslim and yet at the same time not to allow missionary purpose to be blunted. It seems easier to do one thing or the other. If our object is to avoid ambiguity, some may say, let us do so without hesitation : let us either be exclusively and narrowly Christian in the sense

that we repudiate all co-operation with non-Christians, or, if we believe in co-operation, let us do it whole-heartedly and not pretend that we can both co-operate with non-Christians and yet talk about a distinctive Christian purpose.

2. THE UNAVOIDABLE TENSION IN CHRISTIAN WORK

Yet to adopt either of these downright alternatives would be false to our Christian message. The Christian witness of the colleges would be infinitely poorer if they did not co-operate with Hindus and Muslims in all good works, but that co-operation would soon cease to be of any value if the colleges did not, while co-operating, maintain their distinctive message and their distinctive purpose. There is always, therefore, and must always be a certain tension in the work of the Christian teacher as in all Christian work. Christian work must never be exclusive, but it must always be distinctive. It must foster and cherish what it must give away. It has constantly to maintain the balance of these two elements in its work. If it maintain that balance it will avoid a real ambiguity of purpose, but it will never altogether avoid the risk and the appearance of such an ambiguity.

This principle that Christian work must be distinctive but must not be exclusive confronts us in the most unexpected ways. If we are to maintain the distinctively Christian character of a college, it would seem that not only the staff but the students should be Christian. Yet if we had a college whose students were all Christian, they would easily become an exclusive community concerned with their own problems and living their own privileged life. We have found many instances where colleges, in order to strengthen the Christian character of their Christian students, have had a separate hostel for Christians alone, and yet have come to the conclusion that such segregation of the Christian students is a mistake. There has in practice to be the balance of these two elements : if Christian students are to live together for the common support of their Christian life, if that Christian life is going to be really active, they must also learn to co-operate and

live with their fellow Hindus and Muslims. Again, if there is one thing more than another which makes it difficult for the Christian colleges to maintain their distinctive Christian purpose, it is the presence of a large proportion of non-Christian teachers on their staff. No one has any doubt of the urgent necessity of making the staff of our colleges predominantly Christian, but if that principle be pushed to its obvious conclusion and the staff be exclusively Christian, that conclusion is not always acceptable. It is felt—and, we think, with some justice—that the Christian purpose of the college may be better served by a staff which though predominantly is not exclusively Christian. Tension then is unavoidable, but we can prepare to meet it.

3. THE ADVANTAGES AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN TEACHER

Now it is one of the chief purposes of our Report to remove all cause of the accusation often brought against the Christian colleges that they represent foreign religious domination. We wish to bring out the responsibility and initiative of the Indian Christians ; we wish to have in our colleges such a thorough co-operation between Indians and non-Indians as will lay responsibility on the Indian Christians ; but it is only fair to recognise that while there are reasons which may make it easier for Indian Christians than it has been for foreign missionaries to maintain the evangelistic purposes of the college in face of the difficulties we have described, there are also some which will make it more difficult.

The advantages of the Indian Christian teacher are obvious. He is speaking to his own people. The evangelistic work of the western teacher is resented largely because he is a foreigner. We have seen reason to believe that the evangelistic work of the Indian Christian does not arouse the same resentment. His work will escape the fatal confusion between Christian evangelism and foreign domination and influence, a confusion which is doing much to harm the Christian cause in India at the present time. The Indian Christian can be uncompromis-

ingly evangelistic without being thought to be making an attack upon India from without. We think that Mr. Mayhew is right in supposing that Christian education in India will gain enormously from the new conditions, and we have no doubt whatever that the Christian colleges must follow the example of the rest of the Christian enterprise in India and become (as they still are not) part of the enterprise of the Indian Christians. In our proposals we are only following the fruitful example of the National Christian Council. We find general agreement that the organisers of the National Christian Council were wisely guided when they insisted that the number of its Indian Christian members should be at least equal to the number of its western members.

But there are things to be said on the other side. The Christian community in India has tried to set its face against Christian communalism, but the forces working the other way are strong, and communalism may take different forms. An enormous proportion of the community have come up from the depressed classes. They are looking, and rightly looking, to their community for all kinds of help. They have tended in the past to be a community specially helped and assisted by the missionaries, and in some cases by Government, and they have because of that been accused of being a community supported and strengthened by the foreigner. If they are now and if they are in the future to escape that reproach and insist, as they ought to insist, on their being one among the communities of India, they may as a small and weak community fall under the temptation not to act in ways which the larger communities think aggressive.

Further, most of the non-Indian teachers in our colleges are missionaries in the sense that they have come out to India with a missionary intention, having taken a decisive step because they believe in the missionary or evangelistic purpose of the colleges, because they have a message which they wish to share with the people of India, and they are by all their circumstances committed to that purpose. The Indian Christian teacher on the staff is often just as truly a missionary, as truly committed to the missionary purpose

of the college, as his western colleague, but there may be nothing in the outward circumstances of his life which marks his commitment, and there may be and are on the staff of Christian colleges Indian Christians who have no such sense of decisive commitment to the distinctive purposes of the Christian college. They are all doing perfectly honourable faithful work as members of the college, but they are not necessarily much more committed to the missionary purpose than are some of their Hindu colleagues. It is on the whole true that western teachers in Christian colleges feel themselves to be engaged on a rather different because a more professedly Christian task than are their western colleagues in Government colleges, and we shall argue that that distinction should be maintained. But such Indian Christians as those of whom we are speaking need feel no such distinction between their position and the position of Indian Christians in non-Christian colleges.

There are reasons therefore why the Indian Christian teacher whose responsibility for the policy of the Christian colleges we want to foster may find it less easy to maintain the distinctive purpose of the Christian college in face of the influences which are always making for the blurring of that purpose, and the non-Indian teachers have found it difficult enough.

4. HOW TO MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF THE CHRISTIAN PURPOSE

The danger then that the evangelistic purpose of the college may be blurred by its co-operation with the University system which has existed in the past will not disappear, and we must consider what precautions we are to take against it.

In the first place, if we can give to the Indian Christian members of our college staffs a real responsibility and initiative, we shall bring them within the distinctive purpose of the college as they can never be brought if they are not given responsibility. They have too often in the past been regarded as mere instruments. They will now be full co-operators in that purpose. The Christian colleges have

suffered in the past from being under a dual form of government. Some members of their staff, mostly non-Indians, have had full responsibility. Their co-operation and planning have determined the purpose of the college. The Indian Christians have, because that full responsibility has been denied to them, been to some extent shut out from full co-operation. So long as the Christian colleges are staffed as extensively as they are now by non-Christian teachers this duality of government can never be fully overcome. But our proposals will go a long way towards remedying this cleavage within the college staff. We do not pretend that they will bring it about that all the teachers in our colleges shall be equally imbued and inspired with the Christian purpose. Differences there are bound to be. But we ought to be able to bring it about that all our teachers feel they are sharing a common responsibility and the common life of a Christian community. We have considered whether it is possible to give to the Indian Christian teacher something of that sense of decisive commitment which the foreign missionary naturally has, and we think that much could be done in that direction if it should be possible to form an association of Indian Christian teachers in our colleges which would foster their sense of vocation and make them feel themselves members of one brotherhood devoted to this cause, and we attach much importance to the consideration which is being given to this particular problem in India.

In the second place, we think that definite things can be done both within the college and in co-operation with forces functioning outside to give the teaching of the colleges a more consistent Christian character. At the present time that teaching suffers from a real ambiguity of purpose. We think it is possible for the colleges to achieve a conception of the proper content of education in a Christian college more adapted to modern conditions and more clearly thought and worked out than any conception they have now. We think also that the functions of a Christian college can be re-defined, and that they can be brought into closer and more vital relations to the rest of the Christian enterprise. Some tension and some risks must remain,

but we believe that, if the proposals we are going to discuss in the next chapter are accepted, the Christian colleges will be freed from the ambiguity of purpose from which they are now suffering, and will also, from the closer relations in which they will be to the rest of the Christian enterprise and from the new service they will be rendering to it, be able to enter confidently on a new field of usefulness. To the discussion of these proposals therefore we must now turn.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OPPORTUNITY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES AND THE CHANGES NEEDED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT

I. THE PRINCIPLES DETERMINING THE CONTENT OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

(1) *The meaning of Christian education*

WE have seen in our survey how the changing conditions have necessitated a restatement of the original purpose of the Christian College, have made its original curriculum out of date, and have subjected it, with the growth of the University and examination system, to new dangers and perversions. We have seen, further, how all these conditions have brought it about that the colleges at the present time suffer from an ambiguity of purpose. We are to try so to restate their function that they may recover the unity and wholeness of purpose that they once possessed, which will unite their secular curriculum to their religious instruction and will put the colleges into their proper place in the whole Christian enterprise. And we shall begin by trying to see whether we can find a new version of that *præparatio evangelica*, the conception of which gave such unity to the colleges of an earlier time—see whether we can find the content of the education which a Christian college should give under modern conditions.

We have referred earlier to the statement of Dr. Miller where he says : “ In such institutions all truth that could help to form thought and character aright was to be inculcated as opportunity served, and all to be so inculcated as to set in the forefront that revelation of love which is the key to human history and the germ of all true progress. As the most important of the many truths of this kind, the words of Scripture and especially the words of Christ were

to be studied. The Scriptures were to be the spearhead, all other knowledge the well-fitted handle. The Scriptures were to be the healing essence, all other knowledge the congenial medium through which it is conveyed."

Dr. Miller, as we have seen, regarded all the education given in a Christian college as serving, though in different ways, the same fundamental purpose. He clearly felt that the choice of the so-called secular subjects to be taught in a college was of fundamental importance. He felt that in teaching these subjects the college teacher was performing his Christian task as much as in the more specific Bible teaching. He repudiated throughout the notion of these other subjects as being merely taught in order to bring students who wanted to learn them to the institution. But we have also seen reason to believe that the *præparatio evangelica* which was effective for the Hinduism of 1830 and even of Dr. Miller's time is not what is wanted for the Hinduism or indeed for the India of to-day. No one can now think of western learning in itself as being the needed *præparatio evangelica*. We have in our analysis of the history of Christian colleges been faced with this fundamental problem : what is the modern equivalent of that early *præparatio evangelica*? Nor can we think that the days of preparation are over. It is more than ever true that if men's minds are to be fitted to understand and receive the Gospel or fitted to withstand the almost overwhelming influence of anti-religious forces, they have to be fortified not only by specific religious teaching but by education containing the elements best fitted to give that religious teaching a ready response.

The Christian colleges have never wavered in their determination to set forth Christ to their students. They have never had any doubt as to the central importance of their religious teaching and religious influence. They have taken very different lines, as we have seen, on the question of how far religious teaching should be compulsory, or in accepting or adopting a conscience clause ; but these differences have all been differences of opinion as to how Christ can be most effectively presented to their students,

never differences of opinion as to the vital importance of such presentation.

But, to quote Dr. Miller's metaphor, if the Scriptures are still regarded by all as the spearhead, there is no longer a well-fitted handle. Education in Christian colleges is no longer a well-balanced whole, all adapted to the one end. We have got to see whether we can remake a handle to the spearhead, and we have got to see whether we can combat those influences in the system which, so far from helping, make against the Christian purpose of the colleges.

It may be well to make clear what we mean in this discussion by the content of Christian education. That is, to elucidate the metaphor of the handle and the spearhead. We are not concerned here with specifically religious teaching, with exposition of the Scriptures, with explanations of Christian doctrine, or with the setting out of the Gospel. Though we talk of this part of education as preparatory, still less do we think that before a man can receive the grace of God his mind must be illumined by an elaborate and well-balanced education. We are not concerned with the defects of the simple, but with the difficulties of the wise and prudent. We believe that men's minds may be so narrowed by wrong views of the world or of man's nature that it becomes extraordinarily difficult for them not so much to accept, as to understand or to hear, the message of Christ. Before they can hear that message, their minds must be prepared, or rather the misleading and narrow preparation which their minds have already received must be remedied.

The pioneers of Christian education in India thought that the minds of educated Hindus had been, by the intellectual assumptions of Hinduism, so shut up against the understanding of the Gospel that they needed an intellectual preparation before they could understand it. There are in the modern world in the West intellectual forces, perverted views of the world or of man, which have the same effect upon men's minds. No man needs to be a philosopher before he can receive the Gospel, but men may be so obsessed by a bad philosophy that they cannot hear it. And so there

is such a thing as the content of Christian education in the sense in which we are discussing it here, a training of all the powers of the mind which will cure intellectual narrowness, which will prepare the mind to receive the Gospel and fortify it to maintain it. It is with the content of the education which is to give that training that we are concerned.

(2) *Needed emphases in contemporary Christian education*

Now we may take it for granted that the content of a modern Christian education in Indian colleges can only be worked out in India. It is certainly true that whatever knowledge from the West is taught in India it must be given a particular Indian setting and related to Indian needs and difficulties. This is one among several of the reasons why we have elsewhere laid so much stress on close co-operation of Indian and non-Indian Christians in the work of the colleges. But while this is so there are, we think, certain general principles which can be laid down to determine in general the content of education which Christian colleges ought to give.

We are not concerned to discover new subjects, but rather to insist upon the importance of such a balance and choice of subjects as will make all the teaching in the college form a whole.

We have seen from our survey of changing Hinduism and a changing India two things: firstly, that the characteristic nature of modern Hinduism is its indiscriminating comprehensiveness, its belief that the truth embodied in all other religions is contained in Hinduism. We have heard a Hindu teacher in a mission college explain to us that what he had learned from the mission college was that all religions were equally true. We have noticed how the report of the Free Church Delegation in 1889 drew attention to the analogy between the Hinduism of the present day and the shallow syncretism adopted by paganism in the first few centuries of Christianity. Christianity cannot have a real intellectual place in Indian thought unless that syncretism and the principles behind it are definitely countered. It is this task, and not the far easier one of exposing the absurdities

of the Hinduism of 1830, with which the Christian is now confronted.

Secondly, we have seen in considering the India of the present day that Hinduism and Islam are largely losing their hold over the mind of the ordinary student and are being replaced by an irreligious materialism : that there is little in either Hinduism or Islam which can resist the irreligious influences of economic and psychological determinism.

And we may add, thirdly, that the problem of education in India as in other places at the present day is complicated by the excessive specialisation of modern knowledge. Modern knowledge has become so complicated and so departmentalised that we have to take special steps to see that a sense of the whole and the balance of different elements in life which is so essential to a true education is not dissipated.

Our Christian education, then, has to equip the mind of India not only against traditional influences but against those anti-Christian tendencies which have come from the West ; the problem of the true content of education in India is becoming less and less different from the problem as it confronts the Church all over the world.

These are the influences which easily dominate the mind of modern India. How can a sound education guard against their perverting effects ?

(3) *The central place of history in the curriculum of the Christian colleges*

The view that all religions are the same, that everything in Christianity is already contained in Hinduism, depends in the last resort on an entire failure to understand the significance of an historical religion. If we try to get at the ultimate distinction which lies behind the conflict between Hinduism and Christianity, it is surely that Christianity is an historical religion, a religion laying stress on the all-importance of an historical revelation, permeated through and through by the belief that the purposes of God are made manifest in human history. If this be true, it would follow that history should occupy a central place in the curriculum

of a Christian college. Only minds who have been trained by a proper study of history to see the significance of the concrete event and the individual personality can do justice to the real nature of an historical religion. Only the study of history can make men appreciate the exclusiveness of truth.

But the study of history is equally important when we consider the other danger, the power in the modern world of the doctrines of historical materialism and scientific determinism. Historical materialism claims to be a philosophy of history, but it ignores the significance of individuals and of personality and perverts the true nature of historical study. It attempts to treat history on the model of the abstract sciences, and only those who have studied history in the individual and concrete can appreciate the defects of these new doctrines. It is important then that the study of economics and politics, where the doctrine of historical materialism finds its application, should be made with an historical background. One of the most interesting developments in the curriculum of Christian colleges at the present time is the growth in the study of economics and politics. These are subjects which are taken, we are convinced, not simply for their examination value, but because students feel that these subjects will help them in the service of India. They are also subjects in which the distinctive message of Christianity is perhaps especially evident. But we think that the distinctive contribution which Christianity has to make to the problems of economics and politics can only be appreciated properly if these subjects are taught—as they should be—in relation to concrete historical study.

If we then put history in the centre of our curriculum, what are its other main elements to be? The answer is, we think, on one side science and on the other side art and literature.

Modern science is one of the most important elements in a modern education. Its experimental nature, its perpetual readiness to test the truth of assumptions, its stress upon new discoveries and new truth, give it a great part to play in any true Christian education. The study of science has

this further great advantage, that it is naturally more objective than the study of the humanities. In our study of history, politics, economics, and other such subjects, we are easily influenced by our hopes and fears, our passions and prejudices, and easily confound what we wish to be with what is. If our study of such subjects is to have any chance of being free from bias or prejudice, it must be carried on by those who have learned in the study of the natural sciences something of scholarly impartiality. Nevertheless, science if it be studied only in itself is apt to give an undue place to statistics and quantity, to obscure the importance of quality, and to minimise the importance of individual judgment. The scientific materialism which is so dominant in the modern world is largely the result of science studied in this isolation, of ignoring the difference between that quantitative analysis which has made modern science so powerful an instrument in furthering man's purposes, and that very different kind of reflection which is necessary for the weighing and balancing of the purposes which science is there to serve.

History again can help to counteract such one-sided influences, but it is often not powerful enough to resist the prestige of quantitative methods unless it is reinforced by art. One of the effects of the prestige and domination of the modern applied sciences which have put into men's hands such a powerful instrument of achieving their purposes is that we all of us tend to be far too much occupied with means and far too little with ends—far too much considering how things can be done and far too little considering what is worth doing. A world dominated by science therefore makes us apt to neglect the study of and reflection upon values, and we need deliberately to escape into a world of things which are obviously valued for their own sakes. Such a realm is opened to us by art and literature, and we need to-day more than at any other time to feed our imagination and our emotions by the study of great art and great literature. An education which has not taught people through art to care for things for their own sake, and has not trained the mind in that appreciation of values which art

can give, will be fatally one-sided. We recognise that there is now and has always been a great deal of such training, especially in literature, in the Christian colleges. But we are afraid that unless its importance is clearly recognised it might easily drop out of the curriculum if external reasons conduced to a more purely scientific or economics course.

Finally, the third of the perverting influences we mentioned, the over-specialisation and departmentalism of modern knowledge, needs to be countered by contriving that education should be a well-balanced whole, and should promote by the study of philosophy an understanding of the significance of such a whole.

This doctrine that education should consist of a balance of certain distinctive elements is a very old one. The principle behind it is one to which all teachers assent, but it is perhaps a doctrine to which we assent without attaching very much importance to it. It is a principle which people discuss at educational congresses, but hardly one for which the ordinary teacher would in practice be prepared to fight. But we think the principle is really of quite vital importance when applied to Christian colleges in India. It is important enough in the West, but there there is a certain balance in the general traditional culture which counteracts any one-sided teaching in the school or college. But if any one of the elements of western culture be taken out of its setting and taught in an atmosphere where that traditional balance is wanting, it may have as unexpected effects as had the introduction of the rabbit or the prickly pear into Australia.

So much for the general principles determining the content of education in a Christian college. We are to remember that they are only general principles, that they have to be given a specific embodiment suitable to Indian conditions. We must make every effort to see that these studies are given in such a way as to produce their proper effect. What has often been wrong in the past is that the subjects taught have not only been taught in a foreign language but in a foreign rendering. Those of us who bring our studies from the West often forget how much back-

ground and atmosphere are taken for granted in the presentation of history and politics and even of science, and how much these studies need to be thought out again in Indian terms. History, for example, if it is to be felt historically must be felt as real. It will easily become a subject merely to get up for examination purposes unless it is brought into contact with the familiar circumstances and background of a student's life. It is in this regard that Indian co-operation is so essential.

2. REASONS FOR BELIEVING SUCH AN EDUCATION PRACTICABLE IN INDIA AT THE PRESENT DAY

(1) *Objections that this discussion is futile, because control of a curriculum is impracticable*

But we must stop and consider whether all this discussion is not futile. We have already said that the colleges have lost control over their curriculum. Have we not been discussing an ideal which the colleges have no power of realising? Have not our criticisms in an earlier chapter shown that the colleges cannot teach what they want, nor teach as they want? We must consider, therefore, whether there is a place for such a curriculum in an Indian University, and whether, if there is, permission to teach it can be secured, and then consider whether the colleges can teach such a curriculum as it ought to be taught. We are trying to get back to the principles of the pioneers of Christian education in India, but conditions are changed.

In 1835 there was a large coincidence between the education which the Christian colleges wanted to give for their Christian purposes and the education which the Government desired in order to train up suitable candidates for its service. It was because of that large coincidence that the colleges were able to enter into alliance with the Government and yet pursue their own purpose. We cannot assume that any such coincidence will recur. We cannot assume that the content of education which we desire for Christian purposes will fit into the curriculum laid down by

University regulations. We are faced therefore with the objection that so long as the colleges are part of the Indian University system they cannot expect to have control over their curriculum, and their thinking out what that curriculum ought to be is but a waste of time. We may make the handle to the spearhead but we shall not be allowed to fit it on.

There is a general and a particular objection against framing an ideal curriculum for Christian education. (i) It may be said that if the colleges accept grant-aid for the part they play in the University system, they cannot reasonably ask that the purposes of that education should be adapted to their benefit. Can they with a good conscience ask the Universities to recognise for grant-aid a "secular" curriculum which is professedly chosen for its contribution to Christian ends? Does not that involve that there should be a large coincidence between what the Universities want for their own purposes and what the Christian colleges want for theirs, and has not that coincidence disappeared? And (ii) it may be said that, supposing this general point to be met, the Christian colleges cannot in practice expect to find University regulations sufficiently elastic, or the demands of their students sufficiently controllable, to enable them to realise their ideal of what their curriculum ought to be?

(iii) The third objection is that if colleges could teach what they want, they could not teach it as they want. If our analysis of the conditions of teaching in colleges in India is at all correct, those subjects which we choose will be taught in an atmosphere which perverts their nature. However wisely we choose our curriculum, the subjects chosen have to be taught, as we have seen, in a largely utilitarian atmosphere, to students whose minds are necessarily for economic reasons preoccupied with success in examination, and we have seen abundant evidence of the way in which the most idealistic subjects may be used for purely utilitarian ends. Why fashion and fit a handle to the spearhead unless we can deal with the influences which will rot the handle and corrode the spear?

(2) *Answer to the objection that there is no place for the proposed curriculum in an Indian university*

To this objection it may of course be answered that the Indian University system in the past has not been hostile to religious education. The system, especially as worked out under the principles of the Despatch of 1854, has assumed the desirability within the system of colleges with specific religious teaching. It is consistent therefore with the general educational purpose of the Universities that colleges with a distinctively religious purpose should be able to fit to their own purpose the general University regulations concerning curricula. The Christian colleges would not be asking that the Universities should impose this balance of subjects upon all their students, but only that they should make such a combination of subjects a possible avenue to the degree for those who believe in it ; and that is not an unreasonable demand.

But there is a more far-reaching answer to this objection. There might still be, we believe, a large coincidence between what the Universities would wish for their purposes and what the Christian colleges would wish for theirs. The original coincidence was one between the western education which the Christian colleges thought the best *præparatio evangelica* and the education needed for candidates for Government service. We have argued that the coincidence has gone because the old *præparatio evangelica* is unsatisfactory. But the notion that the needs of Government service should determine the curriculum is no longer satisfactory to the Universities. Almost everyone in India recognises that not only the Christian colleges but the general work of the Universities has suffered by the domination of examinations which lead to Government posts. The Universities, that is, are themselves becoming restive at the effects of that original governmental purpose which prescribed University curricula. That purpose has tended to bring it about that the most important standard by which to judge the fitness of a subject for a place in the University curricula is its capacity to be used for examination purposes. Complaints against the

unreality produced in college education by such a state of affairs are not confined to Christian colleges. Not only is this so, but the growing unemployment among University graduates in India has made men more and more anxious to find other outlets and another kind of training. It is now beginning to be found out that the attempt to remedy these conditions by giving specialised training in science or technical subjects for special jobs which do not exist is no way out of the evil, and thoughtful people are more and more beginning to feel the need of a more all-round education which will make men more fitted for service in the community in new ways. It is remarkable how the study of economics and politics has become rapidly more popular in the Indian Universities in recent years, for there we have subjects which are studied not simply because of the marks they bring in examinations, but because they are felt to have some real bearing on what India needs.

Now if we consider the general principles we have laid down as determining the content of education in a Christian college, there seems nothing aggressively Christian about them. They are based on the principle that Christianity would be better understood by those who had had a balanced training for the understanding, the judgment, and the imagination. They assume that the anti-Christian views against which we wish our students' minds to be armed come from a one-sided emphasis, and are to be cured not by any sectarian emphasis, but by a restoration of the balance that has been destroyed. It may seem to many a disillusioning experience that the western culture which the early pioneers of Christian colleges thought to be a preparation for the Gospel has brought instead an irreligious materialism which is a more formidable rival to Christianity than any ancient religions. But the early pioneers were not so unsound after all. They were wrong so far as they omitted to emphasise the importance of preserving that balance of elements which is characteristic of the Christian culture of the West. Materialism is a product not of western culture as a whole but of a one-sided cultivation of one aspect of that culture, and the cure for this product of the abstract scientific mind

is to correct the one-sidedness which has produced it by putting the study of science in its proper place in the study of the whole culture which has made science possible.

We may therefore say that there still is a large coincidence between the content of education needed for a Christian college and the content now needed for the educational purposes of an Indian University. For in working for such a curriculum as we have outlined the colleges would be helping the university to realise a true educational purpose and free itself from the perverting influence of Government examinations. Only we must be warned by what has happened in the past and realise that this alliance between the University and the Christian college, if it is not to do harm, must not be too close. The college must have room for free play to give its particular emphasis and interpretation to the content it shares with the University.

(3) *Answer to the objection that permission to teach it cannot be secured*

We may now try to answer the practical question whether the colleges are likely to have the power to get the curriculum they desire made possible.

We may remark in the first place that a good deal can be done outside the curriculum to achieve the desired result. As it is, many Christian colleges take special pains to encourage the study of art and literature through musical, dramatic, and literary societies, and have already recognised what powerful instruments in Christian education such things can be. We may remind ourselves that Mr. Mayhew, in spite of all his criticism of Indian University education, mentions among the three things it has given to India the love and appreciation for Shakespeare. We found one Christian college deliberately organising a series of extra-curricular lectures to correct the one-sided specialisation of the students' curricula forced on them by University regulations. The college arranges lectures in historical and literary subjects for the science students, and *vice versa*; and one or two other colleges do something, though less systematically,

in the same direction. We think a great deal more could be done.

In the second place, we think the Christian colleges have still considerable power to determine and shape University curricula. We recognise that the University regulations as they stand often make the combination of elements we have described impossible, but we feel confident that if the colleges had thought such a combination of elements as essential as we believe it to be, they would have had considerable success in modifying regulations to make it possible. Christian colleges have had an influence upon University regulations out of all proportion to their numerical strength, just because they have usually had a more consistent and more clearly thought-out educational policy. It is true that their power to shape educational policy depends upon their being sufficiently well equipped to do pioneer work. They can often get their University recognition for the course they believe in if they have themselves been able first to organise these courses independently of such recognition. If we equip the colleges with a staff adequate enough to make such experimentation and pioneer work possible, we think they should still be able sufficiently to influence University regulations to enable them to realise the content of education they desire.

(4) *Answer to the objection that present conditions prevent the effective teaching of any curriculum*

Those who are acquainted with Indian Universities and colleges will perhaps hold that all this discussion is still too academic. We have been discussing the purpose of education as it is considered by the people who teach. Teachers and persons on academic bodies do consider such questions as a proper balance of different elements in a curriculum, and even frame regulations as the result. But such an "internal" purpose, as we may call it, never has decisive effect on a University, compared with the purposes which induce students to come to a University or the purposes which induce Government to endow Universities or to make study at a University a qualification for certain careers.

If the Indian Universities are dissatisfied with the extent to which they are dominated by the needs of Government service, they will only free themselves from the dominance of that purpose by becoming certain of the part they have to play in India and the service they have to render the community, and the Indian Universities in our opinion are not yet really integrated in the life of the community. The new India will ask sooner or later, if it is not already asking, What do we want Universities for? It is the answer to that question, interpreted of course in the light of the academic considerations we have been discussing, which will really determine the content of education in the Universities. But it is as true of the Christian colleges as of the Indian colleges in general that they are not really integrated in the life of the community they propose to serve, and the Christian community in India is also asking, What do we want Christian colleges for? The coincidence in purpose between University and Christian college which is needed if the alliance between them is to be profitable will depend upon there being some coincidence between the service which the Indian community in general asks of the Universities and the Christian community asks of its colleges. The Universities and the colleges alike will only be able to combat the influence of the examinations for Government purposes if they are conscious of a function in the community other than that of preparing candidates for Government service. We can therefore give a satisfactory answer to the question whether the Christian colleges can really control their curriculum while they remain within the University system and teach not only what, but as, they want, when we have considered whether they can escape the present dominance of examinations. We have in the preceding pages only been laying down general principles as to how the content of education in Christian colleges is to be determined. These general principles have to be given concrete embodiment in India to suit Indian needs, and we have to ask ourselves what these needs are and how this process of working out in detail a new content of education in Christian colleges is to be carried out. The answer to

this question, as we have seen, demands a statement of the function of the Christian college in its relation to the community, and that answer will also be an answer to our third objection.

Our study of the effects of examination pressure which perverts to utilitarian ends the most idealistic of subjects, has forced upon us such questions as these :

How are we to counter the effect of the pressure of examinations on the most carefully chosen curriculum ?

How are we to cure the unreality of the way in which subjects are so often studied in our colleges ?

How are we to give to our colleges the power of initiative and experiment without which their co-operation in the Indian University system may easily distort their distinctive purpose ?

How are we to work out in the concrete for Indian purposes the principles which should inspire education in a Christian college ?

These questions will be more easily answered if we ask two more questions :

How are we to give the teachers in our colleges a sphere where they may use to the full their zest for discovery and their power of initiative ? And, secondly, how are we to cure that other defect of the Christian colleges as they are to which we have called attention in the previous chapter, namely, their isolation from most of the work of the Christian Church ?

The answer that we have given is that we can do so by giving the teachers in our colleges new functions independent of their prescribed University tasks, and uniting them more closely with the rest of the Christian enterprise. These functions we designate for convenience as those of extension and research.

3. HOW THE COLLEGES CAN RECOVER THEIR INITIATIVE

(1) *Bringing the Christian colleges into the service of the community*

We have got in our Christian colleges in India a large number of picked men. We are at present making them

work under conditions where many of their gifts, their special knowledge, their power for research, find no scope. We have been impressed by the number of promising young men who feel fettered and limited under present conditions. We want to make the Christian colleges institutions in which scholars and teachers can make their characteristic contribution to the Christian movement in India. That contribution is the discovery and the imparting of truth, and that contribution they have under present conditions far too little opportunity to make. Something can be done and is gradually being done to remedy the defects of the system, but something much more radical and rapid might be done if we could give to the teachers in our colleges another sphere of service where their initiative might find unfettered play. We think we could give them such a sphere where, because it would be outside University regulation and recognition, initiative and experiment would be unhampered, if we added to their existing function of teaching the students within their walls the function of serving the Christian community with the knowledge which it needs to solve its problems. At present the colleges serve the needs of the Christian community mainly through the men they teach within their walls, but there are other ways in which institutions of higher learning might serve a community which so badly needs knowledge of the solution of its problems.

If the Christian colleges are to serve the community in the new ways in which they are now needed, they will have to have men on their staff who are concerned with finding answers to the questions which the community needs to have answered and ensuring by various forms of extension work that their answers get to the men who have to apply them in practice.

We suggest, therefore, that the colleges should add to the function they are already performing of teaching the students within their walls two other connected functions of extension and research. The Christian Church in India is becoming more and more conscious of its need for knowledge. There are all sorts of things it wants to know if it is to do its work properly. It is continually faced with

religious, social, economic, and political problems which its workers are dealing with separately in comparative isolation and with little knowledge of what is being done elsewhere. It has begun recently, as we have seen, to build up what might be called organs of research and dissemination of knowledge. It has organised a system of theological seminaries and colleges, but it is doing all this largely without reference to the mission colleges.

We want, in the first place, to bring into close connection with mission colleges all this existing work of discovery which is being done by such institutions as, for example, the School of Islamic Studies, the Literature side of the Y.M.C.A., the Christian Literature Societies, experimental schools like Moga and experiment stations conducted by individuals, and the provision made through denominational and other schools for the training of village teachers and pastors. But we want also to extend and systematise all such work of discovery. Almost every college with whom we discussed this proposal could produce suggestions of work of this kind which it thought needed doing and which, had it the means, it would gladly undertake. But we can perhaps make more clear what we have in mind by giving some examples.

There is urgent need that the Christian Church in India should think out more than it has been able to do how its message has to be stated and thought out in the new conditions of India. This, of course, is being done partly by the theological colleges, but we think it can be done far more effectively by men in theological colleges and men in the arts colleges working together.

There is an urgent need for considering the problems of the teacher in India. There are no teacher training departments in connection with the Christian colleges for men. They are badly wanted. A great deal can be done by concerted study of the educational problems both in our colleges and in Christian schools.

There is need for the production of some combined plan of Christian literature ; a good deal is being already done in that way and done often by the teachers in our colleges, but again we are sure that much more would be done if

it were recognised as a proper function of the college and deliberate arrangements made to make it more possible.

The Christian Church is concerned in all sorts of ways with the economic and social problems of the village community. All over India there are experiments being made to bring knowledge to bear to help the village, but these experiments are often isolated and are often being conducted with insufficient knowledge. There ought to be some college centre to which the workers in the village could go for the knowledge they need.

India at the present time is faced with all the problems that come with the rise of industrialism and the growing power of finance. These are problems in regard to which there is a distinctive Christian contribution, but the Christian witness in this field cannot be made without knowledge, and we badly need that men inspired with the Christian message should have time to make the necessary economic investigations to enable them to make an effective contribution. The same is true in regard to the political problems which are becoming more and more insistent in a self-governing India. Christian doctrine in its application to politics has to be interpreted in the light of actual Indian conditions and actual Indian problems.

The Christian Church is beginning to press into its service art and drama. If we are to make, as we have suggested, art an essential element of our education, we may do a great service to the Christian enterprise if we can use the artistic resources of the college in the service of the Church.

(2) *Need of making the results of research available to the community*

So far we have been talking only of discovery or research, but we are not asking simply that the colleges shall be places in which research is carried on in the ordinary meaning of that term. We think it essential that that research should be used in the service of the community and that therefore it should be directed not by the academic interests of the researcher but by the actual needs of the community,

that the men in the colleges may be seeking to answer the questions which the community is asking, and that their answers should be conveyed to the men who are going to use them and apply them. We have got, therefore, to bring about co-operation between the colleges and the workers in the field. We have got to construct not simply a department of discovery but a department of discovery and extension. We have got to bring it about that the knowledge which the colleges produce is communicated to the pastors and the teachers. The time is hardly yet ripe in India, except perhaps in Bombay, for University extension in the ordinary western sense of the term. That has been found to imply a community where education is more widely spread than it is as yet in India. We are not proposing that college teachers should give extension lectures to the villagers. The pastors and teachers are to be in our view the link between the college and the ordinary man and woman.

We have written so far as though we thought of these new functions as serving only the Christian community. That is not in our mind. We put the relation between the college and the Christian community first because we believe that the Christian college would find in the workers of the Christian Church a means of getting their knowledge practically applied to the community. The Christian Church has in many districts a special relation to and a special power to help the depressed classes, but there is much work to be done in India for all communities which the Christian college so equipped can do, and in which it can do characteristic and effective Christian service.

It may be objected that in suggesting that the colleges should help in the service of the community by finding answers to the practical problems of village life which confront the pastor and the teacher, we are putting upon them functions which are beneath the dignity of a place of Christian higher education. Should a college, a place of higher learning, be concerned with problems of village hygiene or of village agriculture? Are such extremely utilitarian concerns part of the Christian message? Our

answer is that the harnessing of knowledge in the service of love, or putting the scientific mind behind the merciful heart, is an essential part of the Christian message, and a message which is both urgently needed and warmly welcomed in present-day India. If we are afraid that such a practical ideal as service to the community may corrupt the austerity and remoteness of the ideals of scholarship, we may take heart when we remember that it was the influence of the Franciscans which produced the most glorious period of mediæval Oxford.

(3) *Reflex influence of these new functions upon other college problems*

We believe that if we can add these two new functions to the existing function of the Christian college, we can largely solve the other problems that have been troubling us. The Christian colleges can lead the Universities of India in a new direction of service to India and remove that isolation from the life of the community from which all University education is now suffering. We can give a new meaning and concreteness to the working out in India of the proper content for a Christian college if the studies we are to include in our curriculum are not only to form a balanced cultural whole, but also to be such as can be used in the service of India. If we can give the teacher a sphere where he has room for initiative and is employed in research, we may be confident that that will itself put him in the position where he can use his highest gifts as a scholar and teacher. If the research we ask from him is directed towards the actual needs of the community, and if he from time to time is called on to impart the fruits of his research to men engaged with the actual problems in the field, we feel sure that that will add a concreteness and a reality to his college teaching as a whole. Everyone knows the difference that there is in being taught by men who are themselves discovering and finding out what they teach from being taught by those who are only imparting second-hand knowledge. The teaching in the college as a whole ought to have those higher standards which come spontaneously in an in-

stitution where teachers are finding out as well as imparting, which not the most diligent inspection from without can possibly produce. If the scientific studies, for example, which are taught in the college are also being used to solve the problems and help the distress of village communities, the students who are being taught in the colleges will come to understand how science is the natural handmaid of Christian purposes. The true cure for the departmentalism and unreality of much of the teaching which goes on nowadays is that it should be brought in the ways we suggest into closer and more vital connection with the whole life of the surrounding community.

We have seen in our review of the Christian colleges as they are that because of the ambiguity of their purpose which the present conditions of their work produce there may easily be a conflict between the educational and religious purposes of the college. There is a danger that the college may attach so much importance to attaining the higher educational standards that it may neglect its religious purpose, and there is a danger that from its concern for its religious purpose it may lower its educational ideals. The functions we now propose for the Christian college so obviously call for the highest qualities of learning, devotion, and service, and should be so successful in restoring to Christian colleges a unity of purpose, that any danger of rivalry between the educational and religious standards or tests of success should be removed. We may hope that under such conditions the Christian colleges should be what they ought to be—institutions in which scholars and teachers will make their characteristic contribution to the Christian movement in India.

There is one last gain we are anticipating when these suggestions are realised. If the closer connection which they envisage between the college and the other work of the Church in India be brought about, there will be less difficulty than there is now of determining the different proportions of Christian effort and resources which should be put into the work of the college and into the rest of the Christian enterprise. The workers, for example, in the mass movement

areas will know far more adequately than they do now what service the colleges are rendering to the Church, and the teachers in the college will have a far more direct acquaintance than they can now have with the actual needs of the Christian community as a whole.

4. HOW TO RELATE THE COLLEGES TO THE CHRISTIAN ENTERPRISE AS A WHOLE

(1) *The practical application of these proposals*

We have now to consider how these proposals are to be put into practice, what steps we are to take to add to the Christian colleges these two new functions. We do not propose to do it simply by asking that they should be undertaken by the already overworked staff of the Christian colleges. Even with their existing function the Christian colleges are almost all suffering from an inadequate staff, unable continually to make use of valuable opportunities because of the pressure of their work upon them ; and if they were simply asked to take on new functions, what is intended to be a relief would be merely an additional burden. The addition, therefore, of these new functions necessarily implies additional staff and resources, whether these resources be got by concentration of existing institutions or by an appeal to new sources of income. The financial aspect to our proposals we shall discuss later. All that we want to emphasise now is our recognition that for the new functions additional men will be required. We think it quite possible that the addition of these new functions may also produce a certain redirection of energy among the existing staff. We do not want to divide the staff of our colleges into men who only teach in the colleges and men who only do extension work and men who only do research. It is essential to our proposals that all the staff of a college should have some share in all these functions, and it is the purpose of the additional staff to make that possible.

When we come to ask how these new resources and staff should be used and organised, we come to a more complicated problem. It will not, we think, be solved in exactly

the same way in all the provinces in India, but we think it possible to lay down the general lines of its solution.

Let us begin by considering the various conditions which this organisation has to fulfil :

(1) The Christian community outside the college stands in a double relation to these new functions. It has to ask the questions which the college has to answer, and the answers when discovered have to be communicated to it. It must therefore be brought into relation with the men in the colleges by some joint committee organisation on the lines of an English extra-mural department.

(2) It follows from all that we have said above that we want the influence of these new functions to extend somehow or other to all our colleges, and that wherever we can add them to our colleges they should be shared by as many of the staff as possible.

(3) On the other hand, if each college in a province tries to do a little bit of this kind of work in a small way, there is bound to be overlapping and misdirection of effort. It is most important that there should be consideration of the needs and possibilities of the province as a whole, that the resources available should be used and directed according to some systematic plan.

(4) It would be of very great importance, if we are to have fruitful research work, that we should have somewhere a group of persons who are working together, giving each their characteristic contribution to a common task.

(2) *Suggestions for the organisation of an extra-mural department*

These considerations seem to pull in different directions, the first two towards decentralisation and the other two towards centralisation. Some conditions seem to call for something corresponding to an English extra-mural department, and others to what is ordinarily called a research institute. We think that the vital importance of seeing that such research as is undertaken is directed towards the actual needs of the community implies that we should put in the forefront the idea of an extra-mural department. But

we also think that there should be in each province a single extra-mural department (or, as we propose to call it, a department of extension and research for the whole province), with a director whose business it should be to organise all the work of this kind done in connection with the various colleges in the province. He should be attached to the staff of some college. He should be responsible to a joint committee which constituted the department. He would certainly have to spend a great deal of his time in travelling. He would have the position and duties which ordinarily belong to the director of an extra-mural department in England.

Any further resources available would have to be divided between the central college, where there ought to be a group of men available for this work, and the other colleges. We propose that there should be at the central college to which the director of the department is attached something like an institute of research. We repeat that we do not mean by that a body of men permanently engaged in research and extension and never occupied in teaching within the college, but only that there should be at such college a group of people who for some specified period are giving their full time to these new functions and are expressly relieved from the ordinary functions of a teaching college. They ought to be at some large well-equipped college where they would have the advantage of being able to enlist at any rate for advice and suggestion the rest of the professorial staff. But it is also of vital importance that in the other colleges there should be some addition to the staff to make it possible to set apart from time to time different members of the staff to engage in one or other of these new functions. These might be thought of as extension and research fellowships or professorships which were held in turn by different members of the staff. If the societies responsible for the several colleges could see their way to producing even one additional member of the staff for such purposes, we think they would be amply repaid by the resulting improvement in the whole work of the college. But we think that some portion at least of the centralised resources should be used

for attaching men to colleges where they are most wanted by the needs of extension and research.

(3) *Illustrations of the practical working of such a department*

We can make clear what we are suggesting by reference to the United Provinces. We are recommending that the department of extension and research should be attached to the Ewing Christian College at Allahabad. We recommend that because Allahabad seems to us the most appropriate University centre for the provincial department. The director should be attached to the staff of Ewing Christian College, possibly resident at Holland Hall. But the director should work through and be responsible to a joint committee representing the whole province. On the College side of that joint committee would be representatives of all the Christian Arts Colleges in the provinces, and on the other side representatives of the theological colleges and of mass movement workers, etc. That joint committee would survey the province as a whole, taking into account both the capacities of the different colleges and the needs of the districts. For example, there might well be something like an institute of research, in the sense of the sort of group described above, at Allahabad ; and consideration would be taken of the staff of Ewing College, the presence of the Agricultural Institute, and (if there should be one at Allahabad in the future) of the theological college. But the department would also consider the natural capacity of the Christian College at Lucknow to serve the great Methodist Christian community in the north of the United Provinces, and might probably think that there ought to be another group of extension and research workers at Lucknow. It would also consider the opportunities offered by Cawnpore for work on industrial economic questions, and the possibilities of connecting St. John's College, Agra, with the C.M.S. mass movement work. We hope that there would be financial resources at the disposal of the department. It would be the business of the department to allocate these, but it would also be its concern to co-ordinate all the

work of extension and research done in the province, whether it was financed by these resources or not.

We give this merely as an example of the kind of way a department such as we are contemplating would work. It would no doubt also concern itself with questions of publication, work along with the Y.M.C.A. literature section and the Christian Literature Society, and might issue bulletins for the benefit of the workers in the field. These are the sort of activities we have in mind, but we do not propose to try to work out in detail just how this department should be organised and just what work it should do. Conditions and opportunities in different parts of India are too different for that. But we think that work would be done under most promising conditions if whoever were appointed as Director of the Department of Extension and Research were first given an opportunity to learn something of the ways in which this kind of work has been organised in other countries. Anyone who has had the chance of studying the work of the Danish Folk Schools, of the Adult Education work of the English Universities and of the Workers' Educational Association in England, had studied the Adult Education movement in Germany, or had through the American Association for Adult Education¹ in New York got in touch with what is being done along these lines in America, would soon be able to see how the principles which have been expressed in this new work of the Universities in the West can find their application in India. That a University should be a place not only where young men are taught but a place which serves the community around it by getting into direct touch with that community, discovering its needs, finding the knowledge required for their solution, and organising means for bringing that knowledge to those who are to apply it in practical life—all this is a new conception of the functions of a University, and one which so far has been little realised or understood in India. If this new experiment is to be successful in India, those who are to start it must be equipped with the knowledge and understanding of what has already been done in these directions in the

¹ 60 East Forty-Second Street, New York.

West. To bring about a close co-operation between the colleges and the mass movement workers, regarded now as at opposite extremes of the Christian enterprise, may now seem a paradoxical proposal. If it is to be carried out successfully and to triumph over the preliminary difficulties and hesitations which there are certain to be, it will need for its direction men who know how triumphantly successful have been proposals of co-operation between the Universities and the community in the West, which men in their inception regarded as paradoxical and impossible.

There is one other point to which we have already referred but which needs emphasising. These new functions of the college are functions where the Indian Christian teacher would find his special opportunity, where the principle of full co-operation between Indian and non-Indian teachers is absolutely essential. Further, the contribution which the non-Indian teacher would bring to these new functions will be far greater if he has a knowledge of the vernacular. We have found that a knowledge of the vernacular is a great help even in the teaching within the college. But if the extension work of the college is to have any reality and completeness about it, knowledge of the vernacular will be quite indispensable.

What we have said about the necessity of there being one extra-mural department for each province implies, if it is to be a success, that the Christian colleges in each province must regard themselves as forming a single system for their new functions of extension and research ; for that this is essential, but we think it of great importance also for their ordinary function of college education. We have rejected the idea of a Christian University. We do not want to pull the colleges out of the various Universities of which they are a part and make them all units in a great affiliating Christian University. We want them to go on having their relations with and obligations to the Universities of India, but we also think it of great importance that they should at the same time organise relations with each other. We want them to act more than they do as parts of one great enterprise, taking counsel with one another, seeing that their distinctive con-

tributions are complementary and not overlapping, specialising in this or that subject, not because of what other colleges in the same University are or are not doing, but in the light of what is being done by the other Christian colleges in the province.

These relations between colleges which we wish to see brought about will of course be different in different provinces. In the Madras Presidency there are already two colleges, Madras Christian College and the American College at Madura, which are much stronger and better equipped than the other Christian colleges of the province, and we think that they, just because of their strength and their better equipment, can do a great deal to help the small local colleges. We think that there is a place for the small local college, but just because it is small and local it is apt to be isolated ; it is difficult for it to keep its academic standards high ; it badly needs encouragement and help. The local colleges in the south would gain enormously if they could have direct relations with the Madras Christian College or with the American College at Madura. We think of these smaller colleges as being the first links in the chain by which the research done at the central college would be disseminated in the work of extension.

Much the same relations should exist between Forman Christian College at Lahore and the smaller colleges of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, at Sialkot, Rawalpindi, and Peshawar. But colleges in the United Provinces are much more of the same size. The notion of the "mother college" has little application there or in Bengal. The general principle, however, that Christian colleges should consider themselves as joint partners in a single enterprise, and consider more than they have in the past what help and assistance they can give one another, how they can join in a common policy, holds everywhere. There has been, of course, common consultation in the past. This Commission itself is the outcome of such consultation ; but we think very much more might be done to form the colleges into a single educational system.

The principle needs obviously to be carried still further.

We want some common organisation which will consider the system of higher education not from the point of view of the province but for India as a whole, and we shall have something to say on this point when we come to our proposals about the government of Christian colleges.

CHAPTER IX

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS AFFECTING THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES IN GENERAL

I. INTRODUCTORY

(1) *Summary of the argument thus far*

IT will be clear from the foregoing discussion that the proposal to add to the Christian colleges the two new functions of extension and research is the central part of our plan for the colleges. For we hope by this proposal to solve the various difficulties which have been confronting us. It should be possible in this way to bring the colleges into closer contact with the rest of the Christian enterprise, to enable them to render that service of knowledge which is so badly needed in India at the present time, to give our teachers in the colleges a sphere where their powers of discovery and initiative will find free play, to restore to the Christian colleges their pioneer plan in Indian education, to put the colleges in a position where they will be enabled to think out anew the proper content of an education which is to be a true *preparatio evangelica*, and by the reflex action of these new functions on the existing educational work of the colleges to raise the educational and scholarly standards of their work and to inform them with a great purpose—that of service to the community—which may prevail against the present dominating purpose of success in examination. The assumption of these two new functions, in short, is in our judgment the indispensable condition to a fruitful continuance of the alliance between the Christian colleges and the University system.

It is by means of this proposal again that we hope again to produce such a large coincidence between the purpose of the Indian Universities and of the Christian colleges as may

make it possible for the colleges to maintain their place in the University system and yet be free to follow their distinctive purpose. For we believe that the direction which these proposals will give to the education in the colleges is a direction towards the kind of education that India needs and that the Universities will welcome, since it emphasises the historical rather than the abstract, and the practical rather than the purely academic.

We are confident also that it will be recognised that if the colleges make the principle of service which is implicit in Christianity the central inspiration of their work, they will be fostering a spirit which India needs and which India will welcome.

Further, we believe that while it is essential that India as a distinct and self-respecting community should have an education which expresses the spirit and genius of its people and is responsive to their needs, the unity of the human race and the specific inter-relationships between India and the West which have been brought about by history make it essential that in achieving their national ideal Indian educators should have the help of the best that the colleges of the West can give them, both in ideals, experience, and personnel. Hence the ideal for a Christian college in India is neither exclusively Indian nor exclusively western, but one in which Indians and westerners work together in mutual co-operation and self-respect.

Lastly, we are convinced that in working out the proposed policy it is impossible at the present time to foresee completely the needs of the future. We think that the plan we propose is flexible in the details of its application and subject to revision from time to time, and that experience will show the relative importance which ought to be attached to the existing functions of the colleges and to the two new functions we propose, but just because we think that, any specific recommendations which may be made now can only be provisional till the creation of a permanent educational body which can be responsible for such revisions and adaptations as may be necessary,

(2) *Consequences for the organisation of extension and research*

Something, we believe, can be done immediately and with little additional expense to give this redirection to the work of the colleges. If in each of the larger colleges there were but one post allotted to these new functions, making it possible for the college to minister directly to the needs of the community, that would be something well worth doing. But we have explained that the full possibilities of this proposal will be realised only on a larger and more co-operative scale. We are recommending, therefore :

(1) That all the Christian colleges should be regarded as co-operating in a common enterprise ;

(2) That in order to make this co-operation effective there should be some common organisation to consider the system of higher education from the point of view of India as a whole ;

(3) That in each province there should be set up a department of extension and research under a director. On the department should be represented both the colleges and those concerned with other forms of Christian work in the province. It would be the business of the department to allocate any funds which should be put at its disposal, but also to co-ordinate all the work of extension and research done in the province. The function of this department should be, among other things :

(a) To make an intensive study of selected problems which concern the Christian community and through it the wider community of which it is a part, which require more accurate and comprehensive knowledge than it is now possible to secure through existing agencies ; and for this purpose

(b) To discover and to assign to this study such persons as have the proper qualifications, and to secure for them through an appropriate foundation such leisure as they need for their task ;

(c) To make the results of this study available to those who can profit by it through literature, refresher courses,

summer schools, personal interviews, or any other method which may seem practicable.

Among the subjects which need such study may be mentioned agriculture, economics, hygiene, child psychology, teacher training, social service, rural reconstruction, comparative religion—all of which should be studied not in the academic form they assume in much University research, but in their practical bearing upon the life of the community.

(4) We believe that the proposed department should represent not the colleges only but the Church as a whole. To bring this about we recommend that the functions already exercised in such special institutions as the School of Islamic Studies, the theological schools, the work of the Y.M.C.A., and the Christian Literature Society, should be brought into close relation with the work of the colleges. We believe that while the work of research must be largely carried on by members of the college staff or by those who have received technical academic training, the choice of the subjects which need to be studied should be made by the Church-at-large acting through its appropriate agencies.

(5) We believe that one important part of the proposed department should be what we know as extension work, *i.e.* sharing with the workers in the field the results of the successful experiments which are now being tried in different parts of that field, but with which, apart from such provisions, it is difficult for persons at a distance to keep in touch. This extension and research is to be carried on not by students, but by teachers, and to be carried not to the masses of Christians in villages and cities, but to their leaders. It is to be done not by men permanently set apart for such service, but set apart occasionally and in turn.

(3) *Further consequences for Christian education as a whole*

It is obvious that the adoption of these proposals will affect the relation of the colleges to one another and their relative importance, and it will be found that in our chapter on *Individual provinces and institutions* we have had this in mind in our recommendations on concentration and on the special position we propose to give to certain colleges.

But, central as we regard these proposals to be, we do not consider that they will achieve what we hope for them save on certain conditions, and in this chapter we propose to discuss these conditions.

We saw in the introductory chapter of this part of the Report that the fostering of the Christian life of the college was essential if the distinctive purpose of the Christian college was to be maintained. We think that our main proposal will remove some of the causes which have produced that ambiguity of purpose from which the colleges now suffer. But no such scheme will be a safeguard against ambiguity—it may indeed produce dangers of its own—unless the colleges are informed with an active spirit of Christian devotion.

We begin, therefore, with a section (1) on the religious character and influence of the colleges, their corporate life and their Christian teaching.

Our conviction that Christianity is life in a community implies that the colleges must be such that they can exhibit a true community life, and we therefore go on to discuss (2) questions of size and internal organisation.

We have explained that this work of extension and research, as well as the thinking out of the content of a new *præparatio evangelica*, needs the equal co-operation of Indian and western teachers. That implies in our view radical changes in the government of the colleges designed to this end, and our next section (3) contains our proposals on government.

The effective working out of these proposals will demand an increase in the number of the Indian Christian staff, and will depend also upon the supply of teachers from the West. We therefore discuss it in our next section—(4) Staffing and Recruiting.

These proposals outline a plan by which we hope it will be possible for the Christian colleges to retain their connection with the University system and yet recover that initiative which we think that they have largely lost. But if the conditions of that alliance are to be possible, they must be such as to allow the necessary liberty and initiative to the

colleges both in their teaching on social and economic questions and in their religious teaching, and we therefore discuss, in the last section of this chapter, (5), the sense in which a Christian college needs to be free, discussing in this connection (a) the general question of independence and power of initiative, and (b) the special problems raised by the Conscience Clause.

2. RELIGIOUS CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE

(1) *The college as a Christian community*

In all that has been said we have had in view the re-orientation of the Christian college to the environment of the India of to-day and the revivifying of the education that it gives with a view to securing that it be an education of high Christian quality and an education at the same time adjusted to the specific needs of India. The proposals in regard to the government of the college and its curriculum, as well as the proposals for the carrying out of tasks of extension and research, should all have their share in harmonising and strengthening the efforts of the colleges for the fulfilment of their distinctive purpose, but at the same time, as we have seen already, the indispensable means towards the attainment of this end is the fostering of their common life as a religious community.

We lay special stress upon the importance of the corporate life of the students within the college because of the witness to Christianity that is borne by lives lived under the control of the Christian motive. We have no intention of depreciating the importance of the opportunity that is given during the Scripture period of presenting to the students the Christian religion in its aspect as idea and as historical fact. With that we shall deal later. But we desire here to direct attention particularly to the value—perhaps the special value in the circumstances of educated India at the present time—of the testimony to Christianity that is borne by the relationships of Christian friendship, by the activities of Christian service and by the spiritual rewards that come

from Christian devotion. The college, as we seek to represent it, is a community within which, in the lives of the Christian members of the staff and of the Christian students, those fruits may be plainly seen by which Christianity should be, and can be, judged. It is by such effects as these that religion is being tested in India to-day, as in other lands, and it is by such tests as these that we should desire it to be tested. The size of the college and the organisation of the college community, the relation of the Christian teachers of the college with their students and with each other, all the occupations and the environment of those who live and work together in the college, should be so determined as to give opportunity for Christianity to be demonstrated through action and life. In this way a Christian atmosphere can be created which will help to make the Christian teaching intelligible and to reveal its reality and significance.

If that is so it at once becomes evident that to secure this end the college must be so limited in size or so organised that within it Christianity can be shown as life in a community, that is to say, as a life lived in those personal relationships, and in the discharge of those duties, through which the essential meaning and value of the Christian religion are manifested. There are colleges which must for other reasons have a large number of students. Where that is so, we recommend that the college should be made up of units so constituted and so organised that within each unit a corporate life of teachers and students shall be possible, and so the end that we have in view may be fully achieved.

This again obviously makes it desirable that a college, if it is to fulfil effectively the purpose we have indicated, should be, as far as possible, residential. This cannot always be the case, but students who live outside of the college should, by every means possible, be brought within the scope and influence of its corporate life and activities. Not only so, but every effort should be made by the Christian members of the staff to get into relation with such students in their homes, and, still more, if they do not live in their homes, but in lodgings, to make themselves acquainted with the circum-

stances and surroundings in the midst of which they spend their lives.

This, again, manifestly implies that the Christian members of the college staff shall have a margin of leisure such as makes the cultivation of friendly relations with their students possible. It need scarcely be added that for the right discharge of these functions by the Christian teachers what is important above all else is the possession by them of the right spirit—a spirit of friendliness that goes forth spontaneously to the students in affection and the desire to help them. We would emphasise for the creation of the Christian atmosphere that is so greatly desired in the college the need that the staff—and with them, if possible, a nucleus of Christian students—should be so unified in their Christian purpose, and so in harmony in its discharge, that those relationships which we have sought to describe shall be a spontaneous expression of their spirit. What the student in India needs above all else is friendship, for, like the students in so many lands to-day, he feels himself rootless in his world. An Indian who knows Indian students well has described them as nomads, and it is for that reason that they crave the fellowship that a Christian college should supply.

It is right that there should be a real concern among the Christian teachers of the college that their ardour and their aims should be kept high. But, central to the religious life of the institution as is the Christian staff, we must not forget how valuable is the witness that is borne as well by the religion of the Christian students. The testimony of their lives is scarcely less important for the realisation of the purpose of the college than is that of the staff, and their need of spiritual care and guidance should be kept in view. Accordingly there should be in the colleges branches of the Student Christian Association by means of which the Christian students should be encouraged to strengthen by their own efforts their Christian life, while student camps and retreats should also be organised.

For the carrying out of these purposes it has been found by some colleges to be a great strength to the organisation of the whole of this side of the college life that a regular

member of the staff should be set apart to have in a special way the direction in co-operation with his colleagues of the religious study and worship of the college. We recommend the appointment of such a college chaplain who would have a special pastoral relation with the students.

Certainly not less important than anything that has been said in reference to the religious life of these colleges is the duty of bringing together the staff and students, Christian and non-Christian, in tasks of Christian service in behalf of the poor and the ignorant and the suffering. The Christian college must seek to demonstrate continually by means of such works of loving service as come naturally within the life of the college community the essential spirit of the Christian faith. Opportunities must be found even among the engrossments of college duties to give the students the opportunity, and to invite them to share in the tasks, of Christian service, and to demonstrate the strength for such ends of the Christian motive. There is nothing that can draw the hearts of Indian students at the present time, as can such a revelation of how Christianity can give to men "strength to be sacrificed and save."

(2) *The college chapel*

This spirit which we have endeavoured to describe has to be maintained amid all the absorbing and often harassing occupations of the college. We have noted already that there are some Christian colleges that, while co-operating closely in many directions with other colleges that are not Christian, are still able at the same time to preserve the keenness of their evangelistic purpose undimmed, and we have found the secret of their success in this matter to lie in the fact that they have spared no pains to cherish and keep alive their common religious life. We would emphasise the importance of taking careful measures with this end in view. There should be provision in every Christian college for those "means of grace" without which the spiritual life of the Christian staff and the Christian students can hardly be maintained. These will at the same time be a token to the non-Christian students of those springs of worship and

devotion from which the Christian draws refreshment. There should accordingly be in every college a chapel, where, withdrawn from the other activities of the college and in surroundings that are dignified and beautiful, Christian worship will be regularly celebrated, and where any may resort, Christian or non-Christian, who desire quiet for individual prayer and meditation. To maintain the spiritual life of the staff amid the temptations and distractions of their busy life and keep their aims high and their purpose single, it is important that they should meet at frequent and regular intervals to consult together in the religious interests of the college and to pray together for their work. Quiet days should also be arranged for them for the same purpose at the beginning of the term.

(3) *Religious teaching*

The Scripture teaching given during the period set apart specially for religious study must always be given an important place in the work of the Christian college. Much attention should be directed to the arrangement of the courses of study followed, so that the students shall be made familiar first of all with the life and character and teaching of Jesus. It cannot be an easy matter to arrange these courses to the best advantage when the students include those—non-Christians as well as Christians—who have already studied in Christian schools the facts of Christianity, as well as those who are entirely ignorant of the subject. There is also the difficulty that every year brings new students to the classroom, while every year some whose interest in the subject may be just awaking have to leave. The obstacles to the effective use of the Scripture period are numerous, and must require much thought and patience if they are to be overcome. The question also arises of the selection of those to whom this responsible task of instruction is to be committed. It cannot be considered either fair, or, from the point of view of the Christian purpose of the college, wise, to require every Christian member of the staff to undertake this duty as a matter of course. Some may well feel that this is not their vocation ; others that they have not

received the training that is needed if they are to discharge such a responsible task adequately. The latter difficulty may be removed if arrangements can be made to give such teachers courses of instruction in religious education. It should be one of the aims of colleges which are engaged in extension work to supply such courses for teachers.

The method of presentation of the truths of Christianity to a class that is largely made up of non-Christians need not be discussed in detail here. It need hardly be said that every respect should be shown for the religions that they have inherited, and that the aim of the teacher should never be to impose his beliefs upon his pupils, but to awaken their minds so that they may test their own beliefs and seek that which shall convince them by its truth and its value. We cannot do better than quote in this connection the words of an experienced teacher in an Indian college. He presupposes that there is "a religious teaching" that is analogous in general to other teaching; also "that the student intends to learn and to think about religion, about God, about the life and teaching of Jesus, etc., and that the teacher intends to provide material for such learning and to stimulate such thinking as far as he can." "There is no reason," he goes on, "for the Christian teacher to conceal his own view that such learning and thinking is one line of approach to a personal act of surrender to God in Christ which he would desire supremely for each one of his students, and which he would regard as the consecration of the whole of education; nor does it mean that the teacher is restricted to the presentation of Christ as the guide in matters intellectual, to the exclusion of Christ the Saviour in matters moral and spiritual.

"But it does seem to imply that the *primary* object of the teacher is to secure interest, understanding, and thinking on the subject. The Christian teacher will therefore recognise that his class teaching is only one line of approach, only a part of the work of a Christian institution on its specifically religious side; and that it needs supplementing by all the other means of personal contact and fellowship, of worship and of special missions, etc., which may contribute

to the great task of drawing the whole man to the feet of Christ."

This balanced statement of the method by which the Christian teacher should bring his message before his pupils needs no further elucidation. The teacher will find many roads of approach along which he can travel finding his way to his pupil's heart and meeting his pupil's need. The more he knows his pupil's mind, by study of his religious heritage and by personal fellowship with him, the more skilfully will he discharge his task of instruction. Mention is made above of "special missions." These, when they are conducted by a wise evangelist, may quicken to growth and fruitfulness the seeds that the patient teacher has long been sowing in faithfulness and expectation.

It is impossible to discuss the question of religious teaching without considering the difficulties connected with compulsory attendance at such teaching, but we postpone this consideration till we discuss the Conscience Clause in the last section of this chapter.

(4) *Concluding recommendations*

1. What we have seen to be true of the importance of emphasising the corporate life of the college as a Christian community makes it desirable that the college should be, as far as possible, residential. Measures should at the same time be taken to bring students who live outside the college within the scope and influence of its corporate life and activities. The Christian members of the college staff should also endeavour to get into relation with those who live in their own homes or in lodgings, and to make themselves acquainted with the circumstances and surroundings in which they live.

2. The Christian staff in the college, Indian and non-Indian, should be so strong in numbers and so unified in purpose as to be able to demonstrate through their personal relationships among themselves and with the students the reality of the truth they know and live by. They must, in addition, have sufficient leisure to cultivate such personal relationships. There should also be, if possible, a group of

Christian students with whom the staff could co-operate in bearing this witness and creating this atmosphere.

3. Measures should be taken to cherish and keep alive the common religious life of those who live together in the college community. The college should have a chapel where, withdrawn from the other activities of the college and in surroundings that should be dignified and beautiful, Christian worship would be celebrated and habits of worship and devotion cultivated. Non-Christians as well as Christians should be invited to make use of such a place for individual prayer and meditation.

4. Meetings of the Christian staff should be held frequently to consult together on the religious interests of the college and to pray together for its work. Quiet days may also be arranged for them at the beginning of the term.

5. There should be in the college a branch of the Student Christian Association through which the Christian students would themselves endeavour to strengthen their Christian life, while student camps and retreats should also be organised. The students should also be encouraged to maintain their relationship with the worship and the activities of the Christian Churches to which they belong.

6. There should be a chaplain who, while a regular member of the teaching staff, would in a special way have the direction, in co-operation with his colleagues, of religious study, and would have a special pastoral relation with the students.

7. Staff and students, Christian and non-Christian, should have opportunities of engaging together in tasks of Christian service in behalf of the poor and the ignorant and the suffering.

8. The importance of the Christian instruction given during the Scripture period should be realised, and much attention should be given to the framing of courses, so as to meet the needs of those who have some acquaintance already with Christian truth and those who have not, and so as to secure that those non-Christians who are only under instruction for a short period shall, as far as possible, obtain a

coherent view of the principles of the Christian faith, and especially of the life and teaching of Jesus.

9. Those who teach the religious class should have at their disposal books which shall help them to discharge their duty more efficiently, while opportunity should also be given them, if possible, to obtain training in the teaching of religion.

10. Suitable religious literature should also be made easily accessible to the students, and they should be encouraged to buy and read books that may assist their religious life. Where these are lacking, provision should be made for their preparation both in English and the vernacular.

11. From time to time "missions" for students may be held with a view to bringing the demands of the Christian faith with a new emphasis before the students, both Christian and non-Christian.

3. SIZE AND INTERNAL ORGANISATION

(1) *General considerations*

Again and again in our study of the position of the colleges we were brought up sharply against the question of the size that was most suitable for the academic and religious ends that they sought to serve. We found them actually varying in the numbers of their students from 1100 or 1200 to 120. We found also that in many cases the authorities of the larger colleges were seriously disturbed as to what the right course was for them to pursue in this matter. On the one hand, it was evident that a multitude of students gave to a college—as bearing witness to its popularity—a certain prestige and authority. There was also the urgency of financial need to induce the college authorities to open their gates wide. On the other side, there were undoubtedly weighty considerations which in the best interests of the colleges could not be ignored. If the college was to be—as every Christian college must be—something more than an intellectual factory or a degree emporium, if it was to be a place for the culture of the soul and spirit of the student, a real "vale of soul-making" through which young

India might journey, then the numbers of those admitted to it must be no more than could be ministered to for these ends. These considerations weighed heavily upon the hearts of many college Principals. Students were passing through their hands who during their entire course were no more than names to them. The conditions rendered impossible those close contacts which in the earlier days, when those seeking higher education were few, had brought teachers and taught into such intimate and affectionate relations. In consequence we found colleges which had set before themselves a maximum enrolment within which they desired to keep, but we found also that in every case, under stress of circumstances and sorely against the will of the Principals and their staffs, that maximum had been exceeded.

It was evident that some way out of these difficulties must be resolutely sought and some policy, which could be recognised as the right one to follow in the interests of the Indian student's growth in both intellect and character, must be discovered. These considerations had, very early in the history of college education, brought about the establishment of hostels in connection with colleges. We saw in South India a hostel in connection with a Christian college which, it was claimed, was the first of the kind to be established anywhere in India. A great deal of thought and experience has been given, especially by those in charge of Christian colleges, to the subject of how to make hostels as effective as possible for their purpose. In this the Christian colleges have led the way and have achieved much. And yet in many instances it had to be admitted that these hostels had little or no common life and, as a consequence, had failed to achieve the aim of creating the spirit of the home and of the intimate community. Something was yet lacking to make the college and the hostel all that they might be and to bring about "that intimate relationship of teacher and pupil," the absence of which in the colleges of Bengal the Sadler Commission deplures, yet which is, they add, "the essence of all fine systems of education" and, notably so, of the ancient and traditional education of India.

The Sadler Commission proceeds to point out that "it is

not the nature of western education in itself but the mode in which it has been organised which has produced this unhealthy state of things." We must agree with them that to remedy this situation it is necessary that we be prepared frankly to face and recognise the defects of the existing system and to take the necessary means of removing them. It is not possible to lay down a rule that no Christian college shall admit a large number of students ; large colleges can give a further and more varied education, can satisfy a greater variety of needs than small colleges. But in such colleges more students have to be admitted than, with the usual organisation of a college, "can be effectively welded into a corporate whole." And yet that is what a college must be able to do, if it is to be worthy of the name of a college, and certainly if it is to fulfil its function as a Christian college. How are we to reconcile this cultural and Christian requirement with a situation where great numbers are pleading to be admitted to higher education and it seems cruel to refuse it to them? In the case of one Christian college the number of students, we learned, had increased by a hundred annually for five successive years. It seemed impossible that with the ordinary unitary organisation of a college such a situation could be adequately dealt with and such mounting numbers brought effectively within the circle of a real community life.

(2) *Types of Christian college and how to deal with each*

There are two courses which in such circumstances seem the only alternatives open to our choice unless we lower the cultural and Christian standards which a Christian college should place before itself. The one is to resolve, at all costs, to remain a small college, with a definite conception of the range of its teaching and of the limit beyond which it cannot go in the number of students it can assimilate. The other is so to organise a large college as to secure that it shall be made up of parts each of which may have within itself that unity and fellowship which we recognise as so essential. We desire to press upon the attention of the college authorities the importance of their adopting, if at all possible, one or

other of these policies for their institutions and resolutely adhering to the policy determined upon.

1. To adhere with resolution to the policy of a small college with a rigidly restricted syllabus of studies and enrolment of students will not be easy. Such a college as St. Stephen's College, Delhi, which has chosen this course has found how difficult it is to hold to its purpose. Since 1913 it has, by agreement with its Home Board and with the consent of the Government, appointed a limit of 250 students for the four regular years of instruction while at the same time fixing a minimum of 18 as the staff necessary to deal with that number of students. But last year we find that the number was 293, and this increase was "causing the college grave concern." The Principal reports: "Every effort is made to keep the number down . . . but forces beyond our control compel us at times almost against our will to take in a larger number." And yet the college is able to describe the consequences from its policy of limitation as follows: "It makes it possible for students to have close personal contact with one another and with members of the staff, and we are thankful to record an extraordinary spirit of goodwill and unity which has become the distinguishing feature of the life of the institution."

The number of students that can live together in a real community, sharing that life with their teachers, is, it seems to us, about 250 or, at most, 300, and to such a figure we would urge that the smaller colleges should resolutely restrict themselves. In a college of that size it should be possible for students and staff to maintain the relationship of friends, companions, guides, and so to preserve the fine old Indian ideal of the *guru* and his *chelas* (disciples), while at the same time creating the atmosphere of the Christian community. It was in such an atmosphere, when students were few and relations were intimate, that, in early years, as Dr. Miller tells us, "the Spirit of God wrought powerfully." And in such an atmosphere the same Spirit works powerfully still.

2. The large institution, centrally located and amply staffed, which feels it to be necessary to open its doors more

widely, must be differently dealt with. We must seek here to find a method of organising the college, so as to secure the ends of intimacy which we have in view. We accordingly urge that such large colleges should be arranged in smaller units which may be called "Halls," which should, under the supreme authority of the college as a whole, have some degree of autonomy in teaching and organisation. It is not necessary, nor is it desirable, that we should attempt to indicate in any detail the method in which these halls should be organised ; the experience of their working will determine many of their features, and different circumstances and traditions may require somewhat different arrangements. What is essential, however, is that each hall should be able to carry on an intimate and self-contained life of its own with a group of members of the college staff closely associated with it, living alongside of the students and sharing their social life, their games, and, where possible, their worship. Tutorial work would be an integral part of the life of the students and teachers associated with each hall, and the teachers would bear what might be called a pastoral relationship with their students, surveying their studies and seeking to help them in the conduct of their lives.

(3) *The function of the hall in a large college*

The number of students making up a hall should be, it appears to us, from 150 to 200, and these would live in hostels, each accommodating, perhaps, 50 students. Some of the college Professors and lecturers should be associated with each hall. There should be a common-room for the expression of the common life of the students ; there should be also common worship and a daily assembly. Further, there should be, in connection with each hall, a certain amount of provision for games, as, for example, tennis-courts, and there should be a small and carefully selected library. Each hall should be under the immediate supervision of a Warden or Rector of its own, who should, of course, be responsible to the Principal of the college.

At the same time, while it is most important that the separate life and unity of the hall should be fully provided

for, the unity of the whole college should likewise be maintained. To secure this in the case of the staff and maintain their corporate life, they should meet together at frequent intervals and there should be staff-dinners. So also there should be a central college chapel for united worship, and there should be also opportunities when all the members of the college, students and staff, should assemble together.

In these proposals it is assumed that the college will be mainly residential. The advantage of a residential college for the purpose of giving such an education as the Christian college desires to give is obvious, and it is the recognition of this fact that has convinced Forman Christian College, Lahore, and Madras Christian College that they must move out of the city into the country and become residential colleges. When there are a suitable number of "day students" they may be separately organised in a non-residential hall.

It may come about that some of these halls shall be established to supply the needs, primarily, of a certain group of students and to carry on a certain religious or cultural tradition. Thus, for example, one hall may have a staff of teachers mainly supplied by an Anglican Society. It would be very undesirable, however, if the denominational character of a hall were so emphasised as to defeat the object of a union college. Just as we consider it undesirable that there should be a purely Christian hostel in a Christian college, believing that benefit should come from contact and friendly intercourse between Christian and non-Christian, so also we would emphasise the undesirability of separating the halls from each other on denominational lines. At the same time, there is much to be gained from the contribution by a church of the heritage of worship and religious attitude with which it is identified. Thus the Warden and staff of a particular hall might conduct the worship of that hall and celebrate the Holy Communion according to Anglican rules, and Christian students who belonged the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon might properly seek admission specially to that hall. It would

not, however, be desirable that a hall should be exclusively identified with any particular group or missionary Society.

On such lines as these, we are convinced, it should be possible for a few large central colleges to admit a large number of students without forfeiting, by doing so, that advantage in fellowship and intimacy which is the natural possession of the small college. The relation of the halls to the college of which they are parts would require to be so determined as to give them a measure of autonomy without impairing the unity of the whole and the authority of the college Principal. The regular class-teaching would, of course, be controlled by the Principal and the Senatus or staff Governing Body of the college. A scheme would also have to be worked out by which the authorities of a hall would have some part in the selection of members of the college staff in order that the needs of the college and of the hall might both be safeguarded. It does not seem to us to be desirable that these large colleges, even when organised on this system, should admit a total of more than 800 students.

(4) *Recommendations*

1. We recommend that colleges should be of two types—large colleges centrally situated and equipped for a wide range of subjects, and smaller colleges, serving more local needs and, where possible, brought into relation to the large central college. We recommend that the former class of colleges should be so organised as to be made up of smaller units or halls, which should be in part self-governing and where a group of the staff would live in close relationship with the students of the hall.

2. The size of the smaller colleges and of the halls which make up the larger colleges should be determined by the number of students who, with the staff of the small college or the staff residing in close contiguity to the hall, can live together as a real community.

3. We recommend that, in order to provide for the kind of personal intimacy and fellowship which is so desirable in the case of every Christian college, ordinarily the number of students enrolled in the smaller colleges should be from

250 to 300. In the case of the large colleges we recommend that they should not exceed a maximum of 800 students, made up of four halls of 150 to 200 students. Each hall could be formed of three or four hostels.

4. We recommend that the halls be given some measure of autonomy, but not so as to impair the supreme authority of the college or the supreme responsibility of the college Principal.

4. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

(1) *Changes needed in the administration and government of the colleges*

We have noticed in our survey of the Christian colleges as they are that the colleges are not yet expressions of an indigenous Christianity, that they are not entirely armed against the reproach that they are, under the guise of teaching a universal Christianity, really imposing a foreign culture. We have urged the importance of making them the expression of the initiative and responsibility of Indian Christians: we have in the last chapter made proposals for bringing them into closer relation with the Indian Church and for equipping them to take a leading part in the shaping of an indigenous University system.

If this is to happen, there must be, we are convinced, radical changes in the government of Christian colleges. At present the control of the mission boards in Britain and America is greater in college education than in any other part of the Christian enterprise, and the control exercised in India is in the colleges more the control of the western missionaries than is the control of the rest of the Christian enterprise. In other things responsibility has in recent years been centred in India, and in India more and more upon the Indian Christian community. That shifting of responsibility has hardly taken place in the Christian colleges. In this matter the colleges lag behind.

For this there are understandable reasons. In the first place, the control of higher education is not a simple affair. It needs educational knowledge and experience, the kind of

knowledge and experience which is not easily found at present in the Indian Church. The problem of all college government is how to give sufficient autonomy to the teachers and yet keep them in touch with the needs and aspirations of the community. The present system of distant control by the Boards in the West, leaving as it does to the colleges in India freedom in most matters, has been in the past fairly successful in giving the colleges considerable autonomy, with an outside court of appeal in matters affecting fundamental principles of policy. Many of the colleges have probably felt that if they exchanged the control of the distant Board in the West for that of the local church, they would lose their academic autonomy. We are convinced that the time has come for the control of Christian higher education to be transferred to India, but we are anxious that that transference should not be made at the expense of a sound academic autonomy ; and in our recommendations we seek to provide, in what we call a Board of Direction, a governing body in India which shall take the place of the mission board, respect the reasonable autonomy of the staff governing body, and yet be a link between the teaching staff and the Christian community in India.

In the second place, the predominant control of the western missionaries in the colleges and the failure to encourage the initiative and responsibility of the Indian Christian staff have again understandable historical reasons. As we have seen, one result of the inclusion of the Christian colleges within the University system has been that the Christian colleges could not content themselves with teaching those subjects for which a Christian staff was available. They were compelled to offer a certain list of subjects and to have a certain number of teachers of prescribed academic qualifications. That meant that the college had to have an Indian non-Christian staff. Even at the present time there are in Christian colleges, out of 656 Indian teachers, 411 non-Christians. We think that with more careful planning and organisation the proportion of Indian Christian teachers in our colleges could be and ought to be much increased. But in the early days, when the Christian

community was small and unused to higher education, the colleges had no choice but to employ non-Christian teachers if they were to play their part in the University system. That is brought out by the difference between the colleges of South and North India at the present time. The Christian community is a much greater proportion of the population in South India than it is in the north, and in the men's colleges of South India the non-Christians only slightly outnumber the Christian Indian teachers (125 to 107); in the colleges of North India they are more than two to one (272 to 109). Before the growth of the Christian community the proportion of non-Christian teachers was very much greater. The Indian Christian teachers were produced by the Christian colleges, but before they could be produced the Christian colleges had to have non-Christians on their staff. But the non-Christian teacher could not co-operate in the whole purpose of the Christian college. It was obviously, therefore, impossible, if the Christian purpose of the college was to be preserved, to give the non-Christian teachers equal right of government with the missionary. Thus arose a dualism in the staff of Christian colleges which has not yet been overcome, which prevented that equal co-operation between east and west which alone could produce the synthesis of western and eastern thought which is so much desired. When the colleges began to be able to recruit an Indian Christian staff, the position of the Indian Christian teacher was prejudiced by this existing dualism. He could not easily be given at once the same full responsibility and share of control as was given without difficulty to his western colleague. That seemed to involve the unfair promotion of a young untried Indian teacher over the heads of the other Indian teachers of senior standing and tried loyalty to the college. The complications caused by the presence of the non-Christian teacher in a Christian college thus affected the relations of the members of the Christian staff to one another.

But though there are these understandable reasons why the Christian colleges lag behind the rest of the Christian enterprise in the matter of equal co-operation between

western missionaries and Indian Christians, we think that these reasons should no longer be allowed to stand in the way. We have mentioned them mainly to make clear the problems that are involved in the government of Christian colleges and to emphasise the importance for a right system of government of the increase in the Indian Christian staff.

(2) *Principles which underlie the proposed changes*

Before we set forth our proposals for the government of Christian colleges, we should say something of the general principles behind them. We are concerned above all things to call forth and develop the responsibility of the Indian Christian teachers. We do not believe that at the present time that is being done nearly as much as it ought to be. We are convinced that in most of the Christian colleges the Indian Christian teachers are not encouraged as they might be to feel their responsibility for the college. We have been impressed by the example of those few colleges where (as, for instance, at St. Stephen's, Delhi) the principle of equal co-operation between Indian and western teachers has been entirely accepted and carried out in practice. But we wish to emphasise the fact that when we talk of the desirability of equal co-operation between Indian and western teachers, that is exactly what we mean. We are convinced that there is and will continue to be a real place for the western teacher in the Christian college.

Doubts are often expressed, and perhaps even more often felt, whether there will continue to be any real place in the Christian colleges in India for the scholar and teacher from the West. The exchange of professors and students between the Universities of different countries of the West is a marked feature of modern University life, and the example of nationalist China makes us confident that nationalist India will want to play her part in this intellectual exchange. We are convinced that the countries of the West with a long tradition of Christian culture and scholarship will continue to have an indispensable contribution to make to Indian Christianity. The Indian Christianity of the future must be free from cultural dominance, but that

means that it must be free to take from those countries where Christian culture has a settled tradition. Not only are we convinced that this need of co-operation between India and western Christianity exists and will continue to exist, but we have been struck by the unequivocal way in which this desire for the continued co-operation of western scholars and teachers was expressed by just those Indian Christians who were most dissatisfied with the present dominance of the western teacher. Many young men in Britain and America at the present day wonder whether they are really wanted in India, and, when they are told that they are wanted if they will come on the basis of full and equal co-operation, sometimes wonder whether that is all the truth. We are confident that there is no occasion for such doubts. The principle of equal co-operation between Indian and western teacher is based on the fact that both Indian and western teachers have distinctive contributions to make. The teaching in Christian colleges will remain foreign, will not really be adapted to Indian needs, until the Indian Christian teachers have full opportunities of developing the distinctive Indian point of view. But the teachers from the West will not be able to make their distinctive contribution unless they also have full responsibility for making that in their own way. We have therefore in our proposals for the government of Christian colleges laid stress not on the advisability of having Indian rather than western Principals, but on the ensuring in practice of the equal co-operation between Indian and western teachers.

One other point of preliminary explanation is perhaps necessary before we state our recommendations. The Christian colleges in India are at present governed in very different ways. Their constitutions reflect the English, Scotch, and American traditions of their founders. It is not therefore easy to lay down recommendations about government general enough to apply to all colleges and precise enough to be obviously applicable, but we think the general principles we lay down will be clear enough for their application to be worked out in India by the continuation committee, to which we refer elsewhere. We do not want to recon-

stitute the government of the colleges on one educational model, or to make any judgment on the advantages of the kinds of government now typical of the English, Scotch, and American colleges, but to apply to them all the principles which we think essential to Christian colleges in India.

Subject to these explanations we believe that it is essential that the Christian colleges while retaining their Christian character should be the expression of Indian thought and should command the loyalty and call forth the responsibility of the Indian Christian teachers. For this reason we regard it as vital that at the earliest possible moment the government of Christian colleges should be transferred from Britain and America to India, and that the present system of western control should be replaced by a co-operation of Indians and non-Indians on equal terms.

To bring this about we propose certain changes. These changes affect—

- the relation between the missionary boards and the colleges in India ;
- the constitution and powers of the governing boards of individual colleges ;
- the constitution and responsibility of the staff governing bodies of individual colleges.

(3) *Recommendations affecting the relation of the colleges to the mission boards*

(a) We recommend in the first place that at the earliest possible moment the government of Christian colleges should be transferred from the mission boards to boards of direction functioning in India.

(b) We believe it will facilitate this transfer and maintain the confidence of the home boards and the constituency they represent if some arrangement be made by which the National Christian Council in India assumes the responsibility of reporting periodically to the home boards and the International Missionary Council on the whole enterprise of Christian higher education. We believe that it will aid the National Christian Council in discharging this function if there be included in the constitution of each

college some statement of its purpose, and we recommend that such a statement be inserted where it is not already present.

(c) The National Christian Council will no doubt consider how it may best discharge this responsibility. We approve the suggestion of the Bombay Conference that where local conditions make it possible there should be set up in each provincial area a representative "council which should consider the general policy of Christian education in colleges and high schools in its area. It should review periodically the Christian colleges and high schools and do its utmost to promote co-operation between them. It should receive reports every year and review the progress made in the area towards the realisation of the ideals and aims laid down in the Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education so far as adopted by the missions and Churches; it should submit its report annually to the National Christian Council; these reports would be the basis of the reports and recommendations of the National Christian Council to the Churches and home boards. The Churches and missions would agree that changes of policy should not be made without consultation with this council."

(d) We further recommend that in order to consider any matters which may arise out of these reports requiring further consultation, to take common action at the request of and on behalf of the boards and to give counsel in furthering the interests of the colleges so far as these interests are dependent upon support in Britain and America, there should be appointed by the boards both in Britain and America a responsible committee of persons familiar with education who can represent the common interests of the boards in these matters.

(*Note.*—Nothing in the above two paragraphs must be taken to prevent any college from communicating directly with its board or *vice versa*.)

(4) *General recommendations concerning the government of the colleges in India*

(a) The specific application to the government of individual colleges of any general recommendations which

we may make must take account of the difference in the government of large and small colleges, of the different systems of government traditional to and therefore understood by the different colleges, and of the different degrees to which the Indian staff of the college is already Christian.

(b) We suggest as a general model for the government of a Christian college that there be two chief governing bodies.

The first we call a Board of Direction. It should be constituted mainly of persons not on the staff of the college, but representative of the general Christian enterprise, and its general function should be that of confirmation and review.

The second, which we call the Staff Governing Body, would consist only of members of the staff though not of all members of the staff. Its main powers should be those of initiative. There is normally in every college some body—it may be called *Senatus* or Executive Committee or Financial Committee—from which responsible initiative comes. It is this body which for the purposes of these recommendations we call the Staff Governing Body.

Besides these two governing bodies which share the responsibility for policy there is often under this form of government, and there would always under present conditions in India have to be, a wider body which in a small college would probably include the whole staff, and in a large college representatives of the whole staff, having powers over such matters of discipline and academic arrangement as would not affect the policy of the college ; such a body is sometimes called the Staff Meeting, sometimes the Faculty, sometimes the Academic Council.

(c) Whatever the constitutional relations may be between the Board of Direction and the Staff Governing Body, the extent to which this kind of constitution puts the real responsibility of government on the staff depends upon the extent to which the staff is felt to share in the wider purpose which the Board of Direction is to represent, and we share the feeling expressed by many Indian Christian teachers with whom we have conferred that it would help to bring about a sense of common purpose between the Board of Direction and the Staff Governing Body if there could be among

Indian Christian teachers some association involving life commitment to the cause of Christian higher education, similar to that which obtains in the case of the foreign missionary.

Various suggestions have been made as to ways of realising this ideal, some taking their departure from local groups within the college, others contemplating a national organisation. We understand that the National Christian Council has been asked to set up a special committee to consider this subject, and we therefore make no definite recommendations about it, but we would express our judgment of its great importance.

(d) Under normal circumstances in this form of government the Staff Governing Body or Senatus consists of all teachers of a certain standing—for example, all professors. In Christian colleges in India this is ordinarily impossible owing to the presence of a considerable number of non-Christian teachers on the staff. To constitute the Staff Governing Body in the ordinary way would be to run the risk of giving responsibility for the initiation of policy into the hands of a body which might be predominantly or largely non-Christian, and which therefore could not be expected to be committed to the fundamental purpose of the college. This difficulty has been already recognised in the government of Christian colleges.

But the normal working out of this form of government may and does easily result in India in the governing body consisting largely of the western members of the staff. Until, therefore, the Indian Christian members of the staff become predominant in number we think special arrangements must be made to ensure the equal responsibility of Indian Christians with non-Indian Christians on the Staff Governing Body, at the cost of having that Staff Governing Body smaller than it would normally be.

(5) *Suggestions concerning the functions, constitution, and power of the Board of Direction*

Because of the considerations mentioned in (a) above, we do not think it possible to lay down detailed constitutional

recommendations concerning the constitution and power of the Board of Direction. We suggest that the application of the principles we are laying down to individual colleges should be worked out by the continuation committee referred to in our Report, or by some other special body. In the light of these general considerations we recommend :

(a) *The function of the Board*

That the governing powers over Christian colleges now exercised by the home boards or home Churches or union committees in the West, or by the missions in India which are their local representatives, be transferred to Boards of Direction in India : and that a Board of Direction may function for more than one college.

(b) *The powers and duties of the Board*

Concerning the powers of the Board we recommend :

(i) That it should have the power of electing or dismissing the Principal, finally passing the budget, and confirming staff appointments. It should receive the minutes of the Staff Governing Body. We consider that wherever possible the property should be held by trustees in India. If the Board of Direction be legally incorporated, as, in the case of the larger colleges, we think it should be, it could itself hold the property. In any case the administration of the property, however held, should be the responsibility of the Board.

(ii) That all the staff should be responsible to the Board, and that differences between the western and Indian members owing to the different conditions which affect the western members as coming from a different country, and facing different responsibilities (*e.g.* the education of their children abroad) should, so far as they affect status and privilege, be reduced to the minimum.

It will facilitate this if the mission boards adopt the practice of giving block grants to a college, leaving to the Board of Direction the responsibility of fixing salaries, allowances, etc. This practice is adopted already by some union colleges, and has the advantage of eliminating the

differences between missionaries connected with boards whose scales of allowances are not the same. If the Board of Direction should be able to fix for western and Indian members of the staff the same basic salary, adjusting the differences between them on the principle of overseas allowances, this would still further reduce the difference between the two classes.

We recognise on the other hand that there is some objection to missionaries on a college staff being paid on a different basis from other missionaries of the same society, and we appreciate the great value of the tradition that all missionaries of a society are paid a living wage without reference to the particular type of work in which they are engaged.

We do not therefore feel able to make any general recommendation on this subject, except to repeat that so far as possible the status and privileges of Indian and western members of the staff should be the same, and to say that this should not be interpreted as implying the severance of the relation of the missionary to his home board or the abrogation of the responsibility at present assumed by the boards for their missionaries.

(iii) That the maintenance of the missionary purpose of the college should be the special concern of the Board of Direction. Periodical reports on the religious life of the college should be made to it by the Principal. It should meet with the Staff Governing Body annually to discuss these, and report to the National Christian Council and the Home Board. It might carry out this purpose by means of a special sub-committee.

(c) *The constitution of the Board*

Concerning the constitution of the Board we recommend :

- (i) That it should consist entirely of Christians ;
- (ii) That the number of Indian Christians should be at least equal to the number of non-Indians ;
- (iii) That it should include representatives of the Church and of the general public, preference being ordinarily given to persons of educational experience.

We suggest that in order to make possible the inclusion

on the Board of Direction of men of wide experience in the work of the Church, the Board of Direction should include representatives of one or more of the following bodies : the National Christian Council, the Provincial Council, the Educational Council of the area. In this recommendation we would include the colleges which are maintained by a single Church or mission, for almost all these colleges do in fact serve more than one Church, and undue strictness in the application of denominational tests would in many cases seriously restrict the choice of Indian members qualified to serve on the Board. The field of choice would also be widened if it be taken to include, as we feel sure it should, Indian Christian women. We think it is of special importance that the National Christian Council should be represented on the Boards of Direction of all central colleges.

It may well be that in some colleges the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of Indian Christians of the necessary weight and experience for the Board of Direction will make it advisable that that body should contain a larger number of members of the staff than we should otherwise think desirable, in view of the fact that an important function of the Board will be to confirm and review recommendations of the Staff Governing Body. But we consider that the proportion of members of the staff on the Board should not in any case exceed one-third of the total membership, and that the rule about a quorum should provide that a majority of members unconnected with the staff must be present. It should also be the rule that members of the staff should withdraw when questions of salaries or appointments which affect themselves as individuals are being discussed.

(6) *Suggestions concerning the Staff Governing Body*

The constitution of the Staff Governing Body must depend on the size of the college and on the number of the Indian Christian staff. What is really vital is that real responsibility should be put on the Indian Christian members of the staff. No constitution can be regarded as adequate which does not secure this. We recommend therefore :

(a) While it is an advantage that the Principal should be

an Indian Christian, the essential thing is that the Indian Christian members of the staff should have real responsibility for the government of the college. The most obvious way of securing this is that the number of Indian Christians on the Staff Governing Body should be at least equal to the number of non-Indian Christians. There are many colleges in which a Staff Governing Body so constituted is already practicable, and we recommend its adoption in such cases. This would often involve the exclusion from the Staff Governing Body of some non-Indian members of the staff, but we do not think this is necessarily a disadvantage.

There are colleges which must first take steps to increase the number of Indian Christians on their staffs. We recommend that they take such steps and then constitute their Staff Governing Body in this way. We cannot express too strongly our sense of the urgency of this reform.

(b) There are on the staffs of many of the colleges non-Christians of long service and of proved loyalty to the college and its ideals. We think that such persons should be eligible for membership of the Staff Governing Body, but that they should never constitute more than a small proportion—we suggest one-fifth—of the total membership.

(c) In conclusion we would record our judgment that the true basis for equal co-operation between Indians and non-Indians in the government of a college is a social life which both share. It is impossible to specify in detail the implications of this principle. Without necessarily implying economic equality it has an obvious bearing upon rates of salary and house accommodation. It still more obviously demands the exercise of an imaginative and delicate courtesy in all the relations of the staff within and without the college.

5. STAFFING AND RECRUITING

(1) *The central importance of the Christian staff*

A Christian college as contemplated in this Report is an institution in which the Church uses in the service of its great purpose the characteristic contribution of the teacher and the scholar. That characteristic contribution is the

imparting of truth, the extension of knowledge, and the building of character. It is a task in which the most highly gifted men and women of the Universities of India and the West can feel that all their powers will find worthy exercise.

As teachers they will not only impart knowledge to the students in their classes and by means of all those contacts between teacher and pupil outside the class-room which any true college life affords, but they will employ all those methods of "extension" which have been found effective for this purpose in the Universities of the West.

As scholars they will give their minds to research in their particular subjects of study, not merely that they may be better equipped for the teaching of these subjects in their class-rooms, but in order that they may so far as possible relate them to the conditions of life and thought in India, and thus enable the Church more effectively to make its witness and build up its life.

As trainers of youth, they will seek through all the opportunities which the contacts of college life afford to lead their students to personal allegiance to Jesus Christ and to build up their lives in Him.

It is obvious that an essential condition upon which the attainment of such an ideal depends is the obtaining of the right kind of staff. There is indeed nothing that is of such central and critical importance as this.

(a) *The proportion of teachers to students*

Something has already been said, in dealing with the size of colleges, on the question of the right proportion of teachers to students. It is obvious that, as the Sadler Commission points out, if the aim of the college is simply to present students for examination, it will not matter though teachers are few in proportion to students, but if, the Commission goes on, "the college is expected to afford to the students individual help and tutorial guidance, it will require a large staff, however small the range of its subjects." This will be still more emphatically the case if, as in the case of the Christian colleges, the teachers recognise a duty to their students that make still greater demands upon them. The

pastoral relation of the Christian teacher to his students, non-Christian as well as Christian, makes a larger staff necessary than might be considered sufficient in a college that had not this ideal before it. For that reason it has seemed to us that a proportion of one teacher to twelve students is not at all too high a proportion to set before the college as its aim.

With such a proportion, the Sadler Commission remarks, "it becomes possible for the students to receive individual attention, though not certain that they do receive it." If we are to make sure of that we must give consideration to quality as well as quantity. What can be done both to create in a college a fully Christian climate and to maintain a high academic standard we see nowhere better than in the women's colleges. In the Women's Christian College, Madras, the students last year numbered 138, and the resident staff, which was entirely Christian, 13. The Isabella Thoburn College, with 14 non-Indian and 10 Indian Christian teachers on its staff and 148 students, is still more fully equipped.

But the strength of the women's colleges consists not merely in the number of teachers on their staffs, but in the fact that their staffs are so overwhelmingly Christian. It is not possible in most cases for the men's colleges to have as large a proportion of Christians among their students as the women's colleges have, but we consider it to be of the first importance that definite steps should be taken to increase greatly the number of their Christian teachers. In 1889 the deputies who reported on the Scottish colleges were concerned at the number of non-Christians on their staffs, and forty years later there is still ground for the same concern in regard to the colleges of all the Churches. The proportion of Christian teachers to students in all the colleges is one to thirty-one. The total number of Indian Christian teachers on the staffs, as we have already noted, is 245, and of non-Christian teachers, 411. If we include foreign missionaries, there is a total of 422 Christians teaching in all the colleges, just 11 more than the number of non-Christians.

It may be maintained that it is desirable that there should

be some non-Christians on the staffs of Christian colleges, so long as that is a necessary method by which to maintain effective contact with the life of the non-Christian people whom the college serves. To-day when Christian and non-Christian have been brought into much closer relations of understanding and sympathy through many of the influences that surround them, there is far less necessity for this means of contact than there was a generation ago. In any case, the proportion of non-Christians teaching in a Christian college should be very different from what it is at present. There are only 12 colleges out of 38 that have fewer non-Christian Indians among their teachers than Indian Christians.

(b) *The need of high academic qualifications*

The central importance of largely increasing the proportion of Christian teachers raises at once the problem of recruitment, but before we deal with this there are certain relevant questions which need attention.

The rising standards of University work in India increasingly demand specialisation. It is essential that the Boards should realise that the days have long gone by when it can be taken for granted that anyone with a good general education is qualified to teach in a Christian college. We have heard of not a few cases in which a Principal has been placed in serious difficulties owing to the failure of the Home Board to satisfy themselves that a missionary has not only high academic qualifications, but that he is qualified in the particular subject which he will be required to teach. No solution of the problem of the shortage of Christian teachers, whether Indian or western, is practicable which involves the lowering of academic standards.

(c) *Some special functions of Christian teachers*

In saying this we do not forget the third of the functions which we have described as belonging to the staff of a Christian college—their function as trainers of youth which, in the circumstances of an Indian college, involves not only what may be called pastoral relations with the Christian

students of the college, but also the desire and the attempt to share with the non-Christians—both staff and students—all that Christ has come to mean in their own life and thought. The conditions of a college life organised as we have recommended will offer the fullest scope for the exercise of this function. We think that every college should invest one member of its staff with special responsibility as chaplain or director of religious work in the college, not in order that he may relieve other members of the staff of the responsibilities which belongs to all of them as Christians and missionaries, but that he may give the major part of his time and thought to this side of the college's life, studying the methods which have been found fruitful elsewhere, and taking the initiative in their application to his own college. In such work, and in much that has to do with the residential life of the students and with the vitally important side of athletics and physical welfare, there is scope for men who are chosen for their special gifts in these directions rather than for their academic qualifications. Nevertheless, even here their influence will be greater if they are able to win the respect of their students as teachers in the class-room also, even if little of their time is actually given to academic work. It remains generally true that it is essential if the Christian colleges are to do their characteristic work that the academic standard of their teachers shall be high enough to make the colleges "better than the best."

(2) *The difficulty of obtaining sufficient Christian teachers*

The importance of having a predominantly Christian staff if a Christian college is to do its characteristic work effectively is not a discovery of our Commission. Every Principal is convinced of the need of increasing the number of Christian teachers, and laments the difficulties which meet him at every turn as he tries to give effect to his conviction. If we consider that much more can be done than has yet been generally realised to overcome these difficulties, it is not because we underestimate the difficulties themselves, for indeed they are formidable enough. These difficulties concern in different ways and in a different degree the

recruitment of Christian teachers from the West and from India.

(a) *Difficulties of recruitment in Britain and America*

The difficulties in the way of obtaining a sufficient supply of the right kind of men and women from Britain and America are many.

The supply is limited. It is limited first of all by the fact that, as we have seen, high academic qualifications are essential. This is, of course, less true for the colleges which confine their teaching to the Intermediate or Degree standards than in those which undertake honours and post-graduate work, but it is relatively true throughout, while it is of the essence of our conception of the new functions which we wish the colleges to assume that they should be undertaken by men who are trained in the discipline and methods of scholarly research.

It is further limited by the fact that the teachers in the Christian colleges must be men and women who are in full sympathy with what is generally called the missionary purpose of the college. This, as we have already seen, does not mean that their primary work will be evangelistic, still less that it will be proselytising. They are not preachers, but scholars and teachers. They need not necessarily be missionaries in the technical sense of the term. They must, however, be men and women who can see their subjects in relation to the general content of Christian education, and their work as intimately bound up with the Christian purpose of the college.

Moreover, they must be men who have so strong a sense of vocation that they are willing to regard the work of Christian education as a life-work to which they are ready to sacrifice the prospects of a career at home, and they must be so far free from the obligation to support other members of their families as to be justified in putting behind them all expectation of earning more than a reasonable living wage.

But the smallness of the supply of men both qualified and willing to join the staff of a Christian college in India is

not the only difficulty in the way of recruiting a sufficient number of teachers from the West. There is also the difficulty of adjusting the available supply to the particular vacancies in the colleges.

A vacancy may suddenly occur for a specialist in some branch of natural science or economics. The home board has to seek in the small field of available recruits for a man with the necessary academic qualifications who is willing to go, and, as things are, the further condition may be imposed that he must be a Presbyterian or an Anglican or a Methodist. Meanwhile, the teaching must go on. A qualified Hindu is appointed for one year—he remains for a second year. The search for a Christian of the necessary qualifications still goes on. At last the Hindu teacher has to be confirmed in his post. There is no vacancy for the Christian teacher even if he can at length be found.

(b) *Difficulties of recruitment in India*

The difficulties here are no less serious. (i) The actual supply of qualified men is still very small, though the proportion of such men who would be willing to work in a Christian college is, of course, much larger than in the case of men from the West. (ii) And this fact itself raises its own problems. There is not the same presumption in the case of the Indian Christian as in the case of the western teacher that his readiness to teach in a Christian college implies his whole-hearted commitment to the distinctive Christian purpose of the college. We have felt strongly the desirability of some way being found by which the Indian Christian members of college staffs may be invited on joining a college to commit themselves to its Christian and missionary purpose. We believe that there is a strong desire on the part of a considerable number of Indian Christians to seek some method of associating together those who wish to devote themselves in this spirit to the cause of Christian higher education. We have referred to the importance of this question already, and we earnestly commend it to the attention of those who are concerned with the subject in India.

(3) *The importance of taking definite steps to overcome these difficulties*

We do not then underestimate the difficulties involved in the recruitment of an adequate Christian staff for the colleges. If we differ from some with whom we discussed this question in India it is in the strength of our conviction that the present situation is so grave that to change it is a first necessity, and in our belief that there are ways in which a very considerable improvement can be brought about.

On the one hand, whilst we admit that for reasons which we have already given the actual field of recruitment, whether in the West or in India, is definitely limited, we believe, nevertheless, that it could be very considerably enlarged. On the other hand, we are convinced that an improvement in the actual machinery of recruiting would result in removing many of the obstacles which stand between the man who is qualified and would be willing to serve and the college which needs his service.

We do not believe that as things are the work of the Christian colleges makes nearly as strong an appeal as it ought to make to the best kind of men, whether in India or the West.

We have drawn attention in an earlier chapter to the signs of dissatisfaction and disappointment with the work in which they are engaged which we found in many directions among teachers both Indian and western. We have referred to some of the extreme criticism which is directed against the Christian colleges by persons who are cordially in sympathy with missionary work in India, and it is common knowledge that such criticism is widespread among the supporters of many of the missionary societies.

It is obvious that where this condition of things obtains it is to be expected that it will affect the supply of recruits. It is the first condition of doing successful work that a man should believe in it with his whole heart. Just in proportion as a man has a strong sense of vocation and a desire to make the most of his life for the Kingdom of God, he will make

careful inquiries as to the kind of work which he is asked to do. He will want to be assured that the work is worth doing, and that it is the kind of work which he can do. And just as it is important that the new recruit should be satisfied on points like these, so it is essential for the teachers themselves if they are to have a growing satisfaction in their work.

(4) *Our hope that the changes proposed in our Report will strengthen the appeal of the Christian colleges*

To this whole question we have addressed ourselves in the main section of our Report. We believe that the enlarged conception of the functions of the Christian colleges in India presents a field of service in which men and women who are eager to devote their special qualifications and experience to the service of the Church in India through education will find the most ample scope. We believe that the changes which we have recommended in the relationship of Indian and western teachers and in the control and government of the colleges will remove causes which have prevented some of the best Indian Christians from seeing in the colleges instruments by which they can make their distinctive contribution to the life of the Church and the community. We believe that our suggestions as to the internal organisation and religious life of the colleges will make possible an intimate and intensive relationship between teacher and taught which has been impossible under the conditions which obtain in many of the colleges. In these and in other ways we are convinced that if the changes which we have advocated can be brought about, the whole work of the Christian colleges will be revived, and that the result of the changed outlook and spirit will be very marked in the greater appeal which their work will make to the best men and women both in India and the West.

But while we think that we can confidently look for this result, the fact will still remain that in India at any rate the supply of suitable recruits will fall seriously below the demand.

We recommend, therefore, that quite definite steps be taken to increase the supply. It is not sufficient for the colleges to wait until the supply increases by natural develop-

ment. They must get together and take concerted action to increase it. Promising students must be selected and enabled to undergo courses of advanced study in the institutions which are best qualified to train them.

In the West, research or post-graduate studentships have proved a useful means of retaining for academic work promising students for whom no University post is available immediately on their taking their degree. If the Christian colleges would set themselves to work out in common a scheme for training promising Christian students as candidates for teaching posts, and by post-graduate studentships provide a reserve from which well-trained men could be drawn when vacancies occurred, the number of well-qualified Indian Christian teachers would certainly be increased.

A college like Madras Christian College has done a great service for the staffing of Christian colleges throughout the whole of South India, but much more could be done with a more systematic use of scholarships and greater co-operation between different colleges.

But this of itself is not enough. We wish to commend the practice adopted in some colleges of sending experienced Indian teachers to Britain or America for specialised study. We consider that this practice should be widely followed, and that in some colleges at any rate it should be considered whether money spent on the maintenance and travelling expenses of one or more of the western teachers might not with greater advantage be used in this way.

(5) *The need of improving the methods of recruiting*

In ways like these we believe that the available supply of Christian teachers for the colleges may be increased. The question remains as to how available recruits may most effectively be brought into touch with the colleges.

We recommend that the present more or less haphazard and piecemeal method of recruiting be replaced by a carefully designed centralisation of agencies both in India and in Britain and America. The need of men is too great for us to be content to lose one through the use of casual and ineffective methods of recruiting.

We desire to see set up in India a central bureau, probably in connection with the National Christian Council, where the needs of the various colleges and the conditions of service may be available to inquirers, and where suitably qualified men and women may register themselves with a view to being immediately informed of suitable vacancies as they arise.

Similarly we recommend that early steps be taken to establish a central recruiting bureau in Britain and America. Such a bureau should keep in touch with the colleges and the recruiting bureau in India, and also with the Mission Boards, the Universities, and the Student Christian Movement. Since experience, whether of teaching or research, is a very desirable qualification, the closest possible contact should be made with the teaching profession in all practicable ways.

We think that this board might well, through the International Missionary Council, secure teachers for the Christian colleges from the Protestant churches of the continent of Europe. Some of the most distinguished work in Indian scholarship has been done by continental scholars, and their presence on the staff of the colleges in greater numbers than at present might make a great contribution to the learning of Christian India.

Finally, every effort should be made to reduce to a minimum the difficulties created by denominational conditions. We have had reason elsewhere to draw attention to the almost ludicrous restriction which these sometimes lay upon the Principals even of Union colleges.

(6) *Some special problems*

(a) *The non-Christian staff*

We have said nothing with regard to the non-Christians who must for many years to come constitute at any rate a considerable element in the staffs of the Christian colleges. We have heard testimony borne on many sides to the loyal and excellent work done by Hindu and Moslem members of college staffs, who have identified themselves whole-

heartedly with almost every activity of the college life and have won in high degree the confidence and affection of their Christian colleagues. But this cannot be said of all, and we think that the attention of Principals should be drawn to the importance of exercising at least as careful scrutiny in the appointment of non-Christians as they do when appointing Christians.

We have referred to the difficulty created by the frequent necessity of prolonging the temporary appointment of a non-Christian until fairness demands that he be given permanent status. We think the proposals we have made above should mitigate this difficulty.

(b) *The short service scheme*

What is generally known as the short service scheme, an arrangement by which men and women come from Britain and America on an agreement for two or three years' service, has been adopted in a number of colleges. Some of the finest men in the colleges have been recruited in this way. We think that the plan has many advantages, but consider that these are distinctly limited. The prime need is for experienced teachers who will give their lives to the college. It should never be imagined that a succession of short-term men can be any substitute for such permanent teachers. Further, there is a real danger lest men coming on short service should be allowed to displace experienced Indian teachers. Apart from the obvious injustice of such a practice it ignores the fact that the foreign teacher is ordinarily of very little value as a teacher in his first year, and is certainly less effective than an experienced Indian teacher even if his academic qualifications may be higher. In spite of these limitations the short service scheme is of very real value—this is obvious where the short service man is an addition to the regular staff—but he is also valuable as an assistant in a well-organised department of teaching. His chief value, however, generally lies in the freshness and cheerfulness of his outlook, in the contribution which he makes to the social and athletic life of the college, and to the Christian influence which he exerts upon the students.

(c) *Keeping contact with alumni*

The permanent element in the life of a college is the staff. The student body passes all too rapidly through the short years—often not more than two years—of its association with the college, and it is an almost universal complaint on the part of the teachers that this brief contact is too slight for them to bring to bear effectively upon their students the influence which they would like to exert. Yet almost nowhere did we find any vigorous attempt to keep in touch with the students after they had passed out into life. Some colleges have rather ineffective "Old Boys' Associations." Some have more or less complete records of the college records of their alumni. Few had succeeded in holding them together in any way that compares with what is a normal and invaluable feature of American college life.

We realise the difficulties that are involved, but we are confident that the colleges are in this matter not only neglecting an important field of service, but are also depriving themselves of a most valuable source of income and goodwill. It has sufficed hitherto that the Christian colleges should rely for support upon a British Government and foreign missionary societies. Henceforth they will have to rely increasingly upon public goodwill. In securing and maintaining this goodwill we believe that the alumni of the college if adequately cultivated and kept together may become a factor of increasing importance.

(d) *Visits from British and American scholars*

We have referred elsewhere to the fact that to-day University education is becoming increasingly international in character. We have expressed the opinion that it is important that the Christian colleges in India should keep in close touch with University thought and practice in the West. We think that in creating and developing these contacts, occasional visits from Christian scholars in the West would be of invaluable service. We are thinking not so much of the help which they might give as temporary

lecturers to the more advanced students, but of the encouragement and inspiration which they would bring to the staffs.

(e) *Staff conferences*

The success of almost everything that we have discussed in this Report depends upon the Christian staffs of the colleges—upon their number, ability, and devotion, but also upon the extent to which they are inspired by the conception of their work and functions which we have attempted to set out. It will not be easy in India any more than it is easy elsewhere for teachers to relate their subjects to the whole Christian purpose of the college, which is so essential if the dualism which threatens the work of the Christian teachers is not to prevail. They will stand in need of all the help that they can receive if they are to achieve success. We therefore consider that conferences of Christian teachers should be arranged from time to time where these questions can be discussed, and where the many new opportunities that lie before the Christian colleges may be canvassed and necessary plans be made.

(7) *Concluding recommendations*

We recommend :

1. That the colleges make every effort to increase the number of well-qualified Indian Christian teachers on their staffs.
2. That for this purpose they organise in common a scheme of post-graduate studentships for promising candidates and a central bureau of information.
3. That central recruiting bureaus be established in Britain and America which should keep in touch with the colleges and the recruiting bureau in India, with the Mission Boards, the Universities, and the Student Movement.
4. That these bureaus should, through the International Missionary Council, get in touch with and consider candidates from the continent of Europe.
5. That colleges should take steps to keep men in touch with their alumni.

6. That visits from British and American scholars be arranged.

7. That the Christian teachers in the colleges arrange staff conferences to discuss their common problems.

6. THE SENSE IN WHICH A CHRISTIAN COLLEGE NEEDS
TO BE FREE

(1) *General considerations*

In an earlier part of our Report we have discussed the questions which have to do with the freedom of the Christian colleges to define their Christian purpose and to determine the conditions which they deem essential to its effective realisation. These conditions have to do both with the content of their teaching and with its method. We have elsewhere treated with some fullness the limitations which the present system of University examination and control puts upon the teacher's freedom to adapt his method of instruction to the needs of the particular group of students with which he has to do, but the problem raised by the present system affects not only the method of teaching imposed upon the Christian colleges but their dominant purpose and aim. That aim requires them not only to give instruction concerning the Christian religion as a philosophy of life, but to draw the consequences which follow from this philosophy for conduct. It is at this point that the most serious problems arise. They have to do with the measure of freedom that a Government which represents a constituency, only a minority of whose citizens are Christian, can rightfully give to that minority to give instruction to its students concerning that religion in state-aided and state-recognised institutions.

These problems as they meet us in India to-day do not differ in principle from those which face all Christian colleges carrying on their work under Governments which recognise their responsibility for the education of their citizens. But in India they are accentuated by the fact that the existing Government is only in part representative of the people who are governed, and is therefore more than

ordinarily sensitive to the effects of the teaching in state-aided institutions upon the political and religious convictions of their constituency.

Though the new functions which we propose for the colleges will not be subject to Government and University regulation, as are the existing activities of the colleges, they will be carried on by colleges which are a part of the system, and require for their teaching work grants and recognition. We discuss in the next section on the conscience clause the problem of the colleges' freedom in giving religious instruction. But the independence of the colleges may be hampered in other ways. If the colleges are going to serve the community by promoting and disseminating knowledge to help men in their economic and social problems, they must be free to give the answer which scholarly inquiry produces, and if their witness is to have power, they must be recognised to be free. But though their work is scholarly and not controversial, they will not be able to avoid controversial topics, or to avoid pronouncing unpopular judgments. There is a certain tradition in India that Universities and colleges should be the servants of Government, and there is always a temptation for any Government or indeed any body or persons who finance a University to act on the saying that he who pays the piper may call the tune. The Universities of the West have not escaped this danger, and there is no reason to suppose that the Universities and colleges of India will be more fortunate or can be careless about their academic independence. It is common experience also that pronouncements which are permitted to citizens of a country are resented when they come from foreigners. As it is, under the existing system of Government the American colleges have not always been given quite the same freedom as the British colleges. They have at least been expected to be more "on their good behaviour." In the future there will be little hope of preserving the independence of the colleges if there be any excuse for regarding them as instruments of "cultural domination." Our proposals for bringing it about that the colleges will represent the initiative and responsibility of the Indian Christian teachers will therefore

be an indispensable means to ensuring in the future their academic independence.

There is good ground for hoping that the India of the future will not seek to make education the instrument of Government. The temptation to do this is never far from a Government founded on nationalism, but the existence of strong minorities in India should make it impossible that India should follow the example of Turkey or of Russia. Nevertheless the price of academic as of other liberty is constant vigilance, and we recommend that united action be taken by the National Christian Council whenever anything occurs which seems to threaten or endanger the academic independence of the Christian colleges.

We may end by noting what is indeed obvious, that the more colleges depend for their existence upon Government grants, the more difficult it will be for them in times of stress to maintain their independence. We noticed in an earlier chapter that the deputies from the Free Church of Scotland in 1889 drew the attention of their Church to the financial dependence of the colleges and to its dangers. In an India changing as rapidly as it is now, those dangers are greater than they ever were. The Churches must be prepared at any time to face the necessity of foregoing Government grants if they are to maintain their independence, and the more they can anticipate that necessity by building up endowments for the colleges, the better. It is no use trying to forecast the attitude of future Indian Governments to Christian education. There are grounds for confidence and grounds for alarm. All that is certain is the uncertainty of the situation.

(2) *Problems raised by the Conscience Clause*

(a) *The issues defined*

We now pass to the consideration of the independence of the colleges in their religious teaching. This problem meets us in most acute form in connection with the requirement of the so-called "Conscience Clause."

By the "Conscience Clause" we mean the provision, as a condition of Government grants to mission colleges, that

exemption from required attendance upon Scripture classes should be granted to any student whose parents should request such exemption. The form of administering this exemption differs in many cases as well as the extent to which advantage is taken of it when granted. At the present time the "Conscience Clause" is required only in the United Provinces and Burma, but it seems likely that it may soon be imposed in other provinces also, and in Burma changes have been proposed in the form of its administration which have caused serious perplexity to the representatives of the colleges in that country.

So far as the application is concerned, we believe that there are two dangers to be guarded against. One is the danger of the use of the Clause by those who are hostile to Christianity to prevent the attendance at Scripture classes of those who have no objection to doing so but who hesitate to incur the public odium which will be involved in attendance. The other is the danger to the morale of the class which comes from requiring attendance at Scripture classes on the same basis as that on which requirement at other classes is based, and then failing to enforce that requirement in the same way.

We have found evidence of the existence of both dangers in the colleges that we have visited. Where the onus of objecting is to be upon the conscientious objector, there is little danger that it will be abused, but where, as in the regulation proposed in Burma, the duty of requiring from each parent a statement of his attitude on the matter is imposed upon the colleges, it may easily be made the instrument of anti-Christian propaganda which will defeat the real intention of the parent.

More serious is the second danger, that, namely, which results from professing to require attendance at Scripture classes on the same basis as that upon which attendance upon other classes is required and then failing to enforce that requirement in the same way. Whatever differences of opinion there may be upon other points, we are clear that to profess to require attendance under a rule which is not enforced is destructive of student morale and of no true

advantage to the Christian religion. This we have found to be the case more often than we could wish.

Taking the situation as a whole, we would express our judgment that the "Conscience Clause" in the form in which it is now in operation in those provinces which require it (*e.g.* the United Provinces and Burma) has not injuriously affected the religious teaching or influence of the colleges, but on the contrary, that it has, in some colleges at least, made the conditions of religious teaching more satisfactory. Its effect has been to relieve the Scripture classes of the presence of those few who really object to them and whose attendance therefore harms instead of helping religious teaching. We think, therefore, that any proposals in other provinces to introduce the "Conscience Clause" in this form should not only be willingly accepted but may wisely be anticipated.

The attitude taken to the "Conscience Clause" by the colleges and the boards which are responsible for their support differs widely. Some mission boards (*e.g.* the American Presbyterians in the case of Ewing Christian College in Allahabad) have taken the position that the reception of grants from the Government under a "Conscience Clause" places such limitations upon their freedom to organise their religious teaching as they see best that, even though the Government makes no demand upon them which at the time they cannot conscientiously accept, it is wiser to forgo such grants altogether in order to maintain complete liberty of action. Others are prepared to accept the Clause if imposed, but only as a last resort. Still others, so far from being troubled by it regard it as right in principle and welcome it as relieving them from needless embarrassment and opening the way for a freer approach to those whom they desire to reach.

Sometimes the attitude of the college differs from that of the Church or the board to which it is responsible. Thus, Wilson College, Bombay, believing the "Conscience Clause" right in principle, requested permission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to introduce it voluntarily even though it had not been imposed by the provincial

authorities. This permission, up to the present time, the Assembly has refused.

While we understand and respect the conviction which leads some colleges to refuse the Government grants under conditions which place any limitation upon their freedom to require religious teaching of all their students, we do not think the present attitude of the Government such as to make this policy obligatory upon the mission colleges as a whole. We recognise that their position as parts of a system of education recognised by Government must of necessity impose certain limitations upon them with respect to their attitude toward their non-Christian students, but we believe that the acceptance of these limitations is not only consistent with their Christian purpose but in many cases may aid in its realisation.

These limitations may be justified among other reasons from the fact that in many cases mission colleges are the only colleges open to the students of a certain district, and that the freedom to choose other colleges where religious teaching is not compulsory is not in fact open to them. Under such conditions the imposition of a "Conscience Clause" by the State is proper and its acceptance by colleges legitimate.

But we should be doing injustice to the position of many conscientious Christian teachers if we justified the acceptance of the "Conscience Clause" solely on this ground. There are not a few who believe that any compulsion in matters of religious teaching is a mistake, since, as they contend, it limits the freedom of the teacher by introducing a needless constraint into his relations with his pupils. They would prefer, therefore, that all religious teaching whether of Christians or non-Christians should be voluntary.

A position of this kind conscientiously held deserves respectful and sympathetic consideration, but it is clear that it raises questions of a very different kind from those involved in the acceptance of the "Conscience Clause" in the form in which it meets us in India to-day. It will be desirable, therefore, before taking up this larger and more difficult question to define our attitude toward the narrower and more simple one.

(b) *General considerations*

In our effort to reach a right decision on the issues submitted to us, we have found ourselves obliged to distinguish between matters of principle and questions of application.

So far as the question of principle is concerned, we believe that the advocates of the "Conscience Clause" are in the right, provided the issue be really one of conscience and not of national or religious propaganda. We believe, therefore, that the colleges will be well advised themselves to accept this principle voluntarily and to make provision for its application in ways that are helpful and not hampering.

We are not blind to the possibility, however, that a form of "Conscience Clause" might be adopted which would in fact prevent the Christian colleges from making their religious teaching central. Sooner than submit to such restriction they should forgo Government grants, seriously as they might curtail the extent of their influence. A still graver situation would arise if acquiescence in an unacceptable "Conscience Clause" were made the condition of a college being granted recognition whether it accepted Government grants or not. Should such a situation arise, whether in its milder or in its more extreme form, we think it important that no action should be taken by the college or colleges affected until they have consulted the National Christian Council in order that any action taken, even though it purports to affect only a few colleges, should be determined only after full consideration by the other colleges, and by the National Christian Council. In a situation so grave united action is essential.

To return to the allied subject of the wisdom of compulsory religious teaching, we believe that help may be found by distinguishing between two different kinds of Scripture teaching: one designed to give those who take it such instruction concerning Christianity as a religion with a history and a literature as can properly be included among the requirements of an academic curriculum; the other voluntary courses specially designed for inquirers, in which it is possible to deal with personal difficulties with a freedom

and intimacy unattainable in larger classes. In this connection attention may be called to the action of Calcutta University in prescribing as part of its requirements in literature the study of selected passages of the Bible, a requirement under which it has proved possible for the authorities of that college to include the larger part of the religious teaching which they deemed essential.

The case for compulsory religious instruction has been put by Dr. Hogg as follows :

“ While it is the parent’s (or, it may be, pupil’s) right and privilege to select the educator, it is the educator’s right and privilege to determine the curriculum. In our use of this privilege of the educator, we decide to include Scripture classes and to make our teaching in all subjects Christian in spirit, because we hold the spiritual message of the Bible to be so vital that no education can be satisfactory which does not provide an understanding of that message.”

We believe that this principle is entirely sound. It is not only the right but the duty of the college to determine the content of its curriculum, and we have elsewhere given reasons for believing that on purely educational grounds Scripture classes form an essential part of that curriculum. Yet though the colleges may rightly compel attendance on such classes, we recognise that under present conditions in India the semblance of compulsion may produce a reaction ruinous to the effectiveness of religious teaching.

(c) *Recommendations*

We suggest as a satisfactory way of dealing with the existing situation the following procedure, subject to special variation as the experience of the individual colleges may deem wise :

1. That religious instruction retain its central place in the curriculum of the Christian college.
2. That permission be given to non-Christian students to withdraw their names from the roll of “ Scripture ” classes at the beginning of a

- session, whether acceptance of such "Conscience Clause" be imposed by the Government or the University or not, *i.e.* that a "Conscience Clause" in the form of that now operative in the United Provinces be adopted voluntarily.
3. That students who by leaving their names on the roll show that they have no conscientious objection to attending such classes be required to attend regularly and that attendance be recognised as part of the ordinary routine of the college.
 4. That care be taken by the arrangement of alternative periods and enforcement of attendance at them that those who take advantage of the "Conscience Clause" have to attend as many periods as those who do not.
 5. That the fact that the attendance of non-Christian students at periods of Christian teaching is treated as part of the college routine be recognised as laying upon the teacher the obligation not to take unfair advantage of his position, and upon the Principal the duty of seeing that any imposition of discipline which may be necessary is applied with tact and consideration. The colleges must not use compulsory attendance on religious instruction to make up for defects in the religious atmosphere of the college.
 6. That care be taken by Principals that in adopting measures designed to reduce to a minimum the element of compulsion which this policy involves they consult with one another before they take any action which may lead to a reduction in their own and ultimately in other colleges of the opportunity of giving regular Christian teaching.

We quote in full a memorandum by a college teacher on the subject of voluntariness in college teaching, from which we have already quoted, and which we append for consideration.

“*Voluntariness in Religious Teaching in College*

“ I. *For the Entrant.*—It may be reasonably claimed that no one should be excluded from an educational institution, which is aided from public funds, on religious grounds merely. Hence that a student (or his parent) is unwilling to accept religious instruction is no ground on which the Principal can ask him to go on to another college. The Conscience Clause in the United Provinces covers this aspect of the question, and there can be no doubt that the Principal of a Christian college should scrupulously observe such considerations in the spirit as well as in the letter.

“ On the other hand, it is reasonable to expect the entrant to a specifically Christian institution to make his claim for exemption himself at the outset, if he wishes for exemption from a part of what the institution sets out to give. It is, however, advisable to see that this is clearly understood by the student himself on entry, and to make it explicit in any prospectus of the institution.

“ II. *For the Student in the College.*—The ‘voluntariness’ which is desirable, in this as in other cases, is the securing of conditions in which the student carries out what he really *intends*, not that he should be left the sport of every influence that comes along. The student is presumed to join college with the *intention* of studying, passing exams., etc. College rules, with their penalties, are designed to secure that he carries out his intention, in spite of influences and inducements which might otherwise deflect him from it.

“ There does not seem any real reason why the same considerations should not apply to the formal religious instruction which a student who joins a Christian college without claiming exemption under a Conscience Clause may be assumed to intend to receive.

“ There will be many considerations in college life which may tend either to hold him to his intention or to deflect him from it. On the one side, there may be desire to please his Principal or teachers, or some interest aroused in the subject, or a pleasure in asking questions and raising difficulties; on the other side, some natural slothfulness, the absorption

of exams. or other interests, some anti-Christian agitation or the more subtle social feeling which may arise against a non-Christian who is known to be interested in Christian teaching. The college cannot remove such inducements so as to leave the student 'free'; equally it can hardly be said to be infringing 'freedom' if it seeks through some additional consideration, penal or otherwise, to prevent the balance being heavily weighted *against* the carrying through of the original intention. A fine, or other penalty, for non-attendance at class is in this way in the nature of an adjustment to secure a situation favourable to the carrying out of the student's intention; and so long as this is its nature, it is not opposed to the 'voluntariness' of our teaching.

"It will only be so opposed if it is so heavy or mechanical or arbitrary as to compel the really unwilling and to arouse a sense of compulsion. To avoid this it will be necessary not only that the penalty should be as light as possible, but that it should be adjustable and flexible, with adjustments based on a real personal knowledge of individual cases.

"III. *For the Teacher.*—The above sections presuppose that there is possible a 'religious teaching' which is analogous in general to other teaching; and that the student intends to learn and to think about religion, about God, about the life and teaching of Jesus, etc.; and that the teacher intends to provide material for such learning and to stimulate such thinking so far as he can. There is no reason for the Christian teacher to conceal his own view that such learning and thinking is one line of approach to a personal act of surrender to God in Christ which he would desire supremely for each one of his students and which he would regard as the consecration of the whole of education; nor does it mean that the teacher is restricted to the presentation of Christ as the guide in matters intellectual, to the exclusion of Christ the Saviour in matters moral and spiritual.

"But it does seem to imply that the *primary* object of the teacher in his class is to secure interest, understanding, and thinking in the subject. The Christian teacher will therefore recognise that his class teaching is only one line of approach, only a part of the work of a Christian institution on its

specifically religious side ; and that it needs supplementing by all the other means of personal contact and fellowship, of worship and of special missions, etc., which may contribute to the great task of drawing the whole man to the feet of Christ.

“ There will no doubt be those who would feel themselves fettered and restricted in this method of class teaching ; and it is just those whose spirit rebels against the idea of penalties for non-attendance. For them the method is friendship with the individual, or with the small group of those who have been drawn to them ; and they should certainly not be compelled to take up the method of class teaching. They are only asked to recognise that others may be granted, by the same Spirit, the gift of teaching in another way.

“ No doubt the class teacher will be hampered in his religious teaching—as he must be in any other subject—by a fringe of uninterested back-benchers, whose attendance may be secured mainly by penal sanctions. So long, however, as they are not actively hostile—in which case they should be invited to take advantage of the Conscience Clause—he may encourage himself that, as they have in some way intended to come to a religious college, he may yet find some spark of interest which may be fanned into an occasional flicker, and that a word here and there may set them thinking, or may stick in the memory till it is needed. The testimony of old students seems to give some ground for this optimistic view.

“ Finally, just in so far as the teacher is a Christian teacher, it would seem to be the case that in his teaching of other subjects he will find the same difficulties and the same needs as, at first sight, seem peculiar to ‘ religious instruction.’ He will experience the difficulty of securing an interest which is deeper and wider than the interest in passing exams., and he will find the need of relating his teaching to personal life by individual contacts and friendships.”

7. FINAL SUMMARY

We may now summarise briefly the plan we have been expounding.

We do not believe it to be possible to persist in the present policy. Believing as we do that the evils of the present

situation are not due to the weaknesses of individual colleges but to the system, we have recommended :

That all the Christian colleges should be regarded as co-operating in a common enterprise ; and that in order to make this co-operation effective there should be some common organisation to consider the system of higher education from the point of view of India as a whole.

At the same time, we do not think that common organisation of itself will be of any value unless we somehow can give a new direction and initiative to the Christian colleges. We do not think that the needs and opportunities which the colleges could serve can possibly be neglected, and we do not think they can be adequately served either by giving up altogether responsibility for higher education or by setting up a Christian University. We think it ought to be possible for the Christian colleges to maintain their place in the University system and yet

(1) Recover control of the content of their education, working out a new version of that *præparatio evangelica*, the conception of which gave such unity to the Christian colleges of earlier days ;

(2) Give their teachers a sphere where they can exercise all their powers of experiment and research which are so starved under present conditions ; and

(3) Be brought into close and direct contact with the Church in India.

We think this can be done if the colleges add to their present function of teaching the students within their walls the further function of supplying the community and the Christian Church in particular with the knowledge they need for the solution of their problems.

For the organisation of this function of extension and research, as we have called it, we have recommended that in each province there should be set up a department of extension and research, under a director. On the department should be represented both the colleges and those concerned with other forms of Christian work in the province. The department would allocate any funds which should be put at its disposal, but would also co-ordinate all the work

of extension and research done in the province. We hope the department would be able to arrange that every college in some degree took part in this new work.

While we believe that from the closer contact between college and community which this new function will bring about from the practical, unregimented, and varying character of the problems with which our teachers will have to deal, a new direction and inspiration will be given to the colleges, we are also sure that the demands which this redirection will make upon the colleges will call for the highest qualities of corporate life and individual initiative. We have therefore first made recommendations designed to strengthen the corporate religious life of the colleges. To make these recommendations practical we have further recommended that the small colleges be careful to keep their numbers below the limit where a real corporate life becomes impossible, and the larger colleges to organise themselves into smaller units, which we have called Halls. These smaller units, we recommend, should have under the supreme control of the college some autonomy of teaching and common life.

Because we think that the success of our plan will depend upon the degree to which it calls forth Indian initiative, we have recommended radical changes in the government of colleges, designed (1) to transfer the government of Christian colleges to boards of direction functioning in India, and (2) to ensure the equal co-operation in the colleges of Indian and western Christians.

We have further made recommendations about staffing which are designed to give the colleges a larger supply of well-qualified Indian Christian teachers and to help them to recruit the best candidates available from Britain, America, and the Continent.

And, lastly, because we recognise that in spite of all these precautions it will not always be easy for the colleges to retain their independence while they are part of the University system and accept Government grants, we end as we began by commending concern for such questions to the common consideration of the colleges as a whole, acting along with the National Christian Council.

CHAPTER X

THE PLACE OF THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES IN THE PLAN

I. THE COMMISSION'S INSTRUCTIONS AND PROCEDURE

IN the original statement of the terms of reference formulated by the International Missionary Council in response to the request of the Agra Conference there is no mention of the theological colleges. Subsequently the request was made that theological colleges also should be included in the studies of the Commission. Plans were accordingly made through the committee of arrangements for an all-India conference on theological education to be held at Bombay on March 19, 1931, immediately preceding the general conference.

Acting under these revised instructions the Commission has included theological colleges among the colleges studied. In view, however, of the fact that these present technical problems with which not all the members of the Commission were familiar, they have confined their recommendations to certain general questions of policy which affect the Commission's plan as a whole, leaving to those of their number who have given special attention to theological education to add a supplementary minute expressing their own judgment and advice on these more technical matters.

To assist the Commission, Mr. Paton sent to each of the five theological colleges affiliated with Serampore, teaching in English up to the standard of the Serampore B.D. degree, a brief questionnaire dealing with questions similar to those addressed to the principals of the Arts and Science colleges, and answers to all of these were received before the Commission left London. The information thus received was supplemented by further information received from other theological institutions teaching up to the L.Th. standard.

In addition to the documentary material thus collected

the Commission had the advantage of personal visits to a number of the more important theological institutions, of conferences with many persons interested in theological education, and of letters from many more. For all the help thus received they desire to express their appreciation.

Among the institutions visited by some or all of the members of the Commission in person were the theological colleges at Bangalore, Serampore, Calcutta, Jubbulpore, Saharanpur, Pasumalai, Kottayam, Bareilly, and Poona.

The theological members of the Commission desire to express their special appreciation of the courtesy of the sub-committee of the theological committee of the National Christian Council in inviting them to be present at their meeting at Serampore on January 5, and again at the full meeting of the committee at Bombay on March 18.

On the basis of the material thus collected the Commission prepared a list of provisional recommendations which were submitted to the all-India conference on theological education on March 19, as well as certain supplementary recommendations which were submitted by Professors Brown and Buck to the committee of the National Christian Council at their meeting on March 18. At the conclusion of these two conferences that committee reassembled and submitted a further document embodying their views on the recommendations submitted. Further statements were also received from the representatives of some of the seminaries affected.

The material thus covered forms the basis of the recommendations which follow. They deal with the place of theological education in the programme of higher education of the Church in India ; with a general plan for the development of theological education in India ; with the content of theological education best adapted to the needs of the Indian Church at the present time ; and with the training of theological teachers.

It will help to set these recommendations in their proper light if we preface them by a brief review of the present state of theological study and the historical causes which have brought it about.

2. A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES
AS THEY ARE

The most recent edition of the *Directory of Christian Missions* enumerates over seventy institutions concerned in one form or another with training for the ministry. These institutions range all the way from catechetical schools conducted by a single person for the training of evangelists, teachers, and Biblewomen, to theological seminaries after the western plan, teaching in English up to B.D. degree.

For our purpose they may be grouped under three general heads :

- (a) Theological seminaries teaching in English up to the B.D. degree and affiliated with Serampore as the degree-giving institution. There are five of these, namely, the United Theological College, Bangalore ; Bishop's College, Calcutta ; the India Methodist Theological College at Jubbulpore ; the United Theological College at Saharanpur ; and Serampore College itself. Most of these institutions also give the L.Th. degree to men of less advanced academic training.
- (b) Theological schools teaching in the vernacular but with a considerable use of English as a source of reference material. Some of these are union institutions, others conducted by a single Church. Their standards of admission vary, but they aim at preparing men for the Christian ministry in its non-technical form. A few of them give the L.Th. in the form approved by Serampore. It is difficult to make an exact list of these seminaries, but it is safe to put their number at not less than ten. The vernaculars used by these ten schools include Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Hindi, Marathi, and Khasi. Three out of the ten are union institutions.
- (c) Technical schools for ordinands, catechists, Biblewomen, and others, usually conducted by a single person or at most two or three, and varying

greatly in the standard they set and the purpose for which they are designed.

The total number of schools and colleges for the training of pastors and evangelists, as given in the *Directory of Christian Missions*, is 76. Of these, 14 are of higher grade, leaving 62 of lower grade. There are probably many more than this number.

Some of (c) are associated with the vernacular schools above mentioned and taught by the same Faculty ; others are separate institutions.

In Burma the state of theological education is not so far advanced as in India. There is only one school teaching in English, a small college teaching up to the L.Th. degree and affiliated with a Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago. There are four schools teaching in the vernacular—two Baptist (one for Burmese and one for Karens), one Anglican, and one Methodist.

Turning to India and surveying the position of theological instruction in its most general aspect we find that forty-five of the more important vernacular schools are scattered over 11 language areas—8 teaching in Tamil, 6 in Telugu, 2 in Marathi, 2 in Gujerati, 4 in Hindi, and so on. These institutions belong to 27 different denominations, and 6 out of the total are union institutions.

If one considers the state of theological education as a whole one is impressed by its elementary character, its denominational character, and its isolation from the general trend of academic education. To these statements there is one conspicuous exception, namely, the group of theological colleges affiliated with Serampore.

The Serampore College was established in 1818 for two specific purposes which were stated in its prospectus, namely, "the education of resident Christian students" and "the preparation of missionaries from those born in the country." Thus Carey had before him at that early date the aim which we desire to secure for Christian colleges by a somewhat different method, of associating together a liberal education in Arts subjects with theological training. "Piety and learning" were to be closely related to each other.

In 1827 the position of this college was established in a unique position among the colleges in India by the fact that in that year the King of Denmark (Serampore being at that time in Danish possession) granted it by Royal Charter the power to confer degrees.

For evil or for good the fact of the possession of this power by Serampore has greatly influenced the course of development of higher theological training in recent years. In the earlier years of the history of missions in India training for the ministry was given, as might be expected, in a wholly unorganised and largely haphazard fashion. These were the years of individualism when—at the pioneer stage in missionary advance—each missionary did to a large extent what seemed right in his own eyes. When converts were obtained and a Church began to be organised, obviously pastors were needed and had to be instructed. The missionary would gather a few selected men together and teach them according to his ability and naturally according to the tenets of his particular denomination. Thus a large number of little training schools, in which the vernacular was mainly used, sprang up all over the country, and in these pastors and what were called “catechists,” that is, evangelists of an elementary grade, were trained.

As the Church grew and became stronger and the need for leaders from among the Indian people of ability and education became more apparent, new plans had to be formed. The powers of Serampore College to grant degrees had not up to this time been made use of, but early in the present century the Principal of the college, Dr. Howells, realised the value that this might have in the new conditions and proceeded to invite the co-operation of other societies with the Baptists in the establishment of Serampore as the centre of united effort in higher theological study for all India. In 1918 the constitution of the college was changed so that on its Senate and Council other Churches and missions could be strongly represented, and its degrees were made fully available to the whole Church in India.

In this generous action on the part of Serampore College two principles were recognised—the one that of

endeavouring to lay down a unified course of instruction for advanced theological training and to maintain it at a high standard, the other the acceptance for such education of co-operation between missions as desirable and proper. It is obvious that this latter principle is a sound one for practical, if for no other, reasons, for the number of students of this grade are few, and considerations both of cost and efficiency in instruction seem to demand concentration.

Similar influences are seen at work also in the United Theological College at Bangalore, which was established in 1910 and has had an honourable record since then in the promotion of higher theological study. Six Societies are united in its support. Its aim, as stated in its first Report, is "the training of a higher grade of Indian evangelists, pastors, and teachers who shall take their place in the growing Indian Church as able and worthy guides and leaders and developers of a rich Christian life and a strenuous Christian propaganda in this land." This College and five others of a similarly high grade are, or have been, affiliated with Serampore College, taking part in the framing of the curriculum for its degrees and in the conduct of the examinations for these degrees, and preparing and sending up candidates to compete for them.

But, important as are these colleges, which give their instruction in English, they are not to be reckoned as more important for the future of the Church than the colleges which teach mainly, or in part, through the medium of the vernaculars. The chief hindrance in the way of the full development of these colleges is the lack of adequate literature for their purposes in the various vernaculars. For that reason it is frequently the case that in such colleges while the vernaculars are, as they should be, the main instruments and must be fully at the command of the student for his future duties both as instructor and as pastor of his people, English is also used and its value recognised as a means by which a wide range of literature is made available to him. It was to strengthen this class of college that Serampore College established, in addition to the B.D. degree which represents the highest level of theological instruction given

entirely in English, a degree at a lower level called the L.Th. Whether, however, the adoption of the particular type of theological course represented by the present Serampore L.Th. is the best way of strengthening the vernacular colleges is doubtful. For this reason we welcome the experiment which is being made at the theological college at Jubbulpore, of working out a four years' course of combined arts and theology which departs from the Serampore standard in the direction of a more comprehensive and practical training.

A danger in the existing method of Indian theological education, whether at its lower or its higher levels, is that it may involve the transplanting of the whole body of western theology, and along with it many western denominational prejudices, to the very different circumstances and surroundings of India. India has a heritage of its own which, in so far as it is good and from God, should be carried over into the study and interpretation of Christian truth. The ancient tradition of the Catholic faith must always retain its unique authority over the thought of the Christian Church, whether in the East or in the West ; but it must be passed through the Indian mind, be related to India's great traditions, and so become something that is truly naturalised in the land and not merely a foreign importation.

It is clear that the way of progress in the future involves accordingly (a) such co-operative effort as may help to set the teaching of the colleges free from narrow denominationalism and may make it possible to concentrate in the colleges a strong group of able Indian and non-Indian teachers ; (b) the encouragement in every way possible of the production of books in the vernaculars, suitable for the education of pastors and the maintenance of their cultural and Christian life ; as also of the production of books in English as well which shall aim at the translation of Christian ideas into the forms of Indian thought and the relation of the Indian religious heritage to the Christian heritage of the West. It would follow naturally that the training of pastors and evangelists should further (c) relate the teaching given to the actual life of the people and make

it clear to those under instruction, by practical training, that Christianity is a way by which men and women in India may be helped to live their common lives and to serve each other.

3. PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD DETERMINE THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

In seeking a practicable way of realizing such an ideal of theological education the following principles will be found a helpful guide :

1. Whatever view be taken of the problems of theological education in detail they should be regarded as a part of the general problem of higher Christian education in India and considered in relation to the general principles which regulate our attitude towards the latter. In particular the theological colleges should play their part in the development of the proposed functions of extension and research, partly by contributing persons who can be used in this service, partly as centres from which the proposed work can be carried on.

2. In the plan we recommend for re-thinking the content of Christian education in the light of the present needs of India as a whole, the theological colleges have a special responsibility in that as professional schools unconnected with the University they are independent of the present system of University examinations and can develop their curriculum more freely in the light of existing needs.

3. The theological colleges can contribute to research in the fields of comparative theology, applied ethics, Christian education, and Church administration, with all of which their work brings them into intimate association. They can contribute to the work of extension :

- (a) Partly by giving popular courses on religion to students in Arts colleges and others not interested in technical theological training :
- (b) Partly by serving as means of contact between those who are working in city and village and the specialists in the colleges by whose studies they would profit.

The theological colleges should therefore be included with the other colleges amongst the institutions related to the proposed provincial organisation of extension and research.

4. It would materially increase the effectiveness of the co-operation thus proposed if the more important theological institutions could be located at or near the central institutions contemplated in our Report ; but such proximity should not be allowed in any way to impair the special character of these institutions or the maintenance of their own discipline and devotional life.

5. What has been said in the body of the Report about the importance of securing united support for these central institutions applies with special force to theological colleges. In view of the growing movement for a united Church it is most desirable that where it is possible to organise theological education on a co-operative basis this should be done, whether that organisation takes the form of a single union college or of co-operating colleges operating on the Selly Oak plan. But even where this is not immediately practicable we consider that every opportunity should be taken to maintain contact between the denominational and other colleges.

6. While it is of course true that the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Church upon which all theological teaching must be based are the same for East and West, it is most important, if such teaching in India is to be fresh and vital, that it should be in intimate contact with the life and thought of the Indian Church. For this reason it is most important that full scope be given to Indian influence both in the staffing and the government of theological colleges.

7. For the same reason we attach great importance to the development of strong vernacular institutions. While we recognise that, as a guard against provincialism and to ensure full use of the available theological material in English, there is room for one or more high-grade institutions teaching in English up to the B.D. grade, we believe that the difference between these and institutions in which the vernacular is used should not be a difference of grade so much as of type. We do not believe that it will be possible

to work out the proper curriculum for the theological colleges of India till this is done by men who are at home in the vernacular yet at the same time masters of western theological literature. If the vernacular schools are to do the work that needs to be done, they, no less than the B.D. colleges, need to be staffed with men of the highest intellectual ability and the most thorough-going training.

8. What has been said about the recruiting and training of the Indian staff in connection with Arts and Science colleges applies in equal measure to theological colleges. We regard it therefore as most important that these colleges, like the Arts colleges, should have some system which will make it possible to assign to special tasks of extension and research men on the staff who are qualified for this service, and that in addition some plan for exchange professorships should be devised that will give men teaching in the smaller institutions the opportunity of contact from time to time with men in the larger colleges.

9. We believe that any system of research fellowships devised in connection with the proposed institute of extension and research should be open to the graduates of the theological colleges also.

10. To ensure the effective application of these principles we think it important that the existing theological committee of the National Christian Council should be related to the proposed educational committee of that body, either as a sub-committee or as an independent committee functioning in close co-operation with it.

4. AN APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT WORK OF THE COLLEGES IN THE LIGHT OF THESE PRINCIPLES

1. Judged by these principles the present system of theological education in India and Burma leaves much to be desired. It is deficient among other things in these respects :

- (a) In the fact that the different colleges, originally established for local and denominational reasons, are not related to one another as part of any comprehensive plan.

Thus Bishop's College at Calcutta still serves as the training school for Anglicans from all parts of India, although this involves the transfer of a large number of students from the south who might better be cared for there. In like manner the theological college at Jubbulpore, planned as a central institution for all Methodists, needs to revise its plans in the light of the new factor which has been introduced by the movement for a united Church for North India.

- (b) This lack of co-operative planning, apparent even in the case of the larger and stronger institutions, is accentuated in the case of the smaller vernacular schools and results in a duplication of resources which is difficult to defend.
- (c) What has been said of the predominance of western influence in the government and teaching of the Arts colleges appears in even greater degree in the theological colleges. What is true of the personnel is true also of the curriculum of the colleges. It is too much under the influence of western tradition, too little adapted to the needs of the Indian Church.

It is not strange therefore that these facts should be keenly felt by Indian teachers and that they should urge a radical reconsideration of present methods, a reduction in the number of higher theological institutions, and a concentration of resources at the points of the greatest need.

2. On the other hand, there is much that is encouraging in the present situation. Among such encouraging features we may mention :

- (a) The standardisation of higher theological education through the Serampore B.D. degree upon a completely interdenominational basis in which a senatus representing the most important Christian communions acts as an examining body for the theological colleges of the different Churches.

- (b) The increase in the number of union theological colleges, both English and vernacular, and the excellent work done in many of them.
- (c) The keen interest felt by many of those concerned in improving standards for ministerial education and work by a curriculum adapted to meet the needs of the Church in India.
- (d) The provision in connection with many vernacular schools of follow-up courses for ministers on the field and of supplementary courses for the wives of theological students during their period of study.
- (e) The provision through the theological committee of the National Christian Council of an organ through which these efforts may find united expression.

For all these reasons we welcome the recommendations of the theological committee of the National Christian Council on the subjects submitted to us for advice, and have given these suggestions due weight in the preparation of our own recommendations.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION AS A WHOLE

1. We reassert the conviction already expressed that in any plan for the development of higher Christian education in India the theological colleges must play an important part. In particular we believe that their staff and plant should be considered as among the resources available

- (a) for the prosecution of the co-operative research in applied Christianity which is proposed for the colleges,
- (b) for the campaign of extension which is planned for the teachers and pastors in the field.

2. We express our strong conviction that unless there are compelling reasons to the contrary the higher theological colleges, whether one or more, should, while retaining their character as separate institutions with their own life of devotion and discipline, be located in close proximity to the

central colleges, where research and extension are to be carried on.

Our reason for this recommendation is not only our conviction that it is desirable for theological students to be taught under conditions which make possible an exchange of thought and life with students of other faculties, but because we believe it desirable for theological colleges, like Arts colleges, to associate with the teaching function responsibility for extension and research of a kind possible only in selected centres where a large and fully equipped staff can be concentrated.

3. Whether it shall be found immediately possible to apply this principle in the case of the existing theological colleges or whether, as may well be the case, some time may be needed for the transfer suggested, we deem it important that provision should be made at the earliest possible moment for the inclusion of theology among the subjects of research to be pursued at the colleges chosen to be centres for the proposed department of research and extension, and that the work done there should be related to the work done at the smaller theological colleges in much the same way in which this is proposed for the corresponding Arts colleges. While we believe that it is desirable and should be possible in the not too distant future to bring about such a relationship in connection with each of the proposed provincial centres, we deem it particularly important that a beginning should be made at Madras. Other centres which should follow as soon as possible are Allahabad, Lahore, Calcutta, and Bombay.

4. We believe that the more important theological colleges should be co-operative to the fullest extent. We recommend, therefore, that the authorities of the different Churches reconsider their obligations in the light of the needs not of their own community only, but of the Church as a whole. We urge this particularly upon Anglicans and Methodists who alone among the communions carrying on higher theological education maintain institutions gathering students from all parts of India which are governed and staffed on a strictly denominational basis. We believe that

the resources which these Churches command would be more wisely used if distributed among existing institutions operating on a co-operative basis. In the case of a Church like the Anglican, with distinct traditions of discipline and worship, the basis of co-operation would, of course, have to be such as to make possible the preservation of those traditions by the maintenance of a smaller unit within the larger group.

5. So far as the institutions which provide for teaching in the vernacular are concerned we sympathise with the recommendations of the National Christian Council committee that there should be a union or co-operative school of theology in each important language area. We do not presume to advise as to where these institutions should be located or how in each case co-operation should be brought about, but we would express a strong preference in case of doubt for the choice of a site near the B.A. colleges (*e.g.* Pasumalai as near Madura, Bezwada as near the proposed new Andhra College).

6. We believe that in dealing with the difficult question of the lower forms of theological training there should be room for great variety of procedure, but that any plan to be adopted should be considered in connection with the proposed plan for college extension courses for pastors and teachers, and we further believe that in the development and execution of any such plan the staff of the theological colleges should have an important place.

7. We recommend that the higher theological colleges consider whether it may not be possible for them to provide special training courses in the content and technique of Scripture teaching which may be useful to those who expect to teach the Bible in the Arts colleges.

8. In connection with the government and staffing of theological colleges we reaffirm what we have said elsewhere about the importance of securing adequate representation of Indian Christians.

9. We think it important that in any plan for securing resources for the proposed department of extension and research the possible contribution of the theological colleges

should be made clear. For this reason we believe that they should be represented in any comprehensive plans for the future whether in India or in Britain or America.

In the meantime we recommend that a canvass be made of the men now teaching in theological colleges for the purpose of discovering those who are capable of taking part in the work of research and extension, and that a list be prepared of subjects where research in the field of applied theology and religion is needed and practicable.

10. We reaffirm in connection with the subject of theological teaching what we have elsewhere said about the importance of making every possible provision for the early supply of a strong body of Indian theological teachers, and we commend to those responsible for theological education the suggestions made in another part of the Report as to the way in which this may be brought about.

In the meantime we think it important that the men now qualified for this service should be utilised to the greatest possible extent, and as an aid we recommend that theological teachers be included in the list of the proposed bureau of information.

11. We also reaffirm what we have said in connection with the general college question as to the need of an early supply of suitable theological literature in the vernacular, and we recommend that a committee be appointed to determine the books immediately needed and to select persons to prepare them as part of the work of the proposed institute of extension and research.

12. We feel the importance of enlisting the interest of Indian Christian laymen in the matter of theological education, and we recommend that in connection with the development of the plan thus outlined the counsel of prominent Indian Christian laymen be invited.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS OF PROFESSORS BROWN AND BUCK
AND DR. MACNICOL¹

1. We approve the recommendation of Dr. Larsen that the B.D. degree should be confined to men who have the B.A. and should be a strictly academic degree of high class, primarily designed for those fitting themselves for research, teaching, and literary production.

2. We recommend a radical revision of the present L.Th. course in the light of the needs and experience of the Indian Church. As an aid to this we welcome the recent appointment of a committee of Indian theological teachers and pastors to consider the nature of such possible revision and to submit their suggestions to the theological committee of the National Christian Council. In the meantime we deprecate any attempt to reach a too early standardisation of the course, and welcome such attempts as are being made at Jubbulpore to experiment in a curriculum combining Arts and theology under conditions free from the limitations imposed by the present Serampore degree. We do not believe, however, that any advantage would be gained by seeking a substitute for this degree from a foreign institution, as has been done by the Theological Seminary at Insein in securing such recognition from a theological seminary in the United States, and we would urge upon it an early reconsideration of this action.

3. While we do not presume to give any advice as to the subjects to be included in such a revised course or as to their combination or proportion, we believe that large use should be made of the project method, or, in other words, that each subject studied should be related to the practical use to be made of it, and the proficiency of the student should be decided by his ability to apply knowledge as well as to acquire it.

¹The other members of the Commission, not being conversant with the more technical problems of theological education, preferred not to express an opinion on the points dealt with in this section.

CHAPTER XI

SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS

I. WOMEN'S EDUCATION

(1) *The new demand for women's education*

THE problems that concern women's education do not arise from the state of the existing colleges for women. College education for women in India started under favourable circumstances. They had from the first a large proportion of Christian students and an almost completely Christian staff, and they have—partly through that good fortune but of course largely by wise guidance—escaped many of the difficulties which confront us in regard to the men's colleges. We are concerned rather with the problems of the future.

It seems fairly certain from all we have heard that there is going to be a very much larger demand for women's University education in the near future, at any rate in the north of India. In the south and west the position is much more stable than it is in the north, and the supply of facilities for this type of education is more adequate to the growth in the demand for them in Madras Presidency, in the Travancore and Cochin States, and in Bombay Presidency. In these regions the presence in the community of Christians and Parsees, with their advanced ideas of the position of women, brought this question to the front at a much earlier period, as is indicated by the fact that Wilson College, Bombay, has had women—largely Parsees—studying in its classes along with men for more than a generation. The great increase that is now apparent is taking place in those Provinces where women have hitherto been educationally most backward—in Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. Thus the number of

women students admitted to the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, has increased within the last four years from 7 to 80. There is still more remarkable evidence in the Punjab of the sudden rush for higher education on the part of women. The Director of Public Instruction told us of the difficulty he had in meeting the demand for opportunities of high school education, how difficult it was to find women teachers for such schools, and how inevitably there would follow an overwhelming demand for college education. Already last year the Kinnaird College for Women in Lahore was compelled to refuse admission to 30 students because of lack of accommodation. "They apply to us," the Principal writes, "from nearly every province in India, even from Burma."

It is not necessary to consider here the causes of this sudden uprush of a desire for higher education. A large part of its explanation is undoubtedly to be found in the political and social ferment of the time, bringing women to the front in public life, creating a spirit which cannot be restrained behind the purdah. An additional cause which is undoubtedly important has been suggested by Mrs. Urquhart of Calcutta. This is "the economic pinch, felt more keenly since the breakdown of the joint family system, which makes it necessary for daughters as well as sons to be equipped for earning a living." We learned, indeed, that in Travancore State, where education for women is already advanced, educated women are involved in the widespread "intellectual unemployment" and have been representing their hard case to the Government of the State.

(2) *What is being done to meet it*

With these influences thrusting the women in such large numbers into the field of higher education we have to ask how far this need is being met and is likely, as it increases, to be met by the Christian colleges. As regards colleges specially for women, we find that in Calcutta the existing Diocesan College for Women is about to close its doors, and that, even were this not so, it is already entirely inadequate to the demands made upon it. The two women's Christian

colleges in North India—Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow and Kinnaird College at Lahore—are already full and are having to refuse applications for admission. A natural consequence to be noted in this connection is that the proportion of Christians to non-Christians among those seeking college education is already shrinking, and it seems quite certain that it will go on decreasing rapidly.

At the same time there are, especially in Calcutta and Bombay, a growing number of women attending men's colleges. The two colleges where the number of women students is largest are Scottish Church College, Calcutta, and Wilson College, Bombay, each of which has about 80 women. It is calculated that in all the colleges in Bombay there are a total of about 400 women students, all of them attending men's colleges.

(3) *Questions needing consideration*

The questions which we have to face are these :

1. Are we to allow the larger number of Hindu and Muslim women now seeking college education to change the character of the existing Christian women's colleges ?

Their character, of course, partly depends upon the Christian character of their staff. It also depends upon there being a considerable proportion of Christians among their students. The Principals of the women's colleges would prefer that the existing colleges should retain their present character and maintain at least roughly the same proportion of Christian to non-Christian students. This of course implies that the new demands of Hindu and Muslim women must be met in other ways. We are convinced that this is the right policy to be pursued. The three first-grade women's Christian colleges owe their present peculiarly strong position, which enables them to exercise so fine a Christian influence, in large measure to the fact that they have a majority of Christian students on their rolls. This source of strength we are convinced they ought to retain.

2. Has the Christian Church any duty towards those new Hindu and Muslim women students whom we may expect to come into the Indian Universities ?

Christian college education in the past has been criticised, notably by Mr. Arthur Mayhew, on the ground that because it educated only the men, it left the bulwark of Hinduism entirely untouched, and we have heard the view expressed that the education of women in Christian colleges has the same dominating importance in the whole mission problem as the college education of men had one hundred years ago. If this is at all true, the Christian Church must face this new obligation. But as it is extremely unlikely that the Christian Church can meet this demand in addition to all the other obligations it already has, we have to ask whether there ought to be any redirection of Christian college education from the education of men to the education of women. If we think that the existing proportion of women's colleges to men's colleges does not at all represent the relative importance for the future of the Christian Church of women's education and men's education, ought we not to be prepared for some such redirection? We would urge upon the Mission Boards the importance of this question and press upon them the need of taking measures to meet the situation which we have indicated.

3. What specific means should be used to meet this situation especially as it affects Hindu and Muslim women students?

We have found, particularly in Bengal and Bombay, a considerable difference of opinion as to whether women should be educated in special women's colleges, the kind which exist in Madras, Lucknow, and Lahore, or whether the demand for women's education had not better be met by extending co-education of the kind already given in the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, Wilson College, Bombay, and to a less degree in other places.

Opinion in Calcutta seemed fairly evenly divided on this point. Opinion in Bombay seemed fairly definitely in favour of some kind of co-education. It has to be noted that there is a considerable body of Indian opinion in favour of co-education. To the advanced classes this seems the way of progress. The custom is certainly spreading in the colleges under Indian control, and it has been adopted in the Hindu University at Benares. On the other hand, in

some country districts of Bengal Hindu sentiment is against sending women to men's colleges, and the difficulty has been overcome by providing classes for women in the men's colleges in the early morning before the ordinary classes meet. Mrs. Urquhart of Calcutta states the case for co-education as "advisable in the present circumstances." "It is," she says, "the best means for preparing women for the contacts of social and public life which await those of them who are to live professional lives and who, in preparation for that, have to take medical, law, and post-graduate classes which have to be co-educational at present. The Indian home does not sufficiently prepare women for these contacts, and professional life has been marked by somewhat disastrous results in consequence."

We think that, whatever we might prefer, both systems will be necessary to meet the demand ; but we think it of vital importance that if the men's colleges are to open their doors in any large numbers to women—as we think they will be bound to do—and if co-education is to be a success, the conditions essential to that success need to be carefully planned, and we feel that there would need to be a considerable alteration in the staffing and organisation of the men's colleges which undertake this task. Efforts should be made to give the women students a real college life and to make the institution co-educational in reality and not only in name.

(4) *Recommendations of the Commission*

We may sum up our recommendations as regards women's education as follows :

- (a) We would strongly support the desire of the existing first-grade women's colleges that the present proportion of Christians to non-Christians among these students should be as far as possible maintained so that there shall always be at least a majority of Christian students.
- (b) We believe that there is no more pressing need or more inspiring opportunity in the present educational situation in India than that presented by women's education. The resources

at present expended on men's and on women's education respectively do not at all represent the proportion of the needs and opportunities of men's education and of women's education. We commend to all interested in the subject an earnest consideration of possible ways of rectifying this disproportion.

- (c) We have only praise for the work now being carried on by the women's colleges and training schools ; but we would point out that it is largely for Christian women, and that the needs of the non-Christian women desiring higher education have as yet scarcely been touched. We commend to those responsible for women's education a fresh consideration of this subject.
- (d) We find a difference of opinion as to the best way in which this need may be met, some favouring women's colleges of the type now in existence, others preferring co-education. We believe that there is room for both methods ; but we would point out that if there is to be co-education, it must be real co-education with women members on the teaching staff alongside of men, and with such facilities for the women students as will enable them to have a real college life and not be merely appendages of a men's college.
- (e) We attach great importance to a careful study of the facilities for secondary education for girls, and would welcome the development of experimental schools parallel to the present high schools for men, where a curriculum could be developed and adapted to the present needs of Indian women along the lines recommended for the proposed college of women initiated by Lady Irwin. We believe that among the subjects to be studied in our proposed department of research the best methods of women's education should be included.

2. SECONDARY EDUCATION

(1) *Important rôle played by the high school for boys*

The representatives of high schools who were present at the Agra Conference of 1929 asked that high schools should be included in the field of the Commission's study. Some members of the Home Boards in Great Britain raised the same question, and though they reluctantly acquiesced in the decision that this was impracticable, it was made clear to us that in several quarters there was a feeling that the Christian high schools raised questions even more acute than those which were raised by the colleges. The Burma Christian Council by a formal resolution asked the members of the Commission who visited Burma to investigate the problems of secondary education. It was necessary, of course, to take cognisance of high school questions so far as they were immediately related to particular college policies, but we have gone little further than this and we have made no detailed study of the problem of secondary education. All that we have been able to do is to draw the attention of the National Christian Council and the Home Boards to certain aspects of the question as it has presented itself to us in the course of our tour.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of leadership in the Christian Church in India to-day, and this lends the greatest importance to the education of Christian boys. Yet we found universal agreement in the opinion that the education provided by the missions for Christian boys is far inferior to that which they provide for Christian girls. This is particularly true in the case of the schools for those boys who are qualified by upbringing or ability to become leaders in the Church or community.

There are probably few Christian girls' high schools in India of which the staffs, other than the teachers of the vernacular or classical languages, are not exclusively Christian. There is scarcely one in which it would not

be regarded as essential that there should be on the staff at least three western missionaries. Yet it is quite a common thing for a boys' school to be managed by one missionary as one of his many responsibilities, and there are numbers of such schools in which the Christian teachers form a very small proportion of the whole staff. Indeed, we heard of at least one mission school in which the headmaster and all the teachers are non-Christian.

(2) *Condition of the city high schools under Christian auspices*

The common type of mission high school is a city day school, the numbers varying from 300 to 1000 or even 1200. The great majority of the students are Hindus or Moslems. There is generally a hostel for Christian boys, and sometimes for non-Christians as well, but almost everywhere a great majority of the students live in their homes, or with guardians, and in some cities the conditions in which they live are far from satisfactory. In recent years some Societies have closed a number of these schools, partly from the necessity of retrenchment, but also from a feeling that unless they could be more adequately supported they were hardly worth maintaining. The purpose of these city schools is generally held to be the influencing of the large number of non-Christian students who fill their classes, and certainly many of them have been of real value, from this point of view, and have won for the Christian enterprise in many places the goodwill of the people, opening hearts and homes to the influence of the Christian message. But we think that they have in many places been obliged so to accommodate themselves to the Government system, and so to yield to the very real difficulty of obtaining an adequate Christian staff, that there is in many cases little to choose between a Christian and a Government or other non-Christian school. If it be true, and we think it is true, that the Christian colleges have been to a considerable extent enslaved to the educational machine, we think there can be no doubt that it is even more true of the Christian city high schools. We have not been able to make a close enough

study of the problem to deal with it in any detail, but we think it right that the attention of the Board should be drawn to what seems to us a very serious weakness in the present missionary educational practice.

We think that there is cause for anxiety, both as to the educational efficiency and the missionary value of the average mission high school. Educationally they are on the whole distinctly inferior to the Government high schools, although they are generally better than most of the private-aided schools. Many of the causes which have operated in the case of the colleges have had similar influence on the schools. Certainly one reason for their weakness is to be found in the fact to which we refer later on, that there is nowhere in India a Christian training college for men of graduate standard to prepare them for high-school work. But if there is a good deal to criticise in the educational effectiveness of the mission high schools, there is much to criticise too in the matter of their religious influence. It is true that as pioneering institutions they still have an important function in winning goodwill, and in making contacts with local life. It is true too that there are schools of outstanding quality to which the highest praise could be given. But too often the proportion of the Christians to non-Christians on the staff of the high school is very small, and the quality, with comparatively few exceptions, is not high. Whatever be the reason it has to be admitted that while the office of headmaster is one of some dignity and influence, the position of teacher in a Christian high school does not make strong appeal to Indian Christian young men. A good deal has been done in many schools to provide a suitable syllabus for religious teaching, but we have seen that there are no training colleges for graduates, and it follows from this that there are few, if any, teachers of this standing who have been actually trained professionally to give religious instruction. It is true that efforts are made from time to time to bring teachers together for special short courses, and arrangements are made in some schools to help the teachers in the preparation of their religious classes. Nevertheless it can hardly be denied that the

teaching of religion in most of the high schools is inferior to the teaching of almost any other subject.

The city high schools of India have had a great history, and they still have in many places an important function to perform, but we consider that the present situation demands that a careful survey should be made of these schools, the purpose which they are serving, and the way in which they are fulfilling their purpose, in order that the Boards may feel satisfied, not only that they are not wasting money on the schools (for indeed they are being run nearly everywhere with very little cost to the missions), but that these schools are serving a really valuable educational and religious end, that they are a worthy witness to Christian ideals, and that they are helping to build up the Christian Church.

(3) *Need of good residential high schools for boys*

But we wish now to speak particularly of these and other schools so far as they have to do with the education of Christian boys. The common practice in many parts of India is for the Christian boys to attend the city high schools, a special hostel being reserved for boarders and placed under the charge of a Christian superintendent. This is the almost universal practice in North India. In the south, where the Christian community is larger, the proportion of Christian boys is usually very much larger also, and it is a more common practice for Christians and Hindus to live together in the same hostel. We have seen hostels in North India and South India in which every possible care was taken of the Christian boys, and we are very glad to be able to testify to excellent work of this kind being done in various provinces. Yet there are certain provinces where the provision for the education of Christian boys of the type that we have here in mind is miserably inadequate, and where the demand for a good residential school in which the Christian boys shall not be a mere small minority in a large non-Christian institution has been insistent for years.

It is natural that at a certain stage the Christian boys should form only a small minority in a mainly non-Christian school, but almost everywhere in India this stage has in our

judgment passed. We do not think that there is any more imperative need in the whole field of the Christian enterprise in India than the provision for Indian Christian boys of schools such as Christian parents in the West would feel to be satisfactory for the education and training of their own sons.

But we recognise that there are certain obvious objections to the policy of concentrating on residential schools with a majority of Christian boys.

1. It is said that there is no evidence of a sufficient demand for such schools from Indian Christian parents. It is true that there is no generally expressed demand for schools of this type. It is true that whereas almost everywhere Christian parents prefer to send their girls to a boarding-school rather than to keep them at home, they do almost as universally prefer to send their boys to a neighbouring day school, partly because of the smaller expense, and partly because they think that they are better off at home. This is a situation which has frankly to be faced. We do not think that there is any reasonable doubt that a boarding school is a more effective instrument for character training than a day school can possibly be, nevertheless it has to be admitted that in most parts of India a residential school for boys has not as yet established itself in the eyes of Christian parents as the most desirable type of school. One reason for this is that there have been very few experiments with this type of school, and too many cases in which Christian hostels have been inadequately managed and supervised, and have therefore made the whole idea of a boarding school unpopular and distasteful. But when we consider the reputation of Trinity College, Kandy, among Christians of education, not only in Ceylon, but throughout India, and when we see that the name of a school like Baring High School, Batala, still exerts an almost magical influence on the men who were educated there in its great days a generation ago, we think there can be little doubt that if three or four first-rate high schools for boys were established in India, there would soon be such a response as would make the Boards and Churches ashamed that they had for so many years been willing to neglect this signal opportunity for Christian service.

2. It is sometimes argued that all that is needed is an improvement of the staff and conditions of the city day schools. But it is not always realised that there are few cities in which there is a sufficient number of Christian boys to form a majority in any school which would be large enough to provide the stimulus and competition which can only be obtained in full classes. It is in most parts of India only in a boarding school that a sufficient number of Christian boys can be brought together to make possible a really Christian atmosphere and character.

3. It is said that such a school will detach the Christian boys from the general life of the country, and that it is far better for them to mix with their fellows in an ordinary day school. But the fact is that in such a day school the very fact that the Christian boys are in a small minority tends to throw them together as it were for self-protection, whereas were they in the majority they would be likely to draw the smaller number of non-Christians more readily into their fellowship. We are most anxious that the Christian boys and girls should not be detached from the life of the country; we admit that in many mission schools, and especially girls' schools, this has been and still is the tendency, but so important is the formation of Christian character and the training of Christian leaders, that even if this risk had to be taken we should have to say that we think it would be right to adopt the policy of establishing residential schools.

4. Again, the fear is expressed that such schools might develop in the boys who attended them a kind of social exclusiveness. It is perhaps for this reason that many missionaries are afraid of the analogy of the English public school. We admit the danger of this; but we think that it can be guarded against. It is not intended that a school such as we have in mind should be a preserve for the sons of wealthy parents; we think it should be open to all who can profit by it, but we do not think that it should be a school to which Christian boys are sent with the aid of mission funds regardless of their fitness to take advantage of the education which it offers.

But of course such schools must be first-rate. The staff

must be trained in modern methods of school practice, and we have no doubt in our minds that women teachers must be employed to a considerable extent if the best results are to be obtained. Moreover, the schools should be so controlled and directed as to be amenable in their general policy to Indian Christian feeling and sentiment.

Such schools will be expensive, although when established we have little doubt that they can expect a very considerable fee income. For this reason we do not think it likely that many single missions will find it possible to bear the whole expense, and we consider that for this and for other reasons it will be wise wherever possible that they should be conducted as union enterprises. We recognise that this involves certain real difficulties in regard to religious worship and teaching, but these difficulties have been successfully overcome in some existing schools, notably in the united school of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Baptist Missionary Society in Delhi. A union school has been established also at Bishnupur on the outskirts of Calcutta and has made a very promising start. It is a joint enterprise of the Baptist Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society. It is increasing in numbers and has won the warm approval of the Education Department in Bengal. But it sorely needs the additional strength which would come from the association of a third missionary society in its work.

We are conscious that we have given very inadequate treatment to this important subject, and it may well be that in what we have said about existing schools we have spoken more strongly than our limited opportunities and investigations would justify. We would not like it to be thought that we have pronounced a final judgment in this matter of secondary education, but we are convinced that it is a matter of the very first importance, and that in some way or other it is vital that the Boards should examine the whole situation and take wise and courageous action.

3. TEACHER TRAINING

(1) *Lack of adequate facilities for the training of Christian teachers*

Consideration of the position of higher education throughout India and a realisation of its many shortcomings and difficulties convince us that one of the chief hindrances to a satisfactory accomplishment of its aims lies in the unsatisfactory teaching given at lower educational levels. The student in the college suffers from faulty methods of instruction to which he was subjected in the high school, and, at a yet earlier stage, from the crude and primitive ways of his teacher in the primary school. The whole framework of education is warped by the incompetence of the unskilled and untrained teachers to whom the children have been entrusted at each stage in their education. "Of those," says Dr. Meston, "who are engaged in the most difficult and the most responsible task that exists in India to-day, 54 per cent. are unskilled workers." Such facts as these were submitted to us again and again in different provinces of India, and the urgency of the need for a great increase in the number of trained teachers was brought convincingly before us.

It was not within our province to examine into the extent of this need at the level of the primary school. The training of graduate and secondary teachers comes, however, within the scope of our enquiry as part of the task committed to the colleges, and it was made plain to us that this is a field of service which Christian colleges have hitherto neglected and to which they are summoned by the value of the opportunity which it offers as well as by the urgency of the need itself. There are over 500 Christian secondary schools in India for which Christian teachers are required, and yet there is in the whole country only one Christian training college for graduate teachers and that one, St. Christopher's College, Madras, is a college for women. The Principal of that college in pressing upon us the importance of the establishment in South India of a college for men gave as one

reason why there should be such a college that it would be a place in which the idea of teaching as a worthy vocation could be presented. Whether we consider the need of having teachers to teach the Christian children whose education and whose training in Christian character is so vital to the future of the Church of Christ in India, or whether we consider the need for teachers who will lead the non-Christian children in these schools to Christ—in either case the importance of presenting to the teachers this vocation in all its significance and of fitting them for its worthy fulfilment is surely manifest. In a memorandum submitted by a group of Syrian Christians in South India it was urged upon us that a Government training college cannot provide adequately the training that is here indicated. “It is only,” they say, “in a Christian institution that the teachers can be given the right Christian direction.”

(2) *Recommendations*

The reasons submitted in this memorandum why a Christian training college should be established in Central Travancore apply equally to other provinces. “In the past,” they say, “in Travancore, missions and churches led the way in education, but they are now followers rather than leaders. . . . The challenge before the Christian community is to set up new standards of education which others can follow and once more to take up the position of leadership in the all-important matter of the training of youth.” There are, we are told, 15 non-Roman Christian high schools in this State and 52 middle schools. For the teachers of these schools a Christian training college would seem to us to be greatly needed, and we have recommended that the proposal for a union institution of this kind should receive the fullest consideration.

We are recommending the establishment of a college of the same kind for the Tamil and the Telugu areas. It would appear that for the large number of high schools for boys in these regions two training colleges, one at Madura and one at Madras, may be required. The South Indian Provincial Synod of the Wesleyan Methodist

Church, reviewing higher education, records its opinion as follows : " The whole question of the production of Christian teachers for our schools is one of the most urgent to which we could give our attention." That is a view that would find widespread agreement in all parts of India. We are informed that fifty graduate teachers are needed for the Christian schools and colleges of the Madras Presidency every year. In this, the most important area for Christian Higher Education in India, there is obviously an urgent need, if the education in the high schools and colleges is to be lifted to a higher level, that there should be a larger number of graduate Christian teachers who realise how high a vocation that of a teacher is and who will be able to undertake it not only with earnestness of purpose but with trained and instructed minds.

In two other provinces at least it appears to us that there is both the opportunity and need for the training of graduate and undergraduate teachers. These are the United Provinces and Bombay. In the case of the former the Director of Public Instruction himself brought this matter to our attention. He specially indicated the need of a training college for teachers of the secondary grade. In aided institutions in the United Provinces, he told us, there are only 900 trained teachers, while 1600 are still untrained. In view of the fact that in this province there are over 200,000 outcastes who have come into the Christian Church, the witness of whose lives should mean much in days to come for the extension of the Kingdom of God, it is obviously of supreme importance that the teachers who will have the moulding of this multitude should be themselves trained for that duty in a Christian college.

The situation in Bombay seems scarcely less serious. In that great Presidency there is only a single Government training college, and the secondary schools of this province and of Bengal have the lowest percentage of trained men among their teachers in all India. There is surely an urgent call here to Christian missions to take measures to secure training for the graduate teachers in their schools. We have strongly recommended that such a training department

should be established in connection with Wilson College. Bombay Presidency is sending up far too few Christian students for higher education, and it can hardly be doubted that one reason for this is that the Christian teachers in the high schools are not adequately trained for their duties, and that too few of them realise the greatness of their vocation as teachers. Here as elsewhere the establishment of a Christian training college should have a valuable influence upon the whole Christian population.

Such Christian training colleges might by their influence in different parts of the country do much to create a higher ideal of what education signifies. During the last few months, in one of the most important Universities in India, the Academic Council passed a resolution permitting teachers of the secondary grade to take their L.T. Degree by private study—that is to say, by cramming text-books—and so without any experience of the life of a University. That such a conception of how a teacher can learn his profession should be prevalent is sufficient indication of the necessity that in Christian colleges the real aim of a teacher's calling and the methods by which that aim may be achieved should be worthily presented.

There are other kinds of training, the need of which is becoming more apparent every day. Social workers, for example, are greatly needed at the present juncture in India, and will be needed increasingly as the conscience of the Indian people becomes more and more awake to the duty of improving the conditions of life both of the village people and of the industrial workers. The National Christian Council has invited Wilson College in Bombay to undertake the training of men for welfare work. This is an appropriate centre for such training, and we trust that Wilson College will be able to lead the way in this important task. The need for those who will work with trained skill and judgment as well as compassion for the uplift of neglected people in the rural areas and in the cities is enormous, and it is especially among Christians that they should be found.

The new departments which we have called "research

and extension," and which we propose should be opened in some at least of the Christian colleges, would find endless opportunities of serving the necessities of the Indian people along the lines here indicated. The training of the village teachers for all the "uplift" work of the village would come within the purview of these departments of the colleges. "Refresher courses" for such teachers and social workers could be given at convenient centres and might continually renew the flagging energies of these isolated workers even as contact with them and with their needs and problems might bring fresh inspiration both to the staff and to the students of these colleges.

4. THE POSITION OF INTERNAL COLLEGES IN UNITARY UNIVERSITIES

(1) *The present position of these colleges*

The normal Christian college which we have been so far considering is a college within an affiliating University, subject to the regulations and inspection of the University, the standards of equipment and staffing which the University lays down, but within these limits autonomous and providing in almost all cases the whole of the instruction of their students.

The setting up in recent years of the so-called unitary Universities has produced a new kind of college called "an internal college of the University." Within these teaching Universities there are colleges like the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, but they have usually considerably less autonomy and responsibility than the Oxford and Cambridge colleges have. At Allahabad, for example, the teachers of the internal college have a right to give tutorial instruction to their students, but the students must for their lectures go to University teachers. These University teachers may, of course, be members of the staff of the internal college, but only if and for so long as the University appoints or recognises them as such.

The powers given to these internal colleges by the Acts constituting the various Universities in which they exist

vary, but they vary still more according to the way in which the University interprets them. The constitutional position given to the internal college is very much the same according to the Act at Allahabad and Lucknow. But the policy of Allahabad seems on the whole to have been governed by a rather doctrinaire unitarianism, whereas at Lucknow the Isabella Thoburn College, which is constitutionally in the same position as Holland Hall at Allahabad, has in practice almost all the freedom of a college within an affiliating University. The position of an internal college may therefore vary from something a little more than a hostel to something a little less than an independent college. It has, of course, to be remembered that these unitary Universities were set up when the reaction against the affiliating University was at its height, and that therefore the unitary character of the University, the centralising of its control over teaching, etc., has been carried much further than it need, and it is to be hoped that the Universities will themselves see this. It is for their real academic interest to develop the autonomy of the internal college very much more than has so far been done. While permitting the teachers in internal colleges only to do tutorial teaching they are not only making no use of men who could do important University lecturing work, but they are by this distinction between those who may lecture and those who may only do tutorial work showing that they have little conception of what tutorial work ought to be.

However, in the meantime we are concerned with the internal college as it now is or what can be made of it under the existing Acts. One of the most important things about an internal college which differentiates it from a college of the old type is that it is not academically self-contained. Its students go for at any rate some of their lectures to University teachers outside the college, and if members of the college staff have been recognised as University lecturers they have obligations and responsibilities to students who are not members of their college. The internal college, that is, co-operates much more intimately with the University than did the old college in the affiliating University. This kind of co-operation has great academical advantages. The

attempt to make all the colleges in a city like Calcutta or Madras or Bombay self-sufficient academically has been extremely wasteful. There ought to be far more co-operation than there is between such colleges. This position has also certain advantages for a Christian college. The internal college has control over the choice of subjects for the teaching of which it will be responsible. It therefore at once escapes all the difficulties which have made Christian colleges in the past have a large non-Christian staff. Of course if the college is to have the standing it ought to have in the University it will want its staff to get University recognition, and it cannot, as things stand, guarantee that recognition beforehand; but at the same time because, unlike the independent college in the affiliating University, it does not have to offer a definite number of subjects and therefore have a corresponding number of teachers, it has in practice escaped one of the necessities which have done more than anything else to pervert the purpose of a Christian college.

It may be thought that this does not amount to much because the internal college does not under any circumstances give all the instruction that its students receive. It has to send them to University professors and lecturers, and therefore more often than not to non-Christian teachers; but it is, we think, a great gain to have escaped the responsibility for the non-Christian teaching and to have escaped that duality of control and ambiguity of purpose which the presence of non-Christian teachers on the staff produces.

The second important point about the internal college is that its position is much less definite than is the position of a college within an affiliating University. The latter, on the whole, knows what its rights and powers and obligations are, but as we have said, the actual powers and influence of an internal college may vary enormously under the same constitutional law. This is, of course, in some ways unsatisfactory. The college will be what the University likes to make of it, and it seems hard to ask men to plan and work for a college whose powers may be taken away with a change of University policy.

These are, of course, disadvantages. The internal

college has to take risks, but we think the risks are worth taking because the power that the internal college has to influence the University and its students is very considerable.

(2) *The opportunity of a Christian college in a unitary University*

Christian colleges have always had great influence in the Universities just in so far as they have had a clearly thought-out educational policy and a well-equipped staff. The internal college, just because it must co-operate more closely with the University, may easily have more influence upon it. Unitary Universities are attracting some of the best students and doing work of great value. It seems certain that the smaller local self-sufficient colleges will be less and less able to compete with them, and if Christian higher education is to influence the pick of the youth in Indian Universities, it will have to work through the internal college. But if the internal college is to co-operate with the University in this much closer fashion than the affiliated college, it will have to take even more care to preserve its distinctive character by fostering its Christian corporate life. If it is thought of as little more than a hostel presided over by a young warden, in which other members of the staff give tutorial or class instruction, it will never become more than a glorified hostel. But if it aims at having the importance and the distinctive character of an Oxford or Cambridge college we think that character will sooner or later win University recognition. We think that it might in the manner of an Oxford or Cambridge college bring into its common life others than those actually engaged on the college teaching staff. The fellowship of the college so far as its corporate life is concerned need not be confined to those who are recognised by the University as being members of the college. If there are at the University centre men working under a department of extension and research, they might be put by the college in the position of research Fellows of an Oxford college, and the college might bring into its circle other University teachers who were in sympathy with its aims by giving them a position corresponding to what is called in

Oxford a member of Common Room. Finally, we think that the difficulty that the teacher in an internal college may not get adequate scope, especially if the University does not choose to recognise him, can be got over through the organisation of extension and research. He might put his energies, over and above what is demanded of him as a teacher, either into University work if the University gives him recognition, or into the unfettered sphere of extension and research if it does not.

Care will have to be taken that if he undertakes University obligations these must be the first call upon his time. The University cannot be expected to take the internal college seriously or to recognise its teachers as University lecturers if the teachers in an internal college are liable to be called off at any moment for other work. But so long as this is clearly recognised, an internal college equipped with some additional staff to enable it to take its part in the unfettered sphere of extension and research will be in a very strong position, for its teachers will not need to wait for University recognition in order to get opportunities of doing their best work. If the University does not want them, other people do. The work they will be doing if the University does not want them will give them full scope, and will also help them to make more real and inspiring any tutorial work they can do within the college.

Finally, it is to be remembered that the aim of establishing the internal college was to make the new unitary Universities in some degree Universities on the Oxford and Cambridge model. But the relation between the colleges and the University in Oxford and Cambridge is largely the result of tradition and is very difficult to create by any constitutional regulation. At present the unitary Universities which have provision for internal colleges are working a system which they do not altogether understand, but if they are to be induced to give full possibilities to the combination of unity and variety which this kind of University makes possible they will have to be shown in practice what a college within a teaching University can be. If the Christian colleges attached to unitary Universities can do that, they

will be rendering a great service to these new and progressive unitary Universities in India.

5. MEDICAL EDUCATION

When we undertook our task as a Commission, we had not in view that we would be required to advise in regard to professional colleges, other than theological colleges. When we reached India, however, the question of the need for a Christian medical college of M.B., B.S. standard for India was brought before us, and we were requested to give our opinion on the subject. We recognised that this was a subject requiring professional knowledge of a kind that no member of our Commission possessed, and also requiring much fuller and more careful consideration than it was possible for us to give to it.

At the same time we were able to examine the proposal in its wider aspects and to form a tentative judgment that may be worth recording. We found ourselves in sympathy with the National Christian Council and with the Executive Committee of the Christian Medical Association in recognising the desirability of establishing such a college for India. We assent to the reasons on which the Christian Medical Association base their request for such a college, especially (a) that "the ministry of healing is an essential part of the whole Christian testimony," and (b) that "as the Christian Church cannot be satisfied with anything less than the best, we cannot continue to provide only the lower standard of training." The evidence indicates that the Government colleges are not doing what we require, and that, as things are, it is only in a Christian college that we can expect to be able to train men who will carry into their profession the spirit which this service calls for.

We agree also that the needs of rural areas have a peculiarly powerful claim on the medical help that the Christian Church should be able by such a college to supply. For that reason we have been much interested in the views of a distinguished doctor in India who, while convinced of the need of such a college, was anxious at the same time that

it should be a college to which only students who were ready to accept the hardships of a life of service of the village people should be admitted. To that end he suggested that there should be a probation period for all students admitted to the college, during which they would be required to give themselves to village work under an experienced rural worker.

At the same time we do not feel that we have been able to make an adequate enough study of this proposal or have sufficient understanding of its technical aspects to pronounce definitely upon it.

We feel, however, that the matter is of such importance and that the proposed college must be of such high quality that before any definite steps be taken adequate time should be given to full consideration of all aspects of the scheme. The question of the best situation for such a college, the very important and difficult business of securing the right staff, Indian and foreign, the framing of accurate estimates of its cost and upkeep, must be very carefully and thoroughly examined. We feel also that this is a project which will be so costly that it will scarcely be possible for Mission Boards and Churches at the present time to undertake it, even as a union scheme such as it ought to be. We recognise, however, that the proposal may appeal strongly to generous individuals, who may be willing to finance it in the interest of the multitudes of rural India who so greatly need the skill that such a college could supply.

6. THE USE OF THE VERNACULAR

We have given a good deal of attention to the question of the use of the vernacular in college education. This question is discussed at length in the Sadler Commission Report. That Commission found great differences of opinion on "the question whether English should be used as the medium of instruction at every stage above the matriculation in the University course, but an overwhelming mass of opinion pointing to the use of English as the chief medium from the end of the intermediate stage upwards." They concurred in the view of the majority

and "were disposed to think that the educated classes in the various provinces of India will, like those of other countries, both in the British dominions and elsewhere, wish to be bilingual." They therefore recommended that the vernacular should be used for all subjects in the secondary schools other than English and mathematics, but that English should be used both in intermediate colleges and up to the B.A.

These recommendations have been largely adopted in high school education in most of the Provinces. The option of using the vernacular as a medium of instruction is now widely granted, and in Government high schools in the Central Provinces the use of the vernacular medium has been made compulsory. The only vernacular University as yet in India is the Osmania University in the Hyderabad State which makes use of Urdu. There is, however, undoubtedly a considerable sentiment in favour of similarly introducing the vernacular into the Universities of British India. The hindrances in the way are the variety of vernaculars used within each University and the dearth of suitable text-books in the vernacular. It is significant, however, that a motion for the extension of the vernaculars to University classes has been brought forward twice in the Senate of Nagpur University, and that in the case of one of the newest Universities, the Andhra University, the Act constituting it makes provision for the ultimate use of the vernaculars as the media of instruction and examination.

We are not concerned with the question as to whether this policy is right or not. The question of vernacular instruction in the University will be settled independently of action on the part of the Christian colleges, but we think the probability that the vernacular will become the medium for University instruction—at least in northern India—is much greater than when the Sadler Commission reported, and we think the Christian colleges must be prepared for the change. The change if it comes will not be easy. It will not only throw an additional burden on non-Indian teachers; it will very much complicate the all-important task of building up a strong Indian Christian staff by narrow-

ing the area from which Indian Christian teachers can be drawn. But in any case the probability of the change makes it more imperative than ever that the staff from the West should have ample opportunities to learn and to use the vernacular. Our other proposals for adding to the existing functions of Christian colleges will strengthen this demand.

PART IV

THE APPLICATION OF THE PLAN IN DETAIL

CHAPTER XII

RECOMMENDATIONS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL PROVINCES AND INSTITUTIONS

IN the preceding chapters we have analysed the tasks and problems which face the Christian colleges in India to-day. We have given a general appraisal of the manner in which they are discharging these tasks and meeting these problems, and we have outlined a policy and suggested a plan for their development in the future. In doing this we have completed the major task assigned to us in our terms of reference. But, as has already been explained, we have also been asked by the Boards specific questions affecting particular institutions, and in this chapter we record the conclusions which we have reached in these more delicate matters.

We have approached this part of our task with much hesitation and a heavy sense of responsibility. We appreciate how difficult it is for persons coming to an institution from without to form a just judgment of the wisdom of its policy and of the efficiency of its work. We realise, too, how many useful services the Christian colleges of India are rendering, of which, in the limited time at our disposal, we have not had the opportunity to learn. Even in our brief trip we have found many heartening and encouraging things of which we have been able to make no mention in this Report.

In judging the specific recommendations which follow, therefore, we trust that these facts will be kept steadily in mind. The more radical proposals, such as involve the closing of colleges with long and honourable records or their transfer elsewhere, have been arrived at after prolonged study and represent our considered judgment. They are made with full sense of the gravity of the issues involved,

and are to be understood not as a criticism of the work now being done but as the expression of a conviction that under other conditions a still greater service can be rendered.

Other recommendations such as those which concern the size, form of government, and internal organisation of individual colleges, follow from the general principles outlined in the preceding chapters, and will, we trust, receive the consideration of those responsible. At the same time, we recognise that local conditions may in some cases make immediate action along the lines of our recommendations impracticable, and the changes suggested, if feasible at all, can be brought about only gradually as altered conditions make them possible.

For these reasons, we think it important that as soon as practicable there should be set up in India competent educational bodies with which the several institutions mentioned in this report can discuss the recommendations that follow, and by whose advice in difficult or doubtful cases they can be guided. Whether our recommendations be followed or not, we trust that the decisions finally reached will be consistent with the main principles of this report and will be determined not only by the present opportunity of the individual institution, but by its possible future contribution to the educational need of India as a whole.

I. BURMA¹

(1) *General considerations*

The situation in which Christian higher education is placed in Burma possesses certain noticeable features which differentiate it from that which we find in India. Burma

¹ In the terms of reference of our Commission, Burma was included with India among the countries to be studied. In view of the fact that two members of the Commission, the Chairman and Dr. S. K. Datta, could not be with us during the entire trip, it seemed important to select for our first visit some area which, while geographically separate, presented problems capable of independent treatment. Burma, as a province likely in the near future to be separated from the rest of India, was such a field, and the fact that the only Christian college in it was under American control and support made it especially

has a population (according to the 1921 census) of 13,212,192, of whom the overwhelming majority are Buddhists. Judson College is the only Christian college in the whole of this great area, and, as such, at once holds a commanding position, and has to bear a very heavy responsibility. It is one of the only two constituent colleges of the University of Rangoon, and is thus far more intimately connected with that University than is an isolated college in an affiliating University in India. Moreover, the University of Rangoon is the only University in Burma. Thus Judson College is not only the only Christian, but the only distinctively religious, college in the University, and—if the present policy of the University continues—it is likely to remain so. The unique position which Judson College holds, and which is due to the great history of the American Baptist Mission from the days of Adoniram Judson, places upon it a heavy responsibility and calls it in a peculiar way to make the interests of the whole Christian Church in Burma its own.

But while the responsibility of facing so great a non-Christian population must be a heavy one, there is at the same time the encouraging fact of the presence in Burma of a Christian population of 257,000, of whom 170,000 are indigenous Protestant Christians, a large majority of them Christians with a special relation to Judson College and the American Baptist Mission. The Christians brought into the Christian Church through the American Baptist Mission are predominately Karens, and so converts from animism and not from Buddhism. The Karen Christians have made rapid advance, an advance no doubt greatly helped by the education provided in Judson College, and

appropriate that intensive study of its problems should be made by the American members of the Commission.

After our arrival at Rangoon we received a further communication from the Executive Committee of the Burma Christian Council enclosing a Resolution passed at its meeting, November 17, 1930.

“Resolved that we ask the Commission on college education to consider the problems of theological training and high school education in Burma and their relation to college education.”

For reasons explained in the body of the Report it was impossible for us to give to the second of these two subjects the careful consideration it deserves.

now hold not a few positions of importance in the country, and contribute generously to both Church and Mission.

Among the Buddhists the progress of Christianity has been much slower. The same spirit of nationalism that is so great an obstacle in India to Christian advance is particularly powerful among the Buddhists in Burma at the present time. While Judson College has able Burmese Christians on its staff and among its students, its constituency is much more largely Karen. It would be well that the college should endeavour to do more to attract Burmese students. One way in which this might be done would be to have some members of its staff who should be encouraged to make a special study of Buddhism so as to be able to present the claims of Christianity more effectively to thoughtful Buddhists.

In this connection the question arises as to how the Burmese students in the other constituent Arts college of the University—University College—may have opportunity of acquainting themselves with the Christian faith. The policy of the University authorities is at present adverse to permitting Christian hostels or Buddhist hostels in connection with University College. It is, therefore, a matter for much satisfaction that the Anglicans have been able to open a Chapel and a meeting-room on a site closely adjoining the grounds of University College. At the same time, Mr. Slater, who has charge of this work, has been taking part in the regular religious instruction given in Judson College. If such co-operation between the Baptists and the Anglicans in work for the students of the two colleges can be strengthened and extended, the influence that the Christians both among teachers and taught can exert is bound to increase. Through personal contacts, the worship in the Baptist and the Anglican Chapels, and by voluntary religious meetings, the Burmese students may obtain a true conception of the Christian faith and the Christian life.

A further fact to be noted in regard to the situation in Burma is that Rangoon is a centre where other races besides the Burmese are largely represented. Rangoon, indeed, is actually an Indian city with more Indians among its people

than Burmese. Special attention should be given to these immigrants, and it is satisfactory to know that this is being done in the case of the Indians by the Anglican Mission and in the case of the Chinese by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The differences in the constituency which the Christian Church has to serve—differences which appear in religious background and training as well as in more obvious matters like race and culture—affect the Christian educational problem in several ways.

- (a) They affect secondary education by the fact that separate schools have to be (or at any rate have been) provided for the different groups in the population, with the result that we find in Burma a large number of high schools housed in imposing buildings, but many of them imperfectly staffed—a situation forcing upon those responsible questions as to possible combination and concentration.
- (b) They affect theological education by dividing the available resources, the ministers of the Anglicans and of the Methodists being trained separately from the Baptists, and even the Baptists having two theological schools—one for Burmans and one for Karens.
- (c) The resulting differences in religious viewpoint and training render co-operation in the field of higher education more difficult than it would otherwise be.
- (d) Further, these differences, leaving the Christian body divided, render it more difficult to present a united front to Government in such common questions as that raised by the "Conscience Clause" which in Burma has become acute.
- (e) Finally, the very history of Judson College, with its close connection with the Baptist Mission and the fact that the American Baptists regard it as their special responsibility, renders it more difficult than it might otherwise be to secure

both on the field and at the home base the effective co-operation of other bodies.

These general considerations lead us to make the following recommendations :

(2) *Recommendations concerning general educational needs and problems*

1. We recommend that there be organised in Burma, either as a part of the Burma Christian Council or as a parallel committee co-operating with it, an educational committee composed of persons responsible for the various forms of Christian education in Burma whose function it shall be

- (a) to think out a consistent policy for the whole of the Christian educational work in Burma from its primary to its highest collegiate forms, and
- (b) to secure the co-operation of the different bodies concerned in carrying this out.

We recommend that this committee give special attention to the questions referred to us by the Burma Christian Council concerning high school education to which, owing to the limitation of our time, we were able to give little attention.

As an aid to the work of this committee we would record the following general impressions which we received during our stay :

- (a) That the academic quality of many of the schools needs improvement, a result possible only through an increase in the number of trained Christian teachers or by a reduction in the number of schools.
- (b) That in the interest of a common educational policy the possibility of interdenominational co-operation in the conduct of these schools be re-studied.
- (c) That in view of the assumption by Government of all teacher training in the higher grades special attention be given to the importance of strengthening the work that is being done in the Christian training schools of elementary grade.

2. We recommend to the various Christian bodies engaged in educational work in Burma that either in connection with the proposed educational committee or as an independent parallel organisation they establish a department of extension and research on a plan similar to that which we have recommended for the colleges of India, the headquarters of which shall be attached to Judson College.

We believe that this department should be interdenominational in character, that its sphere of activity should be the province as a whole, and that it should have for its special subjects of study :

- (a) The relation of Christianity to Buddhism ;
- (b) The type of education needed for Burma at the present time ;
- (c) The needs of the agricultural population ;
- (d) Problems presented by the presence of different races in Burma.

3. We recommend as worthy of special study the work being carried on at Pyinmana with a view to combining training in evangelistic work and in agriculture so as to fit boys for life in the village.

4. We repeat what we have said elsewhere as to the importance of bringing theological education into immediate relation with other forms of higher education, and suggest further that the authorities of Judson College take up with those who are engaged in theological teaching at Insein the possibility of co-operation in extension and research along lines suggested in our Report for India, *e.g.* either

- (a) Through extension courses given by teachers of Judson College at the theological colleges of Insein or *vice versa* ;
- (b) Through research fellowships designed for the training of theological teachers.

We welcome the fact that ministers of the Burmese and Karen Churches are being trained side by side at Insein, and suggest that wherever possible this practice be followed elsewhere.

5. We recommend to the authorities of the different Churches in Burma what we have said elsewhere as to the

Conscience Clause, and suggest that in any common action which they may deem it wise to take on this subject in view of the attitude of Government, they continue to keep in close touch with the National Christian Council in order that so far as possible a common policy may be followed both in India and Burma.

6. We have found for reasons which we have noted above that there is perhaps less effective co-operation among the Churches and missions in Burma than in any other Province which we have studied, and this lack of co-operation is perhaps accentuated in the field of education including theological education. We would draw the attention of these Churches and missions to the extent to which the influence of Christianity in Burma, and especially among the Buddhists, would be strengthened if a co-operative programme such as has proved so fruitful in many parts of India could be framed and applied with equal thoroughness in Burma.

(3) *Recommendations about Judson College*

We suggest :

1. That the present system of government of Judson College be altered so as to make it :

- (a) More representative of the other Christian bodies carrying on work in Burma.
- (b) More largely composed of those responsible for the educational policies of the college as distinct from the general interests of the mission.

We suggest that this result can be brought about by putting the management of the college in the hands of a smaller body more definitely chosen out of those interested in the college as such, and that the relation to the Church now maintained through the present board of trustees could be secured either through the continuation of the present board as an advisory body or in some other way.

2. We understand that the staff of the college are considering plans for the revision of its constitution with a view to a more exact definition of the responsibility of the Staff Governing Body. We suggest that in any contemplated

changes they give consideration to the recommendations made in our Report as to the nature and function of the Staff Governing Bodies of Christian Colleges.

3. We recommend that the staff be strengthened so as to include :

- (a) A larger proportion of persons of advanced academic standard both western and indigenous ;
- (b) More persons with British as distinct from American degrees ;
- (c) More representatives of other Christian bodies.

As an aid in bringing this about we suggest some re-consideration of the present method of recruiting the western members of the staff, in line with the general recommendations made on this subject in the body of our Report.

4. We recommend that the policy of the college with reference to its indigenous members be more clearly defined in respect of tenure, method of appointment, and salary.

In this connection we commend to the authorities of the college the plan followed by other colleges of making it possible for approved members of the staff to spend one or two years of advanced study at college expense in Britain or America or at one of the Indian Universities.

5. We believe that in order to secure the results aimed at in the preceding recommendations the college will be greatly aided if it can secure an adequate foundation which, administered by its own board yet under the conditions of co-operation with the mission suggested above, would render it an even more effective servant of the Church than it is to-day. We understand that those who are responsible for the college are considering the wisdom of securing such an endowment, and we believe that in doing so they are well advised.

II. SOUTH INDIA

(I) *General Features*

In the expression South India we include the whole of the Madras Presidency from the boundary of Orissa in the

north to Cape Comorin in the south, along with the Telugu-speaking portion of the Nizam's Dominions and the important States of Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin. The main languages spoken are Telugu in the Andhra area north of Madras and in the Nizam's Dominions, Tamil in and around Madras and the country south of it, Malayalam in middle and north Travancore and in Cochin, and Kanarese in the country north of British Malabar and in Mysore.

The Christian population in this area including the Nizam's Dominions was 3,501,113 at the time of the last census (1921) and the non-Roman Christian population 1,870,734. The total number of non-Roman Indian Christians in the Nizam's Dominions according to the 1921 census was 56,729. These numbers have increased very rapidly in the past ten years, especially in the Andhra (Telugu) area, where the Christian movement is spreading to the caste people in the villages. In the Tinnevely district and in south Travancore are strong and well-organised Churches (though the rate of increase in Tinnevely is no longer rapid), and there are large Christian communities in the neighbouring districts. In north Travancore, in addition to the "Syrian" Churches, there are large numbers of outcastes who are being gathered into the Church chiefly by the Anglicans (C.M.S.).

Thus the main areas of Protestant Christian population are in the Andhra country; in Travancore; and in and around Tinnevely. These large and rapidly increasing Christian communities have an important bearing upon the problem of higher education. Whatever may have been the original purpose of the Christian colleges in south India it is obvious that to-day their significance and their field of service must be determined mainly by reference to the needs of the growing Christian Church.

The whole of South India was included until quite recently in the area served by the Madras University. The Telugu country has now come almost entirely under the jurisdiction of the Andhra University. There are Universities in the Hyderabad and Mysore States, and there is

a small unitary University at Chidambaram which was founded by a wealthy Hindu. There has been talk of a University for the Malayalam-speaking area on the west coast and of a Tamil University, perhaps at Trichinopoly, but there is no probability that either of these will be created in the near future.

The Christian colleges are distributed over the whole of this area with the exception of Hyderabad and Mysore. In the Andhra country are the American Lutheran College at Guntur and the Anglican (C.M.S.) College at Masulipatam ; in British Malabar, the Malabar Christian College at Calicut (Intermediate) ; in Travancore, the Union Christian College at Alwaye and the C.M.S. (Anglican) College at Kottayam—the last-named being an Intermediate institution. In south Travancore is Scott (Intermediate) College at Nagercoil, which, though serving an area where Tamil is spoken, looks towards Trivandrum rather than towards the Tamil country. In the southern Tamil area is the strong American College at Madura, Bishop Heber College (S.P.G.) at Trichinopoly, Findlay College of the Wesleyans at Mannargudi, and the Intermediate colleges for men and women at Palamcottah (Anglican). Near Madras is Voorhees Intermediate College of the American Arcot Mission at Vellore, and in the city itself Wesley College (Intermediate), the Women's Christian College, St. Christopher's Training College for Women, and the Madras Christian College.

To complete this list, mention needs to be made of the United Theological College at Bangalore, the Medical School for Women at Vellore, and the group of institutions of various kinds associated with the name of Pasumalai on the outskirts of Madura.

The Madras University has recently inspected all the colleges under its jurisdiction, and the reports indicate that in its opinion many of them—including several of the smaller Christian colleges—have fallen below the standard of efficiency which the University properly demands from its colleges. Our own observation confirms this judgment in some cases, and we agree with the statements of the recent

conference of Principals of Christian colleges in south India that if the resources available for Christian higher education are to be effectively used there must be some shortening of the line and some concentration on the more important centres.

At the same time, we deprecate the policy adopted by the University of discouraging Intermediate colleges as such. We are well aware of the practical difficulties which surround the whole question of the conditions under which the Intermediate stage of college education should be conducted, but we are convinced that there is a real place for the Intermediate college, especially in backward areas such as are many of the areas of Christian population in south India, and we hope that no college will be compelled to change its status merely because it is of the Intermediate or (as it is called in South India) Second Grade.

The wide area over which the University of Madras exercises jurisdiction, and the large number of colleges which it embraces, have led to an increasing rigidity of regulation and control and a tendency to restrict the liberty even of the better colleges in the interest of an average standard of efficiency. With the desire of the University to secure efficient work the Christian colleges must have every sympathy, but we consider that they should resist with all their strength any tendency to invade those essential liberties which a college must enjoy if it is to determine its own character and order its own life.

All honours and post-graduate teaching in the University is concentrated at three centres—Madras, Trichinopoly, and Trivandrum—and the University has recently stated that it does not propose to consider the opening of new centres for a period of five years at least, though we have been given to understand that this need not be regarded as a final decision. There is at present no honours teaching in the Andhra University.

One of the most notable facts about the situation, as it affects the Christian colleges, is the influence of the Madras Christian College. There is scarcely a Christian college in South India which has not drawn a considerable pro-

portion of its teaching staff, and indeed almost all its Indian Christian teachers, from the graduates of this college. The growth of new colleges, especially on the west coast, has robbed the Madras Christian College of some of its pre-eminence, but it still dominates the whole Christian educational situation in south India and has played the rôle of mother college to the Christian colleges of the south for a long period of years.

The situation in south India lends itself more readily to effective concerted action than that in any other part of the country. There has already been fruitful co-operation in several fields, including that of theological education. There is an effective educational council which brings together the representatives of all the colleges of the area. There are already four colleges run on "union" lines, including the principal colleges for men and for women, and there are other plans for co-operation. The Madras Representative Christian Council and the Andhra Christian Council are well supported and constitute a strong unifying force. Finally there is the proposed scheme of union between the South India United Church, the Anglican Dioceses of South India, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in south India, a scheme which is the fruit of patient and careful negotiations lasting over more than ten years, and which has undoubtedly contributed to that general spirit of mutual understanding and goodwill which has so greatly lightened our task in South India.

On the other hand, we have been surprised by the extent to which the colleges themselves are out of touch with the most significant movements in the Church. It seems hardly to have occurred even to the most important Christian colleges that they might have any positive part to play in preparing the way for a scheme of Church union at their doors upon which the eyes of the whole Christian world have been fixed. The most remarkable mass movement into the Christian Church to be found in India has not learned to look to the colleges for anything except scholarships for its most promising boys. There is little if any contact between the University colleges and the theological

schools. In view of facts like these it is perhaps not surprising to learn that the Madras Educational Council and the Madras Christian Council go their ways with no organic connection between them and with little mutual understanding of each other's aims and plans. It is one of the main purposes of our recommendations to bring the colleges into intimate contact with the Christian movement as a whole and thus to open to them fields of service in which they can make an invaluable contribution to the work of the Church in South India.

(2) *Recommendations concerning South India as a whole*

1. We recommend that the Department of Extension and Research for South India be organised in two joint committees : one to concern itself with theological and philosophical questions, all that has to do with the re-statement of the Christian message ; the other to concern itself with economic and social questions.

We recommend that the first joint committee be associated with the Madras Christian College and the second with the American College, Madura.

Each of these joint committees should have on it, on the one hand, representatives of the Madras Christian College, the American College at Madura, the proposed Union Christian College at Bezwada, and the joint board on higher education for the Malabar Coast when formed ; and, on the other hand, representatives of the Christian community of all denominations, possibly by election from the Madras and Andhra Christian Councils.

There should be a Chairman of the department as a whole, and the department as a whole, consisting of the two joint committees and the chairman, should meet together to settle :

- (a) The distribution between the joint committees of any resources over which the department has control, and
- (b) The co-ordination of the work of the joint committees.

Each joint committee should have its own Director, one

attached to Madras Christian College, the other to the American College at Madura. The business of each joint committee will be :

- (a) To survey the general possibilities of extension and research in South India in its particular branch of study and to distribute between the Christian colleges any resources which may be put at its disposal, and
- (b) To co-ordinate all the work of extension and research in its particular branch of study done by the staffs of the Christian colleges, the Y.M.C.A., and other agencies or persons, whether that be made possible by resources over which it has control or by the resources of the several colleges or other agencies.

We do not mean that there shall be no research done in economics at Madras Christian College and no research in philosophical and theological questions at Madura, but that Madura, for example, should be the place to which any one should naturally go for information and help about questions concerning economics, village uplift, etc., and that the organisation and co-ordination of the work done in this subject all over south India should come from Madura and should be done by a committee and Director there—the same to hold, *mutatis mutandis*, of the joint committee at Madras.

We think that the group of persons who, we hope, may be provided to do special work in extension and research at each of these two colleges should at Madras specialise in the main, though not exclusively, in theological and philosophical questions, and at Madura should specialise in the main, though not exclusively, in economic and sociological questions.

Thus these two colleges would become in a real sense mother colleges to all the Christian colleges in south India, and this not only with reference to the functions of extension and research, but also in any departments of work in which they could serve the more isolated institutions. Nor would the service be all on one side. There are often on the staffs

of the smaller colleges individuals who have much to give, and we consider that, by temporary exchanges of staff, by such contacts as conferences provide, and in many other ways, there is open a wide field of mutual service which should add greatly to the effectiveness of the colleges as a whole.

2. We have said elsewhere that it is our conviction that the theological colleges as well as the Arts and Science colleges have suffered from the absence of any contact between these two branches of education, and we are glad to see that the theological committee of the National Christian Council at its Bombay meeting expressed its conviction not only that the theological colleges should form an integral part of the proposed departments of extension and research, but also that, so far as practicable, the more important of these colleges should be located near the proposed central Arts and Science colleges. Our recommendations on this subject, so far as they have not been covered by the chapter on theological colleges, will be found in a later part of this chapter.

3. Nothing has been more surprising to us than the fact that throughout India there is not a single Christian training college of the highest grade for men. This can only be explained by the same comparative indifference to the weakness of the Christian high schools for boys which we have noticed almost everywhere, and to which we have referred elsewhere in our Report. We desire to draw the attention of the Churches and the mission boards to this situation and recommend that the most careful attention be given to this matter.

4. We commend to the heads of the Malankara Syrian Church, the Malankara Mar Thoma Church, and the Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin the suggestion that they should establish jointly, in association with the Governments of the States, a teachers' training college at Tiruvella, or some other suitable centre, with a residential Christian school attached to it as the practising school of the college.

5. We suggest that an educational joint board be established by the Malankara Syrian Church, the Malankara

Mar Thoma Church, and the Anglican Church in Travancore to co-ordinate the work of higher education, and, in particular, by co-operation to provide more effectively for theological education and to improve the high school education for boys.

6. The Commission was impressed by the advantage which might be gained by new missionaries from spending a year at the Union Christian College, Alwaye. Close association with the staff of a college founded and controlled by Indian Christians themselves would, we think, enable them to acclimatise themselves to the Indian feeling and outlook to a quite exceptional degree. We therefore recommend that this college be asked to receive, and mission boards be urged to send, young educational missionaries from the West during the period when they are studying their vernacular, Tamil or Malayalam or Kanarese. We think that such an arrangement would be of mutual advantage both to the college and to the missionaries themselves. It would, of course, be dependent upon the college adding to its present staff qualified teachers in all these vernaculars.

7. We commend to the attention of all the colleges in South India the section in our Report which deals with the important questions of the government and staffing of Christian colleges.

(3) *Madras Christian College*

We recognise with appreciation the very large part which this college has played in creating leadership for the Church and for the educated community generally in the Madras Presidency and in the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin. We desire that the position which it has in fact occupied as mother college among the Christian colleges be still further developed, and that definite relations be established between its staff and the staffs of the other Christian colleges in south India whether within or without the jurisdiction of the Madras University. We recommend :

1. That in the field of extension and research this College should specialise in the more philosophical and theological aspects of the Christian message with a view to meeting and

preparing others to meet the challenge to the Christian outlook and life in India.

2. That it make all possible provision for the training of Christians in Arts and Science with a view to preparing them to be teachers in other Christian colleges, and that to this end the extent and use of the resources available for scholarships and stipends for Christian students be reviewed by the conference of Principals.

3. We give our warm approval to the proposal to move the college to a new site on the outskirts of the city, at Tambaram, and cordially commend the appeal which is being made for funds for this purpose in Britain and America. We consider that it is vital that this appeal should succeed in getting at least all that is asked, and that this college should be recreated, re-equipped, and strengthened in the ways proposed in *The Challenge of the Hour*¹ and in other ways. The situation in the Presidency calls for a great extension of the principles of co-operative enterprise in Christian college work, and we hope that all societies and Churches concerned with the welfare of the Church in south India will co-operate in this new enterprise of the Madras Christian College.

4. We commend further the proposal that the college take the occasion of this move to review the whole system of its life and organisation, limiting the number of its students by reference to its actual teaching resources and organising their life in residential units or "Halls" on the lines which we have sketched in our Report. We strongly recommend that the advice of colleges in north India with long experience of the residential system be invited, and that care be taken to avoid unnecessary standardisation in the character of the proposed "Halls."

5. We recommend that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, should it decide to give up its college at Trichinopoly, be invited to establish a Bishop Heber Hall as part of the new Tambaram College, care being taken that its life be so organised as to preserve its own valuable traditions without impairing the traditional character of the Madras Christian College.

¹ Issued by the Madras Christian College.

6. We specially commend to the consideration of the college what is said in the body of this Report on the subject of government and staffing of colleges. We realise that our recommendations on these subjects may appear to remove some of the safeguards on which the college has relied for the maintenance of the high standard of efficiency which it has so consistently achieved, but we do not believe that this will at all necessarily be the result of the changes which we suggest, while we regard a modification of its present practice in these respects as essential to the larger usefulness of the college.

(4) *The American College, Madura*

1. We consider that this college should occupy a most important place in the general scheme for extension and research in South India, and we desire that it should share with the Madras Christian College the main responsibility for the promotion of this programme. We have suggested that the Madras Christian College should lay its chief emphasis upon the more philosophical and theological aspects of the Christian message. We think that the American College, Madura, is specially qualified to work out the practical implications of the Christian message, particularly in the fields of economics and sociology, with the object of helping the Christian Church and community to give a practical answer to questions connected with industrial and agricultural life. The authorities of the college have already given considerable thought to developments of this kind, and the group of institutions at Pasumalai provides excellent points of contact with large fields of opportunity. One of the first steps might be the development of an information service which should be available to all inquirers regarding successful experiments in agriculture, poultry raising, co-operative credit, general rural reconstruction, model mill villages, etc. In this service the college should work in close co-operation with the Rural Department of the Y.M.C.A. Further we recommend that the college make persistent efforts to secure University recognition for Honours and post-graduate work especially in the field of economics and philosophy.

2. In surveying the field in south India, it had been our hope to suggest the concentration of several missions upon this important college, and we have been very much impressed by the readiness of the college to make such re-adjustments of its constitution and plans as would facilitate such developments. We have not, however, found ourselves able to make definite recommendations for such concentration at present. We hope, nevertheless, that Madura will in due time become the centre of a strong Union College, and we recommend that in all subsequent architectural development the possibility of union with other colleges be kept in mind, and provision made for the maintenance of semi-independent "Halls" such as we have recommended in the case of the Madras Christian College and other colleges.

3. In particular we advise that facilities should be given to the authorities of the Tinnevely Diocese should they desire to make hostel provision at Madura for the Anglican students passing out from St. John's Intermediate College, Palamcottah.

4. We commend to the college the suggestions made in the body of our Report with regard to staffing and government, and we suggest that here and in other colleges efforts be made to provide as soon as possible housing accommodation for the permanent Indian members of the staff.

(5) *Bishop Heber College, Trichinopoly*

We have given very special attention to the problem of the future of this college, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel having represented to us the urgent importance of taking an early decision. We are impressed with the value of the college's long tradition and of the affection in which it is held by the people of Trichinopoly. We recognise that Trichinopoly itself is the leading city in South India south of Madras, and, as an important railway centre, is likely to increase in population and significance. We recognise its importance, too, as a University centre and a strong centre of Hinduism, and we realise also the place which it holds in relation to the general work of the S.P.G. in this area. With the resources likely to be available to the

S.P.G., and with such additional help as the Swedish Lutheran Mission is, we understand, ready to give, we fully recognise that it would be possible to rebuild and recondition the college, and if this were done, we have no reason to doubt that it would be at least as good as many a degree college in south India and elsewhere.

In spite, however, of these facts we do not feel able to recommend the Society to take this course. It is rare indeed for a Society to be in a position to determine on grounds of general strategy the disposition of the resources which it has available for higher education, and when this is so, as it is in the present case, we have felt that tradition and sentiment—powerful and important as they are—should not be allowed to weigh too heavily against other considerations.

The main responsibilities of the Anglican Church in south India are in the Andhra Country, in Travancore, and in Tinnevely and the neighbouring districts. It has obvious responsibilities in Madras itself. The C.M.S. is already responsible for one college in Travancore and provides a missionary for another. It helps to support St. John's College at Palamcottah and provides one member of the staff at the Madras Christian College. Any additional resources which it has should be added to the contribution which it will make to the Union College in Bezwada.

But we feel it to be of first-rate importance that the Anglican Church should take a really significant part in the development of the Madras Christian College and, if practicable, at Madura also. Important therefore as Trichinopoly is, and great as are the traditions of Bishop Heber College, we cannot but feel that if a choice has to be made it is more important for the welfare of the Church in South India as a whole that the S.P.G. should throw its strength into the Madras Christian College than that it should devote its available resources to restoring the position at Trichinopoly.

We therefore recommend :

1. That Bishop Heber College be closed.
2. That two good High Schools or one at least be maintained at Trichinopoly.
3. That the S.P.G. undertake the organisation and

maintenance of a "Hall" in connection with the Madras Christian College.

(6) *The proposed union of Andhra Christian College, Guntur, and Noble College, Masulipatam, in a Union Christian College at Bezwada*

Of these two colleges, Noble College is one of the oldest in south India. Both are situated in the Andhra district, in which the language is Telugu. The needs of the rapidly growing Christian community have convinced the missions at work in this area that their efforts should be combined in a single, strongly staffed college, centrally situated and making the service of the Christian people its primary concern. This proposal has the support of the Andhra Christian Council, and the two colleges are cordially co-operating towards its achievement. Agreement has been reached as to the location of the projected college, namely, at Bezwada, where it would occupy a central position with reference to the Christian population. The Commission had the opportunity of frequent consultations with the authorities of both these colleges and with representatives of other missions interested in this project, and as a result of these discussions makes the following recommendations :

1. We reaffirm our warm approval of the proposals for a Union Christian College as expressed in the letter written on January 22, 1931, by our Chairman to the Principal of the Guntur College, and would earnestly press upon all the bodies concerned the importance of co-operating cordially in carrying out the scheme.

2. We are convinced that in deciding to adhere to the proposal to go to Bezwada the promoters of the scheme have taken the wisest course possible for the welfare of the Christian community in the Andhra area, and that the success of this new venture will be of vital importance to the Church in south India.

3. We desire to commend the generous attitude adopted by the authorities of the American Lutheran Mission, and trust that it will be met by an equally generous response from the boards on whose action the whole Union enterprise depends.

4. We are concerned at the extent to which the number of students in the Guntur College has been allowed to increase during the past few years, and would draw the special attention of the Committee responsible for the plans of the proposed College to what is contained in our Report on the subject of numbers.

5. We commend to the authorities of the proposed College the "Hall" method of dealing with a large student body. In particular we hope that each of the two colleges in joining to form the Andhra Christian College at Bezwada will be able to retain something of its traditions and its identity as a Hall or Halls within the larger body.

6. We are disposed to question the wisdom of basing the plan of co-operation upon the acceptance of a doctrinal statement specially drawn up for this purpose, but recognise that the co-operating bodies have made no objection to the proposal.

7. We welcome the liberal form of government suggested in the plan of co-operation, but recommend that the suggestions made in our Report on the general subject of government of colleges be considered before any final decision is taken.

8. We recommend that careful attention be given to the matter of the provision of an adequate number of high schools where this appears to be lacking.

9. We are unable to make a definite recommendation as to the wisdom of maintaining Intermediate colleges at Guntur and Masulipatam, but are inclined to think that at Masulipatam at any rate it will be wiser to concentrate upon a good high school.

(7) *Union Christian College, Alwaye, and C.M.S. College,
Kottayam*

These two colleges have a special interest in that they are both situated in the midst of the ancient Syrian Christian Churches of Travancore. The C.M.S. College has a long and honourable history, and is regarded in a special way by the people of Kottayam as their own. The Alwaye College represents an enterprise undertaken by a group of

Syrian Christians with the aim of awakening the missionary spirit of these Churches and uniting their members in the service of the nation. The "Brotherhood" who guide this college have set before themselves high ideals of self-dedication and sacrifice. The fact that the college is under Indian control and is the result of Indian initiative is a further reason why it should be encouraged in every possible way. We desire accordingly to strengthen both of the colleges for the service that they have set before themselves, and to encourage them in their wish to be brought into closer co-operation.

We have heard with great satisfaction of the progress which the Alwaye and Kottayam Colleges have made with regard to their plan for closer co-operation, for we believe that it is of the greatest possible importance for the welfare of the Church in Travancore that the misunderstandings of the past ten years should be brought to an end. We are convinced that the Alwaye experiment is of such value and promise, that no Church or individual, having the true interest of the Kingdom of God at heart, could lightly promote any action which might imperil its success. On the other hand, we recognise the strength of the feelings and the cogency of the arguments which support the desire of the C.M.S. College at Kottayam to become a B.A. College, and we believe that if, after mature consideration, the authorities of the college are convinced that the educational and religious interests of the non-Roman Christian communities of north Travancore dictate such a development, and if they see their way to obtaining the necessary resources, no obstacles should be placed in their way by the Home Board.

We regret to learn that no solution which excludes the possibility of two non-Roman B.A. colleges in north Travancore has, up to the present time, commended itself, as we are gravely doubtful of the probability of adequate resources being available for the proper maintenance of two such colleges.

We agree, however, that, should two first-grade colleges be carried on, the proposals of the joint committee of the

two colleges give promise of a satisfactory relationship between them.

We therefore recommend :

1. That while each college should be free to maintain its characteristic internal organisation, the directing board of each should be constituted on a strictly Union basis. From this it would follow that the C.M.S. would have no representation as such on the Board of the Kottayam College, and the Anglican Church would have the same representation as the Malankara Syrian and the Mar Thoma Churches.

2. That the two boards of direction should be constituted on the general lines of the existing College Council of the Always College, the representatives of the three Churches being the same in the case of both bodies ; that the Principals of both colleges should have seats on each board ; and that each should include at least one person nominated by the Madras Christian College.

3. That there be a joint Central Council to be constituted as follows :

One Bishop and one other representative from each of the three Churches represented,

The Principal and one other member of the staff of each of the two colleges,

One member nominated by the Madras Christian College.

To this Central Council shall be referred the following matters :

1. The allocation to each of the two colleges of the subjects to be taught.

2. The character and methods of financial appeals on behalf of one or both colleges.

3. The confirmation of appointment of Principals.

4. The final settlement of questions presented by the colleges for arbitration.

It is possible that the situation may so develop that it will be wise for the two boards of direction to be merged in one. In this case, it would seem important that the staff representation should be reduced.

This constitution should be alterable only by resolution

of the Central Council and with the approval of the three Bishops.

With regard to Alwaye College we recommend :

1. That this college should fix the maximum number of students that can be admitted to the college, if its ideal of bringing Christian influences to bear upon them through close personal relationships is to be realised ; that they should not only have a clear conception as to the total number of students that they shall admit, but also of the proportionate number that should be admitted from each branch of the Syrian Church and the proportionate number also of non-Christians.

2. That this college should have such a relation with the Madras Christian College that it shall be able to send on some of its best students—and especially its best Christian students—to that college for post-graduate study, and shall be able to arrange for an occasional exchange of staff.

3. That the college be invited to consider its relation to the Christians among its students with a view to discovering how they may be brought more closely together in common worship.

With regard to the Church Missionary Society's College at Kottayam we consider :

1. That whatever be the outcome of the desire of the local authorities of this college to raise it to the B.A. standard, it is most desirable that the proposed arrangement for co-operation with the Alwaye College should be brought into force and the college placed upon a definitely Union basis.

2. That this college should, like the Alwaye College, seek to maintain such a relation with the Madras Christian College or with the American College, Madura, as would prevent the isolation from which a college like this is apt to suffer ; that it should therefore send students for post-graduate study to Madras and Madura and arrange an occasional exchange of staff.

(8) *Other men's colleges in South India*

(a) *Findlay College, Mannargudi*

This college of the Wesleyan Missionary Society established in the heart of a strong Hindu area may be called a pioneer college in the same sense as one or two similar colleges elsewhere in India. During the past few years, however, it would seem that the demand for a local college of degree standing has decreased, and the mission has been in some doubt as to the advisability of maintaining the college, at any rate as a first-grade institution.

The growing mass movement in the west of the district has led to a concentration of the resources of the mission in that area, and we consider that the mission would be wise to close the college altogether and to concentrate upon their high school, with its hostel for Christian boys. Any resources which this would release could most usefully be thrown either into Madras or else into the proposed Union College at Bezwada, which is likely to play a very large part in the development of the rapidly increasing Christian community connected with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Telugu area.

(b) *Wesley College, Madras*

1. We have considered the question as to whether after the removal of the Madras Christian College to Tambaram this college is likely to have an important service to render to Christian students with their homes in Madras City. We think, however, that most of these students are likely to attend the Tambaram College, and that the resources now devoted by the Wesleyan Missionary Society to the maintenance of this Intermediate college would be better used if concentrated upon the high school.

2. We commend to the authorities of the College the suggestion for the establishment of a training college for graduate teachers for the north Tamil and Telugu area, and recommend that, should this proposal be approved by the Madras Educational Council as suitable to be established

in Madras, the Wesley College buildings be made available for the purpose, the high school being used as the practising school attached to the college.

(c) *Voorhees College, Vellore*

We have given careful consideration to the problem of this college. We fully recognise that it renders a definite service to the Christian community connected with the American Arcot Mission, and that there is a good deal to be said for making it possible for boys at the Intermediate stage to get their college education in or near their homes.

We feel, however, that this advantage is dearly bought unless the college in question is able to maintain a high standard of educational efficiency and Christian influence. To reach this standard would involve the authorities of the college in very considerable expense, and, even if the resources are available, we think that they would be more wisely added to the contribution which the mission is already making to the Madras Christian College.

We therefore recommend :

1. That the Intermediate college be given up and that students who are qualified to proceed beyond the high school stage take their college education at Tambaram, where it is intended that special hostel arrangements shall be made for first-year students.

2. That funds now used in carrying on the college and any further funds which may become available be employed :

- (1) In providing scholarships for deserving students at the Madras Christian College.
- (2) In strengthening the high school work of the mission.

(d) *St. John's College, Palamcottah*

We have been specially interested in this college as the only example in south India of an Intermediate college conducted as nearly as possible according to the model recommended in the Calcutta University Commission Report, two high school classes and the two intermediate college classes being combined under a single administra-

tion. We think that the college is an excellent institution in itself and admirably meets the need of the Christian community in Tinnevely, and are glad to learn that the University, while not prepared to give its countenance to this type of institution, is yet willing that the experiment should continue at least for some years. We cannot believe that it will fail to justify itself.

1. We commend to the college our general recommendations on the subject of government and staffing. In particular we suggest that the staff be given greater representation on the governing body.

2. Should the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel decide to withdraw from Bishop Heber College at Trichinopoly, we recommend that the Tinnevely Diocese be enabled to erect and maintain a hostel for Christian students reading for the degree at Madura, in connection with the American College.

(e) The Malabar Christian College, Calicut

We recommend :

1. That this college should be maintained as an Intermediate college with a strong bias towards training for industrial employment such as the "Basel Industrials" may be expected to supply in the future ; and that the high school associated with the college be strengthened so as to be still more effective in producing boys of character and industry. We believe that with such a school and college the mission will have a valuable opportunity of serving the Christian community not only in Malabar, but also in the Kanarese and Marathi fields in which the mission carries on its work.

2. That the college should seek to attract increasingly the Christian students of the Kanarese and Marathi as well as of the Malabar fields, and so to serve these Christian communities.

3. That this college should maintain relations with the American College, Madura, so as to be able to obtain from that college advice and guidance as to the training that may be most suitable for students looking forward to in-

dustrial occupations, and so as to be able to arrange to send on promising students for higher training in that college.

(f) *Scott Christian College, Nagercoil*

We recommend :

1. That this college be maintained as an Intermediate college, seeking primarily to serve the interests of the Christian community of 120,000 amongst whom it is set.

2. That efforts should be made, by scholarships if necessary, to encourage promising students, if they desire to continue their studies and obtain the B.A. degree, to proceed to the American College, Madura, or the Madras Christian College.

3. That the high school, adjoining the college, be strengthened and made to a greater extent residential.

4. That the mission should consider whether the mission property of thirty acres on the outskirts of Nagercoil could be so made use of as to give an agricultural bias to the teaching in school and college.

5. That the college should be linked up with the American College, Madura, so as to get help from that college in developing an agricultural bias in its studies.

(g) *Women's colleges in South India*

(a) *Women's Christian College, Madras*

1. We recognise with great satisfaction the distinctive position which this college has won for itself in South India. We recognise that many factors have combined to produce this result, but are convinced that one essential factor has been the large proportion of Christian students. Without attempting to suggest what is the ideal proportion of Christians to non-Christians in such a college, we recommend that at all costs the particular character given to the college by this large number of Christians be maintained.

2. We would express our cordial approval of the purpose of the Principal that the number of students should not exceed 200.

3. We recommend to the twelve co-operating missionary

societies that they take all possible steps to relieve the financial anxieties of the Principal and thus to establish securely one of the most inspiring Christian enterprises in India.

(b) *St. Christopher's Training College, Madras*

1. We desire to emphasise our sense of the great importance of the work undertaken by this college and our hope that it will be strengthened in every possible way. We urge upon the co-operating missions the importance of freeing the college from its financial difficulties and placing it in a position to obtain a fully adequate staff and equipment.

2. We consider that the proposal for the removal of the college to a site in close proximity to a Christian high school which can be used as a practising school should be pressed forward with as little delay as possible, that so the college may be relieved of its anxieties, and the requirements of the Madras University Inspectors and of the Education Department be satisfied.

(c) *Sarah Tucker College, Palamcottah*

This small college plays a valuable part in the education of Christian girls in the Tinnevelly and neighbouring districts, and we would like to see it strengthened in every possible way.

1. To this end early steps should be taken to detach the college department from the high school and training classes and to put them under separate control.

2. Should this course be found to be impracticable on grounds of expense, we recommend that the science students should be admitted at St. John's College, and should reside in a hostel under the care of a lady superintendent, who might undertake some lectures at St. John's College, but whose main work would be supervision and tutorial work in the hostel. Such a plan would save unnecessary duplication of expense on scientific apparatus and laboratories.

3. Should this experiment in co-education prove successful, the Arts students might also join St. John's College and reside in the same hostel.

(10) *Recommendations concerning theological colleges*

Our recommendations concerning particular theological colleges will be found in a later section of this chapter. There are, however, certain general considerations of policy affecting the educational programme of South India as a whole to which a brief reference is appropriate in this place.

The first concerns the future of the United Theological College at Bangalore. The general principle which we have advocated in this report would make it appropriate to remove this institution to a site at or near Tambaram, where its staff could co-operate with the staff of the Madras Christian College and its students enjoy the advantages thus provided. But strong reasons have been advanced which would make this removal, for the present at least, inexpedient. For this reason, we feel that it is all the more important that close relations should be established between the two institutions and that their staffs should co-operate in the work of research and extension along lines elsewhere suggested.

The second concerns the future development of the theological schools of the Province which give instruction, mainly or in part, in the vernacular. There are three languages affected—Telugu, Tamil, and Malayalam—and we believe it desirable that there should be a strong union institution giving instruction in each. It has been suggested to us that one institution midway between the Tamil and Malayalam area could care for the needs of students of both languages, but we have not been able to persuade ourselves that this is the most practicable solution. The development of a strong institution at the most convenient situation in each of these language areas would, we believe, furnish a more desirable solution.

III. BENGAL

(1) *General considerations*

No Province save perhaps the United Provinces has presented more perplexing problems than Bengal. This is

due in part to the great importance of Calcutta as an intellectual centre, in part to the fact that in spite of the existence side by side of no less than five Christian colleges in Calcutta and its environment, they have been carrying on their work largely in isolation without any common policy to which all alike are committed. There are at least six elements which must be included in such a policy as to each of which we desire to make certain recommendations. They concern :

- (a) The relation of the two Arts colleges for men in Calcutta, Scottish Church College and St. Paul's Cathedral College.
- (b) The problems presented by the growing need for women's education.
- (c) The future of the Arts College at Serampore.
- (d) The future of the theological work now carried on at Bishop's College and at Serampore.
- (e) The possibility of establishing at Calcutta a centre of extension and research similar to that recommended for Madras, Allahabad, Bombay, and Lahore.
- (f) The future of Wesleyan College, Bankura.

We regard it as the first step in solving any one of these problems that there should be a strong committee to study the needs of the province as a whole and to consider the feasibility of the suggestions which we make.

(2) *The colleges at or near Calcutta*

(a) *Scottish Church College and St. Paul's College*

We believe it to be of the first importance that the relation of the two Arts colleges, Scottish Church College and St. Paul's, be reconsidered. At present they represent two different types of educational policy : Scottish Church College has a large number of students (in our judgment the number is much too large for its present staff and organisation) and relies for its effectiveness chiefly on classroom work. St. Paul's has a smaller student body, a higher proportion of Christians, a much more elaborate

system of tutorial work and admirable facilities for the cultivation of a successful common life. We believe that there is much to be said for each of these types of college, but that they would gain enormously by co-operation. Scottish Church College has a great tradition, but because it appears to have taken the view that its business is to do extensive, while St. Paul's does intensive, work, it has exaggerated this quality into a defect and allowed its numbers to become so great that its classes are too large for effective work and it is seriously sacrificing quality to quantity. St. Paul's, on the other hand, in spite of the high qualifications of its Western staff, has not the prestige to attract students of the highest calibre. To be a successful small college on the lines of St. Paul's is an expensive enterprise. To take proper advantage of its admirable facilities the college needs to have its financial resources substantially increased.

We think the weak points of these two colleges might be corrected if they could, while each retained its distinctive character, somehow be made part of one enterprise where they would co-operate more fully with one another.

One possible way to bring about this close relationship would be the removal of both colleges to a new site, say in south Calcutta, where they would be related as contiguous units in a larger enterprise, somewhat as it is proposed to relate similar units in Madras, but in a way which left more autonomy to the separate units of this new Calcutta Christian college. In such a larger whole Scottish Church College and St. Paul's could retain their independent existence, preserving and cultivating their distinctive genius and emphasis as do the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, but by their unity securing the advantages and prestige of a large college. In such a plan provision might be made for women's education through a separate Hall or Halls. If it were possible to bring Serampore into such a scheme the advantages would be even greater.

Such a plan has been actually proposed and we commend its serious study to those interested, but we recognise that such a transfer might involve much expense, and some

values in the existing situation might be lost. If, however, this proposal should turn out to be impracticable, we think that Scottish Church College and St. Paul's on their present sites are near enough to one another for them to unite under a common Board of Direction which would ensure co-operation between the two colleges without any attempt to merge one in the other. In any case we commend to both colleges a study of our recommendations concerning government, staffing, and ways of preserving the Christian character of the college. To Scottish Church College we recommend a reduction of numbers to a point more nearly in accord with our general recommendations. We recommend the authorities of St. Paul's College to take steps which will make it possible to maintain their connection with their students when they enter upon post-graduate work. We further recommend that they strengthen their Indian staff, and that they reconsider their methods of securing attendance at Scripture teaching.

(b) *Women's education, and Diocesan College*

We have been impressed with the growing demand for women's education in the Province and the great opportunity which is open for Christian teachers. We commend the excellent work done by Diocesan College, and greatly regret that the Clewer Sisterhood feels unable much longer to maintain its college department. We have studied with interest the proposals for a women's college in south Calcutta, and believe the establishment of such a college is the greatest need in Christian education in Bengal. If Bishop's College should remove from its present site, the suggestion has been made that its buildings would furnish a suitable place for the proposed women's college. In any event we trust that Diocesan College will find it possible to carry on till in this or some other appropriate way a satisfactory substitute for the work it is now doing is found. While the need for a separate women's college is most urgent, we recognise that, even if it is met, there will still be a demand for the provision of education for women at Scottish Church College. We have followed with interest the beginnings which this

college has made in a policy of co-education and recommend that it be carried out in a much more systematic and deliberate way. We think that Scottish Church College should organise a separate women's department with a considerable staff of women teachers and with sufficient autonomy to work out the special problems of women's education. We think further that the number of women to be taken should be defined in a fixed proportion to men and provision made for a separate hostel and appropriate social life. We recommend further that Scottish Church College, while organising its own department for women, should also take an active interest in any further plans which may be made for women's education in Calcutta.

(c) *The Arts College at Serampore*

While we approve in general the principle exemplified at Serampore of the connection between an Arts and a Theological college, we consider that such a principle, if it is to be carried out successfully, requires that the faculties of the two colleges should be separate. The present staff at Serampore is not strong enough to carry on effectively both an Arts and a Theological college. The strength of the Serampore staff at present goes into the Theological college, and we think it important, if the Arts college is to be continued, that it should be put upon a proper academic basis with a faculty of its own.

(d) *Bishop's College, Calcutta, and the Theological College at Serampore*

We feel that the problems presented by the theological colleges in Calcutta and vicinity present peculiar difficulties, and urge that they be reconsidered in the light of the general recommendations of our Report and of the corresponding Report of the Theological Committee of the National Christian Council.

At present Bishop's College, Calcutta, by far the most important Anglican Theological College in India, draws its students chiefly from the south of India. We believe that the resources which are now going into the institution on its

present site could be more effectively used in other ways. We therefore recommend :

- (i) That steps be taken to remove Bishop's College to Bangalore or Madras.
- (ii) That whatever resources are released by such a transfer and by the saving which co-operative teaching makes possible, be devoted to co-operation in the proposed theological centre to be established in north-west India and to any other form of co-operation in higher theological teaching which may prove practicable.

The problem presented by Serampore is more serious, and is more fully discussed in a later section of this chapter. Here it is sufficient to say that whether or no Serampore be permanently retained as a centre of theological teaching, we believe that it offers great opportunities for the prosecution of theological research—a work which is eminently in line with the Carey tradition.

(e) *The opportunity for research and extension in Calcutta and vicinity*

We believe that careful consideration should be given to the possibility of organising in the near future a department of research and extension for the Province of Bengal similar to that which we have recommended for Madras. Calcutta is peculiarly well-fitted to be the centre of extension and research in economics and related subjects. There is urgent need, for example, of economic study of the problems presented by the jute mills, and the colleges in Calcutta should be sufficiently strong in economics to undertake research and extension work in that sphere. We hope that Serampore on the other hand will become the centre of theological research. If the union we suggest between Scottish Church College and St. Paul's should be brought about either by their removal to a new site or by new organisation on their existing sites, we recommend that the department of extension and research for Bengal should be attached to the united organisation, and that on its joint committee be represented Scottish Church College, St. Paul's, Serampore,

and the new women's college, if it comes into being, or, if not, the women's department of Scottish Church College. But even if unfortunately the union we recommend of these two teaching colleges should not come into being in either of these two forms, we still recommend that a department of extension and research be set up in Calcutta as the joint enterprise of these colleges.

(3) *Wesleyan College, Bankura*

There remains to mention another college in Bengal, Bankura. We believe that Bankura, as at present carried on with only three Europeans and no Indian Christians on the staff, has too small a Christian staff to impress upon the college what ought to be the distinctive purpose of a Christian college, although we agree with the Sadler Commission that it is doing excellent educational work. We recommend that the Wesleyan Missionary Society take steps, at the time and in the manner which may prove most convenient, to withdraw from its work in this college and throw its resources of men and money into the joint enterprises of the proposed Andhra Christian College at Bezwada and Madras Christian College. We believe that these enterprises and the high demands which must be made by them in connection with the new departments of extension and research have greater claims than the continuance of Wesleyan College, Bankura, on its present lines, and that the fine ability and devoted spirit of its present staff can be more effectively employed in other ways. This recommendation would not necessarily mean the closing of the college, but would involve its transfer to some other authority.

IV. THE UNITED PROVINCES

(1) *Special problems facing the Christian colleges*

The situation in the United Provinces confronted the Commission with certain conditions not found in other provinces and presenting the most serious difficulties to those who wish to develop a unified educational policy. These

difficulties result in part from the number of Universities in the Province and the differences in their educational policy, in part from the unequal distribution of the colleges among the Christian denominations, in part from the interpretation given by the Government to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission concerning Intermediate colleges.

There are in this Province, in addition to the communal Universities at Aligarh and Benares, three other Universities—Allahabad, Lucknow, and Agra. These pursue very different policies. Agra, being an affiliating University, extends recognition to teaching colleges in various cities in the Province (including St. John's College at Agra, Christ Church College, Cawnpore, and St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur), with the right to undertake degree and post-graduate work. Lucknow and Allahabad, being strictly unitary Universities, claim the control and monopoly of all University teaching within ten miles' radius of their Senate halls.

Again, we find that in a Province where the Anglicans have not more than 20,000 members, they are responsible for three degree colleges—at Gorakhpur, Cawnpore, and Agra; while not 150 miles from Agra they maintain the strongly staffed St. Stephen's College at Delhi. The American Methodists, on the other hand, with a constituency in this Province and beyond of 325,000 baptized Christians, and the American Presbyterians with 21,000, have each one college only.

Moreover, these two American colleges, being situated in Allahabad and Lucknow, are recognised for Intermediate or second-grade work only.

The anomaly of the situation is accentuated by the fact that these two colleges had an honourable position as degree colleges for a long period of years, and were reduced to the intermediate stage not as a result of any decision of their own, but on account of changes in University policy introduced by the United Provinces Government in consequence of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission Report. We have dealt with this matter more fully elsewhere. Here it is enough to say that in the interest of this new University

policy these two important Christian colleges, merely because of their geographical situation, have been definitely deprived of the status of University colleges which they enjoyed for so long. If they formally acquiesced in the change, it was because they were left with no choice in the matter.

It is true that the Allahabad and Lucknow University Acts make provision for what are called internal colleges in which "tutorial and other supplementary instruction" may be given, and that under these Acts Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow has been granted the privilege of undertaking practically the whole responsibility for the teaching of women students in the Lucknow University; while at Allahabad, Holland Hall has been recognised as a college, three members of its staff having been given the work and status of full or part-time teachers in the University. But this privilege has been given to Isabella Thoburn College because it is a convenience and economy for the University to leave the teaching of women students in the hands of a private college, while the situation at Holland Hall is far from satisfactory, the University being free to give or withhold its recognition of the teachers on the staff of the Hall. It is only natural that in these circumstances Lucknow Christian College and Ewing Christian College should feel acutely the position into which they have been forced, and should continually be exploring all possible ways of recovering the University status of which they have been deprived.

We have carefully examined the situation and have discussed it with the University authorities. We feel convinced that there is no reasonable probability of the Allahabad and Lucknow University Acts being so changed as to restore to the Ewing Christian College and Lucknow Christian College the status as independent teaching colleges which they previously enjoyed; for this would in effect be an abandonment of the fundamental principle of the constitution of those Universities. It is less difficult to conceive that the clause in these Acts which makes impossible the affiliation of these two colleges with the Agra University

might be repealed. But we do not feel able to recommend that the colleges should press for this. There can be little doubt that local students at Allahabad and Lucknow would apply first for admission into the unitary Universities, and local colleges affiliated to Agra could only expect to receive students who had been rejected by these Universities. We do not think that these colleges could be permanently happy in such a relationship to local Universities. We are much more hopeful that more can be made of the status of an internal college than has yet been attained, and we consider that the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities would be wise in their own interests to encourage the development of internal colleges, which we are convinced could be done without compromising the fundamental unitary character of their administration.

Problems connected with Intermediate education in the United Provinces are very baffling. When in connection with the University reforms it was decided to detach the Intermediate classes from the University, it was generally expected that the Government would encourage the development of Intermediate colleges consisting of the two top classes of high schools and the first and second year classes of colleges, as recommended in the Calcutta University Commission Report. For various reasons this was not done with any thoroughness, and, inasmuch as the high schools have not been interfered with, Intermediate colleges have found it difficult to get anything like a true balance of numbers in their four classes. Ewing Christian College and Lucknow Christian College have therefore not only suffered under a sense of grievance at the loss of privileges which they had previously enjoyed, but have also been disappointed to find how extremely difficult it is to make of an Intermediate college a really satisfactory educational institution.

We have taken all these facts into consideration and have attempted to relate the situation as we find it in the different college centres to the ideals which we have set before ourselves for the Christian colleges of India. We therefore desire to make the following recommendations :

(2) *General recommendations*

1. We recommend that the Department of Extension and Research for the United Provinces be at Allahabad, attached to the Ewing Christian College. The department itself should be under a Director responsible to a joint committee consisting on the one hand not only of the representatives of Ewing Christian College, but also of the other Christian colleges of the Province, and on the other hand of representatives of the Christian community of all denominations. There should also be local joint committees concerned with the work done by the several colleges. The business of this department should be :

- (a) To survey the general possibilities of extension and research in the Province and to distribute between the Christian colleges any resources which may be put at its disposal, and
- (b) To co-ordinate all the work of extension and research done by the staff of the Christian colleges whether that be made possible by resources over which it has control or by the resources of the several colleges.

2. We think that among the subjects to be studied in connection with the proposed department education should hold a prominent place, and that Allahabad should be the centre from which a common policy for Christian education in the Province should be developed.

3. We commend to all the colleges of the United Provinces, including the theological colleges, the recommendations which we have made in the body of our Report as to government and staffing, and we advise those Colleges which have a considerable number of Muslim students to keep in touch with the Henry Martyn School at Lahore, and, if possible, to detail at least one member of their staffs for special Islamic study.

4. We have drawn attention to the disproportionate responsibilities assumed by the Anglican Church—both C.M.S. and S.P.G.—in the field of college education in this area. When we consider the invaluable service which this Church

might render to college education in such a strategic centre as Lahore or in Western India we are very much tempted to suggest the transfer of some of its resources to meet these greater needs. We have, however, after careful consideration felt unable to recommend any weakening of St. John's College at Agra. It is at the same time not impossible that another Mission could be found to take over from the S.P.G. its responsibility in the important city of Cawnpore. We recognise the difficulties involved in any plan of this kind, but we cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that the forces of the Anglican Church in north India are not so disposed as to enable it to make its maximum contribution to the educational needs of its own people, nor yet to the Christian enterprise as a whole.

(3) *Recommendations concerning the colleges in Allahabad*

(a) *Ewing Christian College and Holland Hall*

We think that the greatest possibilities of service open to Ewing Christian College are its chance of

- (a) building up at Allahabad a strong staff of men engaged in extension and research, serving the Christian community and doing work which is entirely free from University regulations,
- (b) bringing under its influence at Holland Hall a group of picked University students both Christian and non-Christian, and
- (c) bringing the inspiring influences of the work of extension and research to bear upon the University by means of Holland Hall.

1. We recommend that Ewing Christian College make it a first charge upon its resources to build up a strong group of men at Allahabad engaged in extension and research under this department, and inasmuch as we attach great importance to the influence on University students and studies of these new functions of extension and research, we recommend that this group be regarded as an addition to the staff of Holland Hall.

2. We recommend that there should be associated with

the other work of the college, if the necessary recognition can be obtained, a teachers' training college for men of Intermediate qualifications.

3. Ewing College seems to us peculiarly well fitted to explore these new possibilities of Christian service, and we are inclined to suggest to the authorities of the college that as the work in extension and research develops it may seem wise to subordinate the Intermediate college to these other enterprises, and if these should develop, as we hope and anticipate, even to close it altogether unless they should find that the continuation of the Intermediate college proves of real value to their teachers' training work or to any other part of the programme of extension and research.

4. With regard to Holland Hall we suggest that while remaining in close alliance with the other Christian educational developments in Allahabad it be encouraged to develop its own life as an internal college of the University to the fullest extent which the University regulations make possible and on lines which we have suggested elsewhere in our Report. To this end we think that it should have its own resident Principal. Whether he should at the same time be Principal of the Intermediate college and of the proposed training college is a matter to be decided by considerations of administrative convenience ; but we think it important that he should make the development of the internal college his chief concern.

5. We recommend that the number of students in the Intermediate college be cut down in accordance with our general recommendations in regard to the size and organisation of an effective Christian college, and that if at all possible some of its available resources be transferred to Holland Hall. In any event, we believe that the High School should be retained and strengthened.

(b) *Allahabad Agricultural Institute*

We have been much impressed with the great possibilities of the Agricultural Institute at Allahabad, and we would like to see it play a most important part in the whole work of rural reconstruction in the mass movement areas

in the Province. We commend whole-heartedly the training course for teachers from village schools, and recommend that the Churches and missionary societies should take full advantage of the facilities which are offered to them in that course. We sympathise with the desire of the Principal to obtain University recognition for the higher work carried on by the Institute, but feel bound to state our opinion that the Board of Directors would be well advised to weigh the advantages of University recognition against the loss of freedom and initiative which it would almost certainly involve. We believe that this Institution may be of the greatest possible service to the whole Christian rural movement in north India, and feel that the Directors should take all possible steps so to survey its field of service and relate it to the Christian enterprise as a whole that the devotion, ability, and energy which have raised it to the position which it now occupies may, in co-operation with the leaders of the Christian movement in the Province, be directed to the steady pursuit of a well-defined and generally accepted objective.

(4) *Recommendation concerning the colleges in Lucknow*

(a) *Lucknow Christian College*

1. We consider that the point of departure for all plans for the future of this college should be the needs of the large mass movement Christian community for which the Methodist Episcopal Church feels itself responsible.

We recommend therefore that the Intermediate college should be continued and strengthened, in order to serve this large constituency who will in increasing degree be needing college education. But we believe that at present the number of students is too large for its staff and organisation, and that the college will be wise in reducing its numbers.

2. While the college should continue to prepare candidates for the matriculation and intermediate examinations, it should go beyond this in entering upon work of the kind outlined in Chapter VIII. In particular, it might make it possible for certain members of its staff to specialise in the

study of the life of the depressed classes, and so do continuously what is being done for the moment by the Mass Movement Commission. We believe that in such specialisation in mass movement problems the Lucknow Christian College should be in close touch with students of the vernacular theological seminary at Bareilly and the proposed United Theological College for north India if and when it is established.

3. We commend the experiments made by this college in the fields of rural reconstruction, physical training, and hostel life and worship, and urge their continuance and amplification.

4. We approve of the plan for developing the hostel in the University into an internal college like Holland Hall, and we recommend that the research and extension department at Holland Hall should take up the question of some form of co-operation between the Lucknow Christian College and Christ Church College, Cawnpore, with a view to the possibility of jointly developing research work in economics with special reference to the industrial conditions in the large cities of the Province.

5. We recommend that the School of Commerce be developed so as to offer a wider range of training to Christian young men.

(b) *Isabella Thoburn College*

1. We have noted with great satisfaction the honourable place which has been given to this college as in effect the women's department of the University of Lucknow, and we would congratulate the college on the admirable use which it is making of its opportunities. It appears to us that the relation established between the college and the University is for the present eminently satisfactory, but that this relation needs carefully to be watched lest under growing pressure from the University and the public the college should gradually cease to have that control over the appointment of its staff and the choice of its students which is in our opinion essential if it is to main-

tain its dominantly Christian character. We hope that Isabella Thoburn College may enter into some common understanding with Kinnaird College, Lahore, with a view to securing that in the distribution of Christian women students both may continue to have a sufficient proportion of Christian students to maintain their present character.

2. We recommend that the Board of Directors in America and the Board of Governors in India should take into consideration our suggestions regarding the government of colleges in India, with a view to making such readjustments as may seem to them to be practicable and wise.

(5) *Recommendations concerning other colleges*

(a) *St. John's College, Agra*

St. John's College, Agra, is by far the oldest of the Christian colleges of the Province, and under the development of University policy in the Province has been able to attain a high standard of work in the three Faculties of Arts, Science, and Commerce. At the time when the college was opened, Agra was the capital of the North-West Province, and likely to be one of the most important cities in North India. But conditions have changed, and the city counts for far less in the general life of the Province than do Allahabad, Lucknow, and Cawnpore. For this reason the college by its very location would seem to be precluded from making the large contribution to the whole work of the Church which it is otherwise so well qualified to make. We have coveted for some more important centre the traditions and resources of St. John's College, and have seriously considered whether we could recommend that it be closed and its available resources transferred to the strong strategic centre of Lahore. But greatly as we were attracted to this suggestion, we felt that the reasons against the transfer and the practical difficulties of carrying it out outweighed the real advantages which might be gained.

1. We consider that the college should continue to render

the special service for which it is qualified in the following directions :

- (a) In continuing to provide an education for Christian students, especially those of the Anglican Church and Anglo-Indians.
- (b) In providing facilities for Christian students from other colleges to undertake post-graduate work, especially in Science.
- (c) In opening its classes to women students, especially Hindu and Muslim women, on co-educational lines.

2. With regard to its work in the higher sciences we advise the college to keep in close touch with the Forman Christian College, Lahore, in order that the work undertaken by the two colleges may so far as is practicable be complementary. It should be possible to provide in one or other of these colleges facilities for the training of Christian students in all the higher branches of Science with a view to their becoming teachers in other Christian colleges.

We recommend further :

3. That the practice of segregating the Christian students in a special hostel be discontinued.

4. That the present Christian hostel with the adjacent bungalow be made available for the use of women students ; but that in this development it be recognised that Christian women students, except perhaps those of the local school, should normally be expected to go to Isabella Thoburn College or Kinnaird College at Lahore.

5. That, inasmuch as there is no particular significance in the development of commerce classes in a city like Agra, and that the task of staffing and equipping three Faculties must impose a heavy strain upon the college, steps should be taken at the proper time to close the commerce Faculty and so to concentrate resources upon arts and science.

6. That the authorities of the college should give consideration to what we have said in our Report about numbers, and if they are unable to reduce the numbers in the college to about 300, that they should consider organising its life in two sections or units.

(b) *Christ Church College, Cawnpore*

1. Cawnpore is a city of growing importance, the largest and most vigorous industrial city in India after the great port cities. We hold it to be of much importance that this centre should be held for the Christian Church as strongly as possible, and we would like to see developed here a strong centre of extension and research in connection with the industrial problems of a great city. We recognise that with its large responsibilities in other centres the Anglican Church can hardly be expected greatly to strengthen this college, and it is partly for this reason that we venture to make the suggestion that it might have a larger future should it be thought practicable and advisable to transfer the responsibility for this college to some other Church or mission with less heavy commitments in the field of higher education. Should this not be practicable we consider that every effort should be made to strengthen the staff of the college on the economics side, and we are suggesting that as opportunity offers the Commerce Faculty at St. John's College, Agra, should be closed and a similar Faculty opened at Christ Church. We are aware that two local colleges are already offering commerce courses, and that it may not be practicable at the present time for Christ Church to do the same, but we consider that the possibility of doing this should be kept definitely in mind.

2. We recommend that the Christian staff of the College be greatly strengthened ; also that a definite limit of 250 students be set to the development of the college, in order that its characteristic contribution as a small and intimately Christian college may be preserved.

3. We have had impressed upon us the suitability of Cawnpore as a site for the opening of a Christian training college of intermediate grade, and while we feel that from the point of view of the Province as a whole Allahabad would be a more suitable centre, it may prove that Government will only agree to give financial assistance if such a college be placed at Cawnpore, and we recommend that this possibility be kept steadily in view.

(c) *St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur*

This Anglican College is the only college of any kind in the populous district of Gorakhpur which marches with the frontier of Nepal. Close to the town are the largest Christian villages in the Province, villages in which a considerable Christian population has been settled for several generations. The college is well equipped, has a good reputation, and might render an important service. It is recognised that as at present maintained it cannot adequately perform the functions of a Christian college, and we understand that the Church Missionary Society sees little prospect of being able to increase its resources. Even if such resources were in sight we should not be able to recommend that they be applied to this college, for we consider that all available resources of the C.M.S. or of any other society which are not actually required for the strengthening of more important colleges should be devoted to the general programme of extension and research in the Province. It is very possible that Gorakhpur, with the excellent opportunities which it offers for agricultural experiment and research, may be brought into this general plan, and it would be very regrettable if any early action were taken which would preclude this possibility.

1. We therefore recommend that the C.M.S. continue to maintain the college at Gorakhpur at the present standard until July 1935, and that if by that date no effective plan for relating the college to a provincial programme for extension and research has been framed, they should then take immediate steps to withdraw from the college, handing it over, if possible, to Government or to a local organisation which might be prepared to accept responsibility for it.

2. We further recommend that no further large contributions be accepted from non-Christians of the district, and that whatever may be the fate of the college, the mission school be continued either as a diocesan school or as at present under the C.M.S.

(6) *Recommendations concerning theological education*

We repeat in connection with the United Provinces what we have already said elsewhere about the importance of securing the co-operation of the theological colleges in the general plan for the development of Christian education in the Province. We note with satisfaction that the Theological Committee of the National Christian Council has recently declared in favour of one theological college of higher grade for North India, and has suggested Allahabad or else Lucknow, Delhi, or Jubbulpore as the possible location of this important institution.

In view of the importance of Allahabad as an educational centre and of the suggestions which we have made that the Department of Extension and Research for the United Provinces should be located there, we agree with the Theological Committee in placing it first among the locations proposed for a central theological college. In Allahabad the American Presbyterian Mission, the United Church of North India, the Anglican Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church are all strongly represented, while not far away are important stations of the Wesleyan Methodists and of the English Baptists.

The Commission's recommendations in reference to the theological colleges of this Province are given in a later section of this chapter.

V. THE PUNJAB AND THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

(1) *General statement*

The Punjab has an area three times that of England, a population of 25,000,000, a Protestant Christian population of 291,000. In the Province are four Christian Colleges—Kinnaird College for Women and Forman Christian College at Lahore, Murray College at Sialkot and Gordon College at Rawalpindi. In this discussion we shall include Edwardes College at Peshawar, which, like the other colleges, is

affiliated to the University of Lahore. In the Punjab the agricultural development of the last forty years has resulted in the development of a powerful and comparatively prosperous peasant proprietor group, with a higher standard of living than that of any similar communities in any other Province of India proper. This prosperity is reflected in the large number of hereditary agriculturists, who send their sons to the University. Hence in the Punjab the relation of the University to the agricultural problems of the Province is much closer than in any other part of India.

On the other hand, agrarian legislation to protect peasant proprietorship has resulted in the perpetuation of the landlessness of the agricultural labourers. From this latter class have come the largest accessions to Christianity in the Punjab. The adequate employment of agricultural labourers in general and of the Christians in particular, is peculiarly difficult, in view of the demand for a higher standard of living. Thus the Christian college faces the dual problem of the landed peasantry and the rural Christian community, whose economic interests have so far not been reconciled.

• (2) *Recommendations concerning the colleges in Lahore*

(a) *Forman Christian College*

Forman Christian College at the capital holds a strategic position. With a student body of 1063 and a teaching staff of 47, it offers courses leading to the B.A., the B.Sc., the M.A., and the M.Sc. degrees. The college is closely related to the University in post-graduate teaching, as also to the Government College in its collegiate teaching for honours work. We have observed the high standard of research and the unusual amount of creative work done by the college in response to the economic, social, and educational needs of the Province. We have been interested in the extra-curricular courses offered to students whose curricular work is too narrowly specialised. We have appreciated the spirit of self-criticism shown by the staff, their alertness to remedy defects and to master opportunity.

At the same time, the report of the Principal, the statements of the Director of Public Instruction, and of a special committee of survey, confirm our impression that the college is in grave danger. The college has been led, possibly constrained, by its financial needs, to enrol a number of students so great as practically to exclude much of that personal influence of teacher upon student which is one of the most significant features of a Christian college. It is in danger of losing its chance of making a distinctive contribution to the higher education of the Punjab.

1. We welcome the fact that the college is making a study of a better form of government, and urge the consideration of our recommendations on this subject.

2. The college has still too small a proportion of Christian teachers, and we urge that efforts be made to increase their number.

3. We cordially approve the decision of the college to move to a new site. We agree with the plan by which, at any rate with the present resources of men and means, the number of students is to be limited to 600, with at least 30 members of the teaching staff. We recommend that the "Hall" plan, suggested by the Commission and tentatively approved by the college, be carried out.

4. We believe the suggestion of the college to be wise, that furnished quarters be provided for single and married men of academic distinction from other universities, who may be invited to spend their Sabbatical years in the service of the college (see College Memorandum, dated 28/2/31, entitled "Scheme for Visiting Professors").

5. We recommend that on the new site no hostel be designated as a "Christian" hostel or reserved specially for Christian students.

6. We believe that it would be wise, at least for the present, to retain some building or buildings upon the old site for the convenience of those teachers and advanced students whose work is carried on in immediate connection with the University.

7. The grave agricultural situation in the Punjab described above enhances the importance of emphasis

in the teaching of the colleges being placed upon the practical implications of the Christian message in the fields of economics and education. This makes specially important the recommendation that there be established at Lahore in connection with Forman Christian College a department of extension and research, with a view to answering the questions of the Christian Church and community, and the questions of rural educators. This department should organise and maintain an information service, which would make available to all inquirers a knowledge of those experiments in education and rural reconstruction which have been successful in other parts of India.

8. We would urge that, in this and in all other possible ways, Forman Christian College should seek to realise the ideal of the mother college, as presented by us above. This ideal would involve special efforts to foster those happy and helpful relations already existing with the other Christian colleges of the Punjab, and with Edwardes College, Peshawar, by means of lectures and exchange professorships. We trust that the ideal would also involve a special sense of responsibility which this college would share with St. John's College, Agra, for the training of Christian teachers of science. We hope that for the discharge of these important services other denominations beside those already engaged in the administration of the college may be persuaded to cooperate with it, so that the college may become a truly union Christian enterprise.

(b) *Kinnaird College*

Kinnaird College is the only Christian college for women in the Punjab or the North-West Frontier Province. We find that in the Punjab the demand for the higher education of women is growing with extraordinary rapidity and causing an increasing demand for teachers. The Director of Public Instruction depends largely upon Kinnaird College for women teachers in Government high schools. The opportunity of the college is therefore unique. We were impressed by the common life shared by teachers and students. It is to be noted that the domestic duties of the college are

performed by the students, who are thus better prepared for home life.

1. We cordially approve of the plan for building the college on a new site. We trust that its proximity to the new site of Forman Christian College will make available the laboratories and lectures of that college to those women who may be taking honours and post-graduate work.

2. At present the salaries of the non-Indian members of the staff vary according to the salary scales of the five societies co-operating in the support of the college. Moreover, the financial support of these societies is not altogether certain. Again, the arrangement by which a particular society is responsible for the appointment of a teacher of a particular subject seriously increases the difficulties of the Principal. We urge the five co-operating societies to consider a revision of the constitution of the college in the light of the recommendations of the Commission, and further to consider means by which the income of the College may be made larger and more stable, and means by which a more flexible and efficient method of staff appointments may be established. We hope that the strategic situation of the college and the character of the service it is rendering may constrain other societies to co-operate in this union enterprise.

3. While many factors have combined to win for Kinnaird College its present distinctive position, we believe that here, as in the case of the Women's Christian College, Madras, and in that of Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, one essential feature has been the large number of Christian students. Without attempting to suggest what the ideal proportion of Christians to non-Christians should be, we would recommend that at all costs the particular character given to the college by the large number of Christian students be maintained.

To all the Punjab colleges we recommend all practicable co-operation with the Henry Martyn School at Lahore.

(3) *Recommendations concerning other colleges*(a) *Murray College, Sialkot, and Gordon College, Rawalpindi*

Murray College, Sialkot, and Gordon College, Rawalpindi, are both doing excellent work. Both have most helpful relations to the communities beyond the college walls. In Murray College we learned of the service rendered by the Department of Chemistry to the workers in the local factories. Both colleges encourage their Christian students in the work of preaching and teaching in the villages. Both colleges have, however, grown so rapidly, that they are in danger of becoming so large as to weaken seriously their distinctive Christian contribution to higher education.

1. We recommend that each college make a decisive effort to strengthen its Christian staff, and so to limit the enrolment of students as to make possible greater personal influence on the students.

2. We would further urge upon each the careful consideration of the suggestions made by the Commission regarding college government.

3. We would recommend that these two sister colleges, whose relations have already been mutually helpful, should seek further co-operation, so that their work may be complementary. This would be peculiarly fitting, as the colleges are the representatives of two branches of the Presbyterian Church. In this connection we suggest that Murray College, at the centre of an important mass movement area, might make its chief responsibility the Christian community, while Gordon College, facing the trans-Jhelum region, with a population 90 per cent Mohammedan, might give itself primarily to work among non-Christians.

4. We recommend that both colleges seek still further co-operation with Forman Christian College in the fields of extension and research.

(b) *Edwardes College, Peshawar*

Edwardes College is performing a significant service as a pioneer college on the frontier of India. Clearly the college

is exceptional in its situation and its needs. We recognise the fact that many of the recommendations applicable to other colleges lose their pertinence here.

1. We trust that the Church Missionary Society may be able to provide a second missionary member of the staff. The Principal is bearing a burden too heavy to be borne. There is extreme difficulty in procuring Indian Christians for the staff for so isolated a college. We believe that the yearly grants-in-aid, now practically assured, will justify such an appointment.

2. We recommend that the college seek still further co-operation with Forman Christian College in the field of extension and research, with the purpose of answering the questions of the Christian Church and community, and of studying the problems of the non-Christian villages of the Frontier. We believe that these co-operative efforts will not only reveal to the staff new and fascinating lines of investigation, but will also reveal to the students, non-Christian as well as Christian, compelling opportunities for service. In such service the spirit of Jesus Christ best manifests itself and the power and the patience of Jesus Christ are most surely demanded.

VI. THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

(1) *General considerations*

Nowhere except in Burma have we found a situation comparable to that which we find in the Bombay Presidency. Wilson College is not only the sole representative of Protestant Christian Higher Education in the city of Bombay itself, with its population of over a million ; it is the only Protestant Christian College in the immense area which includes that Presidency and Sind and which has a population of 19 millions. The college will next year have occupied this position for a century, and during that time it has exercised an important influence and rendered a most valuable Christian service. That service has been mainly rendered to Hindus, Muslims, and Parsees, for the Christian community

scattered throughout this province has not hitherto sent many students to the college. The total Protestant Christian population, according to the Church and Mission statistics of 1927, is 125,000, but they are, as a whole, a backward community, and there is much need that a larger number of them should be enabled by education to undertake a greater share of the responsibility for the guidance of the Church's task of witness and evangelisation. We consider that towards this urgent need special attention should be directed, and that the college authorities should co-operate with Christian high schools with a view to encouraging Christian boys of promise to proceed to higher education.

The importance of the task that has been given to Wilson College to discharge will be recognised to be still greater when one considers not only the number of the population, but the influential positions that so many from this province have held and the great services that they have rendered in every department of public life—as political leaders, as leaders in social and religious reform, as scholars and men of letters, as commercial and industrial magnates. A survey of such facts as these makes clear the exceptional importance for the Christian cause of the position held by Wilson College. For that reason we recommend strongly (a) that the Christian effectiveness of the college be strengthened by an increase of its Indian Christian staff, and (b) that other missions working in this area should take their places alongside of the Church of Scotland and the American Marathi Mission in the support and the strengthening of the college.

In other respects also this college has a significant position and should be enabled still more effectively to discharge its task. It has been a pioneer in the education of women alongside of men. How this important service can be rendered more effective should in our opinion be fully considered by the college authorities. Another body which is engaged in work for the educated women in Bombay is the Missionary Settlement for University Women. We suggest that Wilson College should consider along with this society, with which it is already associated in women's education,

possible ways in which the higher education of women may be extended and made more effective.

Our survey of conditions in the Province has convinced us that there is another method by which this college may be enabled to enlarge the service that it renders to the people of the city and province of Bombay. It is obvious that the position of Bombay as perhaps the most prominent industrial and commercial centre in India creates the opportunity and the demand for investigation of industrial conditions and the study of difficult problems of economics. Already the college has been invited by the National Christian Council to undertake the training of men who may engage in welfare work among industrial workers, and there are obviously many other directions in which research and study are demanded. The admirable post-graduate work in science which this college is already carrying on would also indicate a sphere in which it could find opportunities for additional and enlarged service.

But not only can the college render service in this way to the workers in Bombay itself. There are other cities where investigation along other lines is needed and where opportunities of rendering important service to the people present themselves. Poona and Ahmedabad, for example, are cities that possess very distinctive characteristics of their own and that have exercised in recent times a very notable influence. The relation of the former to such enterprises as the Servants of India Society, the Seva Sadan, the Women's University, and the various Education Societies with their colleges and high schools, and of the latter to its cotton mills and to all that is associated with Sabarmati and Mahatma Gandhi, sufficiently indicates their importance in the life of India and the necessity of relating Wilson College and its proposed tasks of discovery or research and extension with centres so vitally significant. How this can best be done, and how these duties of research and extension can further be related to the problems of rural life and to those that particularly concern the Christian people, must be fully considered with a view to making this service available as widely as possible.

The importance of Poona, however, by its history and its present position in the Presidency, demands special consideration. It has been brought to our notice that in this important educational centre not only is there no Christian college, but there is no Christian high school suitable for the education and training of Christian boys. We are convinced that, in view of the need to increase the number and quality of those who shall proceed to higher education, such a school as this at Poona is greatly needed.

(2) *General recommendations*

We consider that the Church of Scotland has been asked to bear a disproportionate burden of responsibility for Christian Higher Education in the Bombay Presidency.

We therefore recommend :

1. That Missions working in the wide area served by Wilson College should follow the example of the American Marathi Mission (A.B.C.F.M.) and co-operate with it with a view especially to strengthening the Church by increasing the number of those who shall be fitted to take responsibility in its counsels and guide its future. Among the Missions that are urged to co-operate in the college are the Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Presbyterian Mission, the Irish Presbyterian Mission, the Church of the Brethren, and the Missions of the Anglican Church.

2. That there should be established in Bombay and in connection with Wilson College a centre of Research and Extension similar to those recommended for Madras, Allahabad, and Lahore. We suggest that in relation to its plans for research it should co-operate with Hislop College, Nagpur, which, like Wilson College, though beyond the bounds of the Bombay Presidency, serves a Marathi population, and which, like Wilson College, has the opportunity of investigating the conditions of industrial workers in cotton mills. We further recommend that in its plans for extension it should co-operate with such theological colleges as the United Divinity College in Poona, the Stevenson Memorial College in Ahmedabad, the Divinity

School at Nasik, and the Florence Nicholson School at Baroda. Not only would these colleges form centres where extension courses could be carried on, and at which workers from villages could be gathered together for that purpose, but they would also, in association with the centre for extension and research in Bombay, give much-needed attention to the production of Christian literature in the vernaculars and in English.

3. That a resolute effort should be made by the missions that are already carrying on work at Poona to establish jointly a strong Christian High School, partly residential in character, where Christian boys especially may receive their education under favourable conditions.

(3) *Recommendations concerning Wilson College*

Our special recommendations for Wilson College are :

1. That the college undertake new departments that are greatly needed (*a*) for the training of welfare workers, and (*b*) for the training of teachers.

2. That the college consider whether it can make its work for women students more effective in giving them a college life of their own by providing for them in close connection with the college a Women's Hall with some additional women professors. We suggest further that Wilson College consider, in conference with the Missionary Settlement for University Women, possible ways in which the higher education of women may be extended.

3. That the college, with a view to fulfilling its purpose more satisfactorily, reduce the number of its students. This would appear to be financially possible only if other missions come to the assistance of the college.

4. That the college make a determined effort to strengthen the Christian element in its staff.

5. That it also make a determined effort to remodel the government of the college on the lines indicated in our recommendations in regard to the government of Colleges.

VII. OTHER COLLEGES

DELHI PROVINCE

(1) *St. Stephen's College, Delhi*

This college has certain definite characteristics of its own which give it a place somewhat apart from other Christian colleges in India, and which should be noted. While by its geographical situation it is associated with the three Anglican Colleges in the United Provinces it does not belong to that Province, Delhi as the capital being administered separately. Further, it is in the position of being a constituent college of the Delhi University and there occupying along with two non-Christian colleges an unusual position. This position gives it considerable influence over University policy and brings it into close co-operation with the other constituent colleges, while at the same time it retains a strong and intimate college life with the direction of its own class instruction and tutorial work. It is further a characteristic of this college that while maintaining a fine Christian spirit and exercising a notable Christian influence it has been able to a remarkable extent to win the confidence of a wide constituency of non-Christians, who look upon it as their own college and contribute to its support. One reason, it may be claimed, why it has succeeded in exercising this influence is the policy that has been deliberately adopted of limiting the number of its students to a maximum of 250, and the fact that, while admitting non-Christians to its governing body, it has a largely Christian staff with an Indian Christian Principal. It is the desire of the authorities of the college that this policy of limitation of numbers, which in the last few years has, under pressure of circumstances, been relaxed, should be strictly adhered to.

1. Recognising, therefore, that if the college is to retain its present character and spiritual atmosphere it will be necessary to resist the pressure to increase numbers, we recommend that the college authorities reaffirm the principle accepted many years ago that the college should not have more than

a total of 250 students in the four years of the ordinary college curriculum.

2. We desire to emphasise the necessity that the college should possess a strong Indian Christian staff.

3. In view of the danger lest the absence of an expanding Christian Church in this area, as well as the physical isolation of Delhi from village and industrial problems, owing to the smallness of its provincial area, should result in isolation in the purpose and aims of the college, we urge the necessity for the addition to the tasks of the college of certain features of extension and research.

4. We recommend the college authorities to consider our general proposals for the government of a college.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

(2) *Hislop College, Nagpur*

Hislop College is the only non-government college in the small University of Nagpur, and it is able to exercise a very considerable influence over the University. It has rather over 350 students, including 15 Christians, and a staff of 15—4 Europeans, 5 Indian Christians, and 6 non-Christians. The qualifications of its European staff are high, and it has on its staff some very able and keen young Indian Christians ; but its proportion of students to staff is rather high also, and its staff is not adequate for those personal contacts which are so important. The constitution of the college exemplifies some of those features of Senatus government which are in their effect most open to criticism, and we commend to the attention of the college authorities what we have said in our report on the subject of college government.

The Home grant is about 35 per cent of the total income of the college. The present buildings are admittedly unsatisfactory. A proposal to remove the college to a site in the Civil station has been accepted by the home board. The proposed site adjoins the University.

The College is finding it increasingly difficult to compete with the Government colleges, and is getting only the second-

best students. Under present conditions we think its prestige is likely to decrease still further unless it can be considerably strengthened in staff, and we think that any resources which the Church of Scotland might find for such a purpose would be better used in Madras or Bombay. We should say, therefore, that the resources the Church of Scotland now puts into Hislop College might be diverted, did we not think that there is a possible alternative to the Church's abandoning the college. Nagpur University is a small University which might easily be induced to co-operate with Hislop College in a way which has not so far been tried in India. The new site chosen for the college is next to other colleges of the University, and if Hislop College made up its mind to give up altogether the idea of being a self-sufficient college on the ordinary Indian model and simply asked itself how it could use its existing resources to make the most distinctive Christian contribution to the University of Nagpur, we think it might occupy a position somewhere between that of an Oxford college and that of Holland Hall, Allahabad, without making any new call for increased equipment. This would not be worth doing unless it were done thoroughly and as a completely new experiment. But we think that this possibility is well worth exploring.

As this college, like Wilson College, Bombay, serves the Marathi country, we suggest that it should co-operate with that college in the investigation of problems that are common to them both, especially problems relating to the industrial workers in the cotton mills.

CENTRAL INDIA

(3) *Indore Christian College*

Indore Christian College is the only Christian college in Central India and Rajputana. The Christian population in these areas is small. Most Christian students go to the United Provinces colleges and some to the Government college at Ajmere.

Indore Christian College is an isolated pioneer college with an overwhelmingly Hindu student body and serving no large area of Christian population. It is an expensive college, receiving no financial help from Government and costing the mission the salaries of four Canadian missionaries and about Rs. 10,000 per annum.

Its main function would seem to be to bring Christian influence to bear directly upon the Hindus within its walls, and through them upon the people of the Central Indian States. It is to be classed with such colleges as Edwardes College, Peshawar ; St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur ; and Findlay College, Mannargudi, though it is more isolated than any of these. It is likely for this reason to find some difficulty in recruiting a qualified Indian Christian staff.

We were not able to visit the college, though we were able to meet the Principal on two occasions. Judging from these interviews and from the answers given to the questionnaire it is evidently a well-run college, largely residential and able to maintain without particular difficulty its Christian impact upon its students. It is worth noticing that it has a particularly strong tradition in Philosophy ; a much larger proportion of its students taking that subject than would be found in any other college of the University, perhaps any other college in India. We were told that some "250 of its former students occupy positions of responsibility and trust in the Indore State," one being a member of the State Cabinet, another Legal Remembrancer, and others judges.

We recommend :

1. That the governing board be brought so far as practicable into line with our recommendations for a Board of Direction.
2. That in connection with its plans to increase hostel accommodation, the college give careful consideration to our recommendation about size and internal organisation.
3. That every effort be made to recruit a larger Christian staff.
4. That the closest contact be maintained with the other Christian colleges of Agra University, or if this is not possible for geographical reasons, then with Hislop College, Nagpur.

BIHAR

(4) *St. Columba's College, Hazaribagh*

This is the only Christian college in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. It is affiliated to the Patna University and provides instruction up to the B.A. degree. It is connected with the Dublin University Mission. It has no Indian Christian Professor on its staff, and the number of Christian students last year was sixteen.

The rapid development and the excellent equipment of the Government colleges at Patna, the headquarters of the University, make it practically impossible for St. Columba's to compete with them any longer on equal terms. It must therefore, we fear, be prepared to see the pick of the Hindu and Muslim students of the Province drawn away to Patna, and should be willing to encourage its most promising Christian students to take at any rate their degree courses there.

1. For this reason we have seriously considered whether we should not recommend that, if practicable, the college be transferred to Patna. Nevertheless we consider that there is an important service to be rendered by what is the only Christian college in an important rural area. By the training of leaders and in other ways it should be able to render valuable help to the large and promising aboriginal Christian community connected with the Anglican and Lutheran Churches. For this purpose we think that there can be little doubt that Ranchi, which is a strong educational centre for both Churches, would be a more suitable location than Hazaribagh, and we therefore suggest to the authorities of the Dublin University Mission and the S.P.G. that they explore the possibility of such a move. In any case we consider that the college should offer the fullest facilities for the education of Christian students of the Lutheran Church, and we would like to see that Church given a share in the government and staffing of the college.

2. We recommend that the college set a definite limit to its numbers—we suggest 250—and aim at developing a strong Christian community life. This will demand most earnest

efforts to recruit Indian Christians for the staff, and we feel sure this would be easier at Ranchi than at Hazaribagh.

3. We think that in order that the college may develop on the lines which we have suggested, its system of government should be modified in accordance with the recommendations contained in our Report.

VIII. THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES

(1) *Serampore College*

While we share the doubt which has been freely expressed as to whether it is practicable at the present time to maintain three fully equipped teaching theological institutions of the highest grade, and would prefer that if it were practicable the resources available for the higher forms of theological teaching should be concentrated at not more than two places, one in South India and one in some central place in North India, we have been so impressed with the reasons that have been urged upon us for the retention of Serampore as a third such centre that we are not inclined to recommend its discontinuance at the present time. In favour of its retention are :

- (a) The strength of the Carey tradition.
- (b) Its convenient site and admirable equipment.
- (c) The intimate association which the presence of the arts college on the same campus makes possible between arts and theology students.
- (d) Its power to confer theological degrees, and
- (e) Its organisation for this purpose through a Senatus in which the more important communions act together on strictly interdenominational lines.
- (f) The fact that though most of its student body can be cared for elsewhere, there is still need for some institution to take care of the theological students of the North-East who may not find it convenient to go elsewhere.

But if Serampore be retained as a third teaching school of theology we believe that it should be under the following conditions :

- (a) That the present arts and theological work be separately organised under two independent though co-operating Faculties.
- (b) That the theological faculty be strengthened by the addition of men who can give their whole or the major part of their time to extension and research, and therefore for this purpose there be organised at Serampore a branch of the proposed Calcutta department.
- (c) That in order to make this separation and strengthening possible other communions share with the Baptists the responsibility for the development of this theological work, either
 - (i) By designating men for its Faculty, or
 - (ii) By contributing funds.
- (d) That in case this co-operation is not received, and Serampore put thereby in a position where it can adequately discharge its great responsibilities, we recommend that the Baptist Missionary Society accept no further responsibility for the maintenance of the theological faculty of Serampore, and that it become, so far as its theological work is concerned, a purely examining body.

(2) *United Theological College, Bangalore*

When we consider the needs for theological education in South India we find many reasons which make it desirable that the united college, on the importance of which we are all agreed, should be located at or near the new site of the Madras Christian College at Tambaram. These reasons we have already stated in connection with the general recommendations which precede. At the same time we recognise that there are other reasons which can be urged in favour of retaining and strengthening the present united college at Bangalore. Among these reasons are the following :

- (a) The existence of the present school with its

- adequate buildings, effective staff and student body, and fine spirit of loyalty and service.
- (b) The healthfulness of the climate, which makes efficient work possible for a longer period of time than at Madras.
 - (c) The fact that the bodies at present co-operating in the school find Bangalore convenient and would deprecate its removal.

We are impressed with the fact that after hearing our arguments for the choice of Madras as the site of the central theological institution for South India, the Theological Committee of the National Christian Council unanimously recommended the continuance of Bangalore on its present site unless the transfer to Madras should make possible a more complete unit through the inclusion of the Anglicans and Lutherans.

Until this issue is determined and the success of the experiment now being undertaken at Tambaram is more fully assured, we recommend the retention of the college on its present site, but we recommend that no future building operations be undertaken that would make removal more difficult until the question of ultimate site be determined.

In the meantime we think it important that :

- (a) The number of Christian bodies contributing to its support and represented on its staff be increased until it becomes in a true sense the central theological college for South India.
- (b) That some part of the resources realised by this co-operation should be diverted to Madras to form a theological section of the proposed Department of Extension and Research, and that a relation be established between that department and the faculty of Bangalore so that the two institutions co-operate in the work of extension and research along lines suggested in our Report, and provision be made for sending selected students from Bangalore to Madras to pursue higher studies along lines approved by the two faculties.

(3) *Bishop's College, Calcutta*

The importance of Bishop's College, Calcutta, as the single training school for the ministry of the Anglican Church in India, renders any suggestion of change in its present location and policy a matter of serious responsibility. We have felt constrained, however, to make such a recommendation for two reasons :

- (1) Our belief that the present location of the college is not such as enables it most effectively to serve its own immediate constituency ;
- (2) Our conviction that by removal it would bring needed reinforcement to the movement for the united Church through co-operation in the plan for the concentration of higher theological education in two or more strong centres, as explained elsewhere in the Report.

Of the fifty-one students admitted to the college during the past five years, thirty-one are from South India and Ceylon, five from Bengal, and only eight from the rest of India. After making all allowances for the much greater maturity of the Church in South India, we cannot but regard these figures as bearing out what has been said to us as to the impossibility of meeting the needs of the Church of North India by a theological college in Calcutta. We believe, therefore, that from the point of view of the Anglican Church alone, Bishop's College could render a greater service by dividing its resources between two centres, one in the South and one in the North-West.

But apart from this, we believe that the Anglican Church has a contribution to make to the ministry of the Church of India as a whole which cannot be rendered if its ministers are trained in isolation from their fellow-ministers of other communions. We welcome the experiment in co-operation which is being carried on at the United Theological College at Saharanpur, where an Anglican serves on the faculty with representatives of the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches. But we believe that this co-operation does not go far enough.

We therefore recommend :

- (a) That steps be taken to remove Bishop's College to Madras or Bangalore.
- (b) That the Anglican Church co-operate in the proposed theological college to be established in North India, and so far as proves practicable in the higher theological work proposed for Serampore.

(4) *The India Methodist Theological College at Jubbulpore*

We have noted with satisfaction the recent action of the Theological Committee of the National Christian Council in recommending that there be one theological college of high grade for North India, and that they have suggested Allahabad, or else Lucknow, Delhi, or Jubbulpore as possible sites for such an institution. While we appreciate the growing influence and rapid development of the United Methodist College at Jubbulpore, we are not convinced that its further continuance as a purely Methodist institution is wise or that Jubbulpore will prove the best site for its permanent location.

We therefore urge the Board of Governors to consider :

- (a) Whether in view of recent developments towards union in North India this institution should not become at once a union institution by securing the representation of other Christian bodies on its governing board and staff, and
- (b) Whether it should not delay its permanent building programme until it has clearly seen where the proposed Union Theological College for North India is to be located. We feel that the college at Jubbulpore might well become the nucleus of this central theological college, provided it is willing to go to the place where in the judgment of the Churches concerned it will best serve the interests of the Church as a whole.

We further recommend that the college should take immediate steps to increase the number of Indian Christians

on its staff. The fact, already noted, that its faculty is trying a significant educational experiment in working out a curriculum adapted to the needs of the Indian Church to-day makes it all the more important that the assistance of Indian teachers should be availed of to the fullest extent in the planning of its curriculum.

(5) *The United Theological College at Saharanpur*

We have been greatly interested in the experiment in theological co-operation which has been carried on in the United Theological College at Saharanpur, where Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Baptists are serving on a single faculty. We have followed with interest the proposed plan for the union of this school with the Methodist College at Bareilly for the purpose of creating one strong institution teaching in the vernacular as well as in English. While the carrying out of this plan would involve the abandonment for the present, or at all events the subordination, of English work for the B.D., we believe that it is a move in the right direction, and hope that no difficulties as to location, immediate constituency, or language will prevent its early and successful consummation. In the meantime we trust that whatever may be the result of the negotiation with the Methodists, the co-operation between Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Baptists, evidence of the beneficent effects of which have come to our knowledge, will still continue.

We have heard with satisfaction of the plan proposed by the college for establishing a centre for the study of village life as it bears upon the training for the ministry. We trust that the work done by the school in this connection may take its place as part of the programme of research and extension proposed for the Church of the United Provinces.

(6) *Other theological colleges*

We regret that the limitations of our time have prevented us from giving the careful study they deserve to the theological schools which are teaching in part or mainly in the vernacular. We have seen enough of the work of these schools to realise that upon their future development and wise

management will depend in large part the future of the Church in India. We can only repeat here what we have said elsewhere that we believe these schools deserve and should obtain the services of the strongest theological teachers, both Western and Indian ; that unless there are convincing reasons to the contrary, they should be on a union or co-operative basis ; and that as far as convenient and possible they should be located at or near the existing or proposed B.A. college, *e.g.* Pasumalai as near Madura, Bezwada as near the proposed Andhra College. Where this is not possible they should be related to these colleges through the Department of Extension and Research.

PART V

THE PRACTICABILITY OF THE PLAN AND THE WAY OF PUTTING IT INTO EFFECT

CHAPTER XIII

WAYS IN WHICH THE WESTERN CHURCH CAN HELP INDIA TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ITS EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

I. SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED

(1) *The Decline in the Effectiveness of the Christian Colleges*

AN analysis of the general situation which emerges as a result of the Commission's studies, will show that there has been a marked change in the significance of higher education in the missionary programme during the last generation. This change has been due to many different influences, in part in India, in part in the educational world in general. As a result of these influences the missionary colleges have lost the initiative in cultural education which they once possessed, and become part of an educational system in which they are—to be sure important, but still—subordinate parts.

In such a position many teachers in missionary colleges are restive, feeling that they are not doing their best, or at all events their most distinctive work, and it becomes increasingly difficult to find the right men to take their places.

(2) *The Resulting Alternatives*

Under these circumstances the following alternatives present themselves :

- (a) The definite abandonment of the field of higher education to Government and to private agencies and the employment of mission resources upon primary and secondary education alone.

- (b) The maintenance of the present policy with the prospect of a growing loss of influence and prestige for the Christian colleges, as compared with the Government colleges.
- (c) A complete severance of the existing relationship with the Universities, and the building up of an independent system of Christian higher education culminating in a Christian University.
- (d) A rethinking of the task of Christian higher education as a part of the existing educational system and the creation of the proper agencies either in the colleges themselves or in affiliation with them to carry it on effectively.

We believe the last to be the proper course to be pursued, provided the needed resources both in men and means can be made available. We have outlined a plan which, if followed, would, we believe, make possible the recovery of the initiative which the mission colleges have for the time being lost.

(3) *Need of a Central Educational Committee for India*

This plan requires for its effective administration the creation within India of some agency with appropriate sub-committees representing all the colleges and able to speak for them, alike to the Government, the Universities, and to the general public.

We attach great importance to this last feature of our plan. It is clear that if changes are to take place in the ideals and work of the colleges on a scale significant enough to restore to them their position of educational leadership, there must be some body that can serve as a liaison officer between them and can on appropriate occasions act for them all. This body would have for its function, among other things :

- (a) The co-ordination of educational programmes as between the different centres.
- (b) The sharing of information as to available men both in India and abroad.
- (c) The formulation of needs only to be met through the co-operation of the home authorities.

How this committee should be constituted in detail and just how it should function it will be for those immediately responsible to decide. We have expressed as our judgment that such a committee should be a part of, or directly responsible to, the National Christian Council, which, we believe, should assume the function of reporting periodically to the home boards and the International Missionary Council on the whole enterprise of Christian higher education. We have further approved the suggestion of the Bombay conference that where local conditions make it feasible there should be set up in each provincial area a representative "Council, which shall consider the general policy of Christian education in colleges and high schools in its area, receive reports from the several colleges and schools, and transmit them with their comments to the National Christian Council as a basis of its own report to the churches and the home board." We believe that it would be a great step forward if the churches and missions would agree that no change in policy should be made without consultation with such a Council.

2. NEED OF A JOINT COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN HIGHER
EDUCATION IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA

(1) *Changes needed at the Home Base*

We have further recommended that in order to consider any matters requiring further consultation which may arise out of these reports, to take common action at the request of and on behalf of the boards, and to give counsel in furthering the interests of the colleges so far as these interests are dependent upon support in Britain and America, there should be appointed by the boards, both in Britain and America, a responsible committee of persons familiar with education who can represent the common interests of the boards in these matters.

It may seem beyond our proper function to discuss the composition and function of such a committee. That is a matter for the boards themselves to determine in the light of their individual history and traditions. At the

same time it is not possible for us wholly to ignore it. Under our terms of reference we have been asked specifically to "consider how the needs of the Christian colleges for men and funds can best be presented in Britain and America." This requires us to consider among other things how the machinery for such an effective appeal can be created, and this, in turn, requires a consideration of the constitution and functioning of the boards through which alone that machinery can be set up and maintained.

There are two aspects of this question, closely related, which it will be helpful to distinguish—the organisation which is necessary to deal with the immediate exigency created by the report of our Commission, and such permanent changes in the present organisation of the foreign missionary enterprise as are necessary to conserve for the future any present gains.

We may illustrate this difference in the case of our own Commission. We were created for a special purpose, and with the final printing and distribution of our report our work as a Commission will be done; but, it was felt by many of those with whom we talked in India, that if this were to be the end of the matter we should leave our work half done. A suggestion has been made, therefore, that the principle that underlies the constitution of our Commission should be made a matter of permanent missionary policy; that instead of a commission being sent out at long intervals to deal with some special crisis, as has been the case in the past, there should be periodic visitation of the colleges and high schools by responsible representatives of the educational authorities, who should take note of progress and of defects and should give needed counsel.

We approve this suggestion and believe that it would be better than nothing, but we do not think it goes far enough. We believe that there should be systematic study of Christian higher education in India by competent and responsible persons, and this conviction finds expression in our recommendation of provincial councils unified through a central educational committee for all India.

The analogy with the situation at home is clear. It will be possible to deal with the needs of the moment by setting up a committee *ad hoc* which should make definite recommendations to the Boards as to the steps which should be taken to give effect to so much of our plan as meets with their approval. But such a step would, in our judgment, fall short of what is needed for the best interests of the work in the long run. What is needed at home—as on the field—is some permanent body qualified to deal with educational policy which shall deal continuously with educational problems as they arise, and be the liaison officer in matters of common interest between the Home Boards and the corresponding committee in India.

It will help us to consider how such a committee should be constituted, and what functions it should fulfil, if we remind ourselves how the present educational interests of the Church on mission fields are administered to-day.

(2) *The Defects of the Present System of Missionary Administration*

The present system of missionary administration is defective in at least three respects :

- (a) Since it is carried on by a number of different boards and agencies, each responsible for a small section of the work, it cannot present the unified appeal either for men or for funds which would be possible for an agency which operated in the field as a whole.
- (b) Since, from the point of view of missionary administration, mission colleges form a relatively subordinate part of the total mission programme, it is impossible, or at least difficult, for those in charge of mission interests to give to educational matters the concentrated attention they deserve.
- (c) Since Christian colleges, as at present administered, have to make their appeal to a constituency which is concerned with many other interests besides that of Christian higher education, they have no direct way of approach to many

to whom the opportunity before the Christian colleges of India to-day, as set forth in our Report, would, we believe, make a very strong appeal.

The limitations of this system appear both in the matter of raising funds and in the still more important matter of recruiting teachers. Since the great majority of the colleges are denominational or even sectional enterprises, their appeal, while intimate and persuasive, is to a limited constituency. When the financial possibilities of this constituency have been exhausted, there is no one to whom to go for the added resources which are necessary to take advantage of the opportunities which lie ready to hand.

And what is true of funds is still more true of persons. Mathematicians and historians are not apportioned on denominational lines, and not a few of the limitations which we discovered in the staff of Indian colleges were due to the fact that in some particular case the available supply of good denominational material was exhausted, and it was necessary to put up with second best or even with third best.

Even the union colleges suffer from the present system. Since there is no single educational board to whom they can appeal for the teachers they need, they must cultivate the authorities of each co-operating denomination—a process not only expensive of time and strength, but occasionally productive of results which would be ludicrous if they were not lamentable. Thus we recall a case in which an important post in a women's college remained unfilled because it was impossible at the moment to find a professor of psychology who was at the same time a United Presbyterian.

(3) *Partial overcoming of these Defects by the Existing Inter-Denominational Agencies*

It is quite true that we have the beginnings of an effective inter-denominational organisation in the foreign mission Conferences of Great Britain and of the United States and Canada, and in the International Missionary Council. But apart from the fact that the function of these bodies is mainly advisory, the field in which they must operate is too

extensive to make effective educational leadership possible. The only way in which these bodies can deal efficiently with educational problems is to create some temporary committee like the present Commission, which is not only inter-denominational and international, but which consists of specialists in education chosen in part from persons not directly connected with the foreign mission cause. Why, it may well be asked, should not this precedent be followed on a more permanent and extended scale, and the Boards create, either directly or through the inter-denominational agencies they already possess, a permanent educational commission to perform the functions which we have mentioned above.

(4) *Need of a Permanent Educational Committee*

We propose, therefore, that there should be created both in Great Britain and in the United States an educational board or committee either as a branch of the foreign mission Conferences or affiliated with them, which shall (*a*) study the needs of the Christian educational enterprise in India, (*b*) outline and present to the Home Boards a programme for its financial support, (*c*) serve the Boards as a recruiting agency in the colleges and universities for men and women needed for its staffing, and (*d*) in general, serve it in any way which experience and opportunity may suggest.

In theory there is no reason why the two proposed educational committees should not be sub-committees of the Conference of British missionary societies and of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. In practice, however, we believe that it may prove advantageous to organise an affiliated body in the composition of which educational considerations shall be controlling, and which can call upon men of distinctly academic qualifications as well as upon men with predominantly missionary interest. Whatever its composition (and it ought not to be too large to function effectively) it should have as its secretary or other executive officer some one who can make it his primary interest, and who has the qualifications both educational and religious which fit him for this service.

3. QUESTIONS TO BE DETERMINED

Should this general plan be approved, certain further questions suggest themselves which have to do partly with the scope of the committee's activities, partly with its relation to existing agencies.

(1) *As to the Scope of the Committee's Activities*

Among the questions affecting the scope of the committee's activities which will need to be determined are such as these :

- (a) Whether there should be a single committee of international character, or whether it would be more practicable to have two independent committees, one for Great Britain and one for the United States and Canada, co-operating with each other and with the corresponding educational committee in India through the International Missionary Council.
- (b) Whether the field of the proposed committee's activity should be India alone or whether it should include responsibility for corresponding educational interests in other parts of the mission field (*e.g.* China, Japan).
- (c) Whether it should deal with all forms of Christian education including the most primary, or only those branches of higher education with which the Commission has been primarily concerned.
- (d) Whether it should confine its activities to securing funds for the maintenance of existing institutions or whether it should include as part of its avowed policy the securing of endowments for the more important colleges and schools.
- (e) Whether it should assume executive responsibility or whether its function should be purely advisory, leaving the necessary executive functions to be assumed by other bodies either already in existence or to be created for the purpose.

Without presuming to give a definite answer to any of these questions, we would express our judgment :

- (a) That for the present at least the function of any central committee should be largely advisory, leaving the executive responsibility to be discharged, as now, by the Boards or Societies.
- (b) That if the field of the committee is to be restricted to higher education, the high schools at least should be included with the colleges as falling within its scope.
- (c) That in case, as seems likely, it be deemed wise to organise separate committees for both Great Britain and the United States, some one person be secured and associated with the International Missionary Council who can act as a co-ordinating agent of the missionary forces in the whole field of educational policy.

(2) *As to its Relation to Existing Agencies*

So far as the relationship of the proposed committee to existing agencies and institutions is concerned, three questions suggest themselves as needing consideration :

- • • (a) One has to do with the way in which, under the proposed system of centralised control, the religious and specifically Christian interest of the existing colleges can be adequately safeguarded.
- (b) The second has to do with the way in which the existing interest of particular persons, groups, and denominations can be conserved.
- (c) The third has to do with the way in which the securing of larger resources and more efficient administrative agencies in the West can be reconciled with the growing self-consciousness of the Indian Church.

As to the first, there are two possible ways in which the needed safeguarding can be secured : (1) either by the official representation of mission boards on the proposed central council or committee, or (2) by the choice for

membership on the committee of persons definitely committed to the Christian emphasis in education. The problem will be similar to that presented by the setting up of a central educational committee in India and will have to be met in the same way.

The second difficulty can be overcome by assigning to special denominations or groups primary responsibility for phases of the work in which they are particularly interested. In this connection the principle of the mandate may be utilised, certain tasks or parts of tasks being assigned to special bodies, with the distinct understanding that they are to act not for themselves alone, but as trustees for the whole Christian body. Such assignments will be especially valuable in connection with any general campaign for funds.

More difficult is the question how the development of larger resources and more effective administrative agencies in the West can be reconciled with the growing self-consciousness of the Indian Church, and the feeling on the part of those who are interested in missions that the ultimate responsibility for Christian work in India must be shifted as rapidly as possible to the Christians of India.

This question has already been so fully discussed in the body of this Report that it is not necessary to deal with it further here. It is sufficient to say that if a proper system of government can be worked out for the different colleges in India—a system in which both Indian Christians and missionaries are subject to a board composed both of Indians and Europeans—the more effective support the colleges which operate under such a system receive from the West the better. It is not help from the West that Indian Christians resent, but help for purposes and under conditions in determining which they themselves have had no share.

(3) *A Suggested Method of Procedure*

We suggest, therefore, as a preliminary step in securing a wise solution of these and similar problems, that there be appointed by the Boards immediately concerned in Britain and in America, committees to study the Commission's

Report and, in consultation with the International Missionary Council and the National Christian Council of India, to recommend a more permanent organisation. We suggest that upon these committees be placed the responsibility of taking such preliminary steps as may be necessary to set in motion the more important changes recommended by this Commission and to secure, either independently or in co-operation with the bodies more immediately interested, the needed funds for the purpose. It should be the duty of this committee to learn from the boards and colleges concerned what it would cost to bring about the changes desired, and in cases where the fulfilment of the complete programme is not immediately practicable, to recommend to the interested parties what needs, in their judgment, should have precedence.

4. WAYS OF PUTTING THE PLAN INTO EFFECT

(1) *The Unity of the Plan*

It is obvious that a plan so extensive and many-sided as that outlined above cannot be put into effect at once. It represents rather an ideal at which to aim than an accomplishment which is immediately practicable. It is clear, too, that in seeking to realise this ideal it will be necessary to distinguish the steps which can be immediately taken from those which can safely be postponed, and that in the application of the general principles laid down there must be wide room for individual initiative and variation.

Nevertheless, we are convinced that the success of our efforts to accomplish the things which we all agree are immediately desirable will depend largely upon the extent to which we see them as parts of a larger whole, and are able to persuade others so to see them. What we are proposing is nothing less than a new philosophy of Christian education which we would bring to a nation at a crisis of its educational history.

(2) *Ways of financing the Plan*

It had been our hope and, the phrasing of our terms of reference leads us to conclude, the hope of those who

appointed us, that a study of the colleges in India would reveal such possibilities of consolidation or transfer of existing institutions as would make a substantial contribution to the financing of the proposed plan. But we soon discovered that while certain economies were possible along this line, and our plan takes account of them wherever practicable, they were less than we had supposed. It must be remembered that two-thirds of the income of the mission colleges comes from untransferable sources (namely, fees and Government grants); that even when consolidation seems called for, there are unavoidable obligations (*e.g.* provision for a high school or intermediate college, provision for bonuses or pensions for members of the staff, mortgages on buildings which have been erected with Government assistance, etc.) that reduce the amount of the available saving.

Something, no doubt, can be done by the transfer of individuals from other branches of mission work to the proposed department of research and extension, and, as we have already pointed out, the addition of even a single individual for this purpose to the staff of each of the larger colleges would make possible a very substantial advance; but when we have taken account of all these possibilities it still remains that if the plan as a whole is to succeed, it will make considerable demands upon our constituency in the West, both for men and for money.

We have every reason to believe that an appeal to this constituency, if properly made, will be successful, partly

(a) Through securing larger contributions from the existing supporters of missions because of the new opportunities which it opens for more far-reaching and effective service, partly

(b) Through its appeal to new sources of income.

We believe that one of the chief difficulties in financing our mission colleges to-day is the fact that, as at present conducted, they do not make a sufficiently large appeal to the imagination of those from whom their support must be drawn. We are confident that if the plan which we have outlined shall be accepted, this situation will be changed and

the way be opened for a persuasive appeal. It has been the experience of those engaged in the financing of philanthropic enterprises that if the principles of a proposed plan be sound it is easier to raise money for a large enterprise than for a smaller one. We believe that Christian higher education in India, as we have defined it, presents such an inspiring objective as to justify an appeal for large funds not only from those at present giving to Christian missions, but from all those who believe in a higher education that shall give spiritual values and the service of the community their rightful place.

To discuss in detail the way in which the proposed appeal should be made would carry us beyond the purpose of the present Report. Certain general principles which should be controlling in the preparation and presentation of the appeal seem to us to be these :

- (1) It should include the needs of Christian higher education for India as a whole, so far as with our present light it is possible for us to understand and to state them ; and each specific enterprise should have its place as a part of this single comprehensive plan. The preparation of this plan should be the work of the proposed committees.
- (2) Within this plan place should be made for the presentation of the special needs of particular institutions not only for the immediate present but for the future, so far as it is possible to foresee this future. It should provide not only for the necessary running expenses, but for such endowments as may be necessary to guarantee the needed continuity of policy.
- (3) In the presentation of these needs preference should be given (a) to those which minister most directly to the welfare of the whole (*e.g.* the mother colleges, the department of research and extension), (b) those which in particular institutions are especially pressing. The prosecution of these needs should be entrusted to the

bodies most immediately concerned, but with the backing and assistance of the joint committee at the points which it has been agreed should have precedence.

If such a method is followed it is our hope and confident expectation that not only will present interest be conserved, but fresh friends and resources secured, and the whole enterprise of Christian higher education in India be lifted to the high place to which its pre-eminent importance entitles it.

(3) *Ways of recruiting the Needed Staff*

But important as it is to secure the needed funds for the extension and enfranchisement of our Christian educational institutions, it is not here that our greatest need is to be found. Personality is more important than money. Of what value will it be to increase the number of our staff if the quality of the work done is not correspondingly improved? Now more than ever we need to enlist in the services of our Indian colleges the most consecrated and gifted of our young men and women, that in co-operation with similar gifted personalities from the Indian Church they may work together for the service of India in this time of opportunity.

That is why we attach so much importance to the changes we have suggested in the administration of the mission boards. If an appeal is to be made successfully to the type of men and women we have in mind, it must come not in the name of a single denomination, but of the Christian enterprise as a whole and under conditions which promise an adequate outlet of the best that is in them. When such an appeal is made we are in no doubt what the response will be. The experience of the Student Volunteer Movement furnishes an instructive and reassuring precedent.

5. IN CONCLUSION

It is on this note of hope that we would end. We went out to our task with open minds, recognising that the colleges were facing a grave crisis and prepared to draw any con-

clusion, however unpalatable, which seemed to follow from our study. We return full of enthusiasm, believing that we face an unexampled opportunity—an opportunity to which all that is happening both in the nation and in the Church is contributing. In this time of national crisis India needs, above all, men of trained intellect and unselfish spirit to fill the posts and render the services which are essential to her welfare. In the chaos and confusion produced by the impact of new forces on an ancient civilisation, she needs knowledge informed by the spirit of Jesus Christ. The wounds of reason too exclusively turned to material purposes can only be healed by the deeper reason of the wisdom which is from on high. These men and that service of knowledge we believe the Christian colleges, if adequately staffed and supported and given the redirection we recommend, can supply, and it is our privilege in the West to help to make this supply possible.

A. D. LINDSAY, *Chairman.*

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN.

S. K. DATTA.

ARTHUR W. DAVIES.

WILLIAM J. HUTCHINS.

NICOL MACNICOL.

S. N. MUKERJI.

OSCAR M. BUCK, *Secretary.*

APPENDICES

I. THE ORGANISATION OF EXTENSION AND RESEARCH

I. SUGGESTIONS AS TO POSSIBLE OBJECTS OF STUDY FOR THE PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF EXTENSION AND RESEARCH

To illustrate what might be done by this department we append two documents, the first from the staff of the Training School for Village Teachers at Moga in the Punjab, suggesting specific subjects in which investigation for the benefit of the Indian villager is needed, the second from Rev. Frank Ryrie of the Joint Training School for Rural Teachers at Chapra, Bengal.

(1) *Statement by the Moga Staff*

Your plan that the Christian colleges become centres of research work for help and guidance of the Christian Church opens responsibilities for some of the most fruitful service possible in the extension of the Kingdom of God in India. We are attempting to state in the following some problems that could be studied by Christian colleges.

We are all agreed that the Indian Church of the Punjab must take great strides forward in its development now, and we recognise that, at least as far as numbers go, the larger part of that Church is in the villages. Our most fruitful growth is going to come with the upbuilding of those village Christians into literate, healthy, happy Christian families, feeding daily on the Word of God, and becoming a real part of a self-supporting, self-propagating, independent Indian Church.

There are many Christian agencies and institutions at work helping toward this realisation. But the methods they use are often faulty. Many of us who are in charge of educational institutions or of direct village work realise that our methods are often unfruitful, but we cannot give the time necessary to study, to find the better ways. Many of the workers do not have the experience and special knowledge required for research.

ADULT EDUCATION

What should be the content of the education given to village men, village women, adults of the Christian group ?

What should be the place of drama and song in adult education ?

What methods are effective in teaching adults to read and write, to improve health and living conditions ?

How may the co-operative movement be utilised ?

What Christian literature is needed for adults beginning to read ?
Preparation of reading material—books and pamphlets of both stories and general knowledge for the use of the Indian Christian community. This will afford valuable educational material and also help keep the readers from lapsing back into illiteracy.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

What needs of life should be met in the primary stage of education ?

How fit curriculum and methods to needs of village children ?

A job analysis study of the life of the village Christians. This will afford material for the preparation of the right curriculum of studies for mission village day schools in reading, arithmetic, writing, etc.

What Christian literature is needed for primary schools ?

Health teaching in day schools and boarding schools.

Diet in boarding schools (investigations *much* needed).

PSYCHOLOGY

Child study—Scientific observation of Indian children.

Educational psychology—Evaluation of methods of teaching, etc.

Measurement—Intelligence testing : standardised achievement tests in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography (*much* needed).

Psychology of infancy—Effect of common practices, as threatening, etc.

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

Correlation of teaching material for mothers (now available from many different publishers and organisations).

Pre-natal care, and care in infancy.

Diet for the toddling age (after weaning).

Training of the child in the pre-school years—Religious teaching, etc.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

What have been the results of the teaching of the Bible—to non-Christians, to Christians ?

Duplication of religious teaching in a given local church—To what extent do the efforts of the different agencies giving religious teaching overlap ?

Problems connected with methods of Christian worship—For children, for Church services, for village groups, for non-Christian groups.

Indian forms of worship.

Festival and ceremonies (Indian adaptations).

How do adults learn religious truth ?

How stimulate recreational life ?

What are the religious problems of the village Christian ?

What temptations does he face ?

What habits does he need to form ?

What experiences which can be controlled by the religious teacher does he need to have in order to enable him to solve his problems and form correct habits ?

GENERAL EDUCATION

Utilisation of Indian cultural background.

Practical bias in early education—Place of industrial arts—Pre-vocational teaching.

Many specific curriculum studies needed, such as the study of the content of arithmetic courses, elimination of out-of-date and useless processes, re-grading of subject-matter, etc.

(These investigations are necessary preliminaries of improvement in Christian education.)

ECONOMIC LIFE

Study of possible subsidiary industries for village Christians. Some of these would be industries that village Christians could give their full time to, and others would be crafts that would take the spare time, now largely wasted, of field labourers. This would include the study of :

- (a) Possible village crafts.
- (b) Supply of materials for the carrying on of such crafts.
- (c) Tools and outfit needed for carrying on each craft.
- (d) Possible market for disposal of the product.
- (e) Possible income for those engaged in the craft.

DISEASE PREVENTION

Collection of material on what is being done.

Practical suggestions.

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Study of indigenous methods of giving.

Architecture for Indian Churches.

Religious drama.

(2) *Suggestions by Rev. Frank Ryrie*

The subjects suggested involve investigation of facts as they are at present, and generally also of what might be possible in the future ; also in many cases a comparison of these with similar facts relating to other countries.

I. GENERAL

Systems of village government.

Systems of administration of justice.

Systems of credit.

Systems of land tenure.

2. EDUCATION

Literacy and illiteracy in any particular area—of women, of men, of different communities and castes.

Lapse into illiteracy—its extent, causes and possible remedies.

The organisation of a village school—its government, staff, finance, numbers of pupils, building, etc.

Methods of teaching different subjects in village schools.

Methods of supervision of village schools.

Methods of adult education.

Intelligence and other educational tests in Indian villages and village schools.

Methods of religious education in village schools.

3. RELIGION

The religion of the village people—religious practices, intellectual content, etc.

(a) Hindus—men and women.

(b) Mohammedans—men and women.

(c) Christians—men and women.

Methods of evangelism.

Forms of worship in the village church and community.

Methods of religious education in village schools and churches.

Methods of giving in the Christian church.

4. ECONOMICS

Family income of the villager.

Family expenditure of the villager.

Indebtedness of the villager—extent and causes.

Rates of interest.

Forms of co-operative effort now in use, and possible developments.

Prospects of different village trades.

Markets for village products, *e.g.* of spare-time occupations.

5. PUBLIC HEALTH AND HYGIENE

Mortality, especially infant mortality in any area.

Birth-rate in different communities.

Diet—now in use, and possible improvements.

Methods and organisation of village welfare-work.

Methods and organisation of other health efforts, *e.g.* health societies.

Village sanitation.

6. NATURE STUDY AND SCIENCE

Geological formations, fauna and flora of different areas.

7. THE TRADITIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Their songs and stories.
 Their special habits of life.
 Their music, dances, etc.
 Their games and other recreations.
 Local dialects.

8. AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

This represents an enormous field, in which Government research departments are at work, but in which there is a clamant need for other workers, both for research and the extension of knowledge.

9. LITERATURE

Investigation of what books are being used (religious, political, etc.).
 Preparation of suitable text-books for schools.
 Preparation of literature for teachers.
 Preparation of literature for religious workers.
 Preparation of pamphlets for distribution, on health, religion, agriculture, etc.

2. A SHORT LIST OF BOOKS

• The following books on Adult Education in the West will be found useful :

Begtrup, Lund, and Manniche. *The Folk High-Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community*. Oxford University Press.

• *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education* (ed. R. St. John Parry). Cambridge University Press.

A. Mansbridge. *An Adventure in Working Class Education*. Longmans, Green & Co.

Oxford and Working Class Education. Clarendon Press.

T. W. Price. *The Story of the Workers' Educational Association*. Labour Publishing Co.

W. Picht. *Toynbee Hall and the Settlement Movement*. G. Bell & Sons Ltd.

B. A. Yeaxley. *An Educated Nation* ("The World of To-day" Series). Oxford University Press.

The Quarterly Bulletins and The International Handbook of Adult Education, published by The World Association for Adult Education, 16 Russell Square, London, W.C.1.

The Reports of the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education, H.M. Stationery Office.

Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 321 (1919).

II. THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THIS REPORT TO INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

We were appointed, as has been explained, by the International Missionary Council and asked to report upon the Christian colleges in India. We have no authority, therefore, to speak on the problems of Indian Universities in general or to address any remarks to those who are responsible for their guidance.

If we had any such authority, the Report of the Sadler Commission would make any attempt on our part to review the problems of Indian Universities superfluous. But we have said in Chapter VII. of this Report that the new direction which we propose to give to the work of the Christian colleges is a direction which might well be given *mutatis mutandis* to the Indian Universities in general, and we consider that it might be of general interest if we should in this appendix enlarge a little on this subject.

But before we do this we should like to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Report of the Sadler Commission, to its illuminating and searching analysis of the Indian Universities and to its constructive proposals. We may, perhaps, be allowed to record our agreement with the view there expounded that the difficulties of University education in India depend for their solution on a reform of secondary education, and our judgment that the Report's proposals for intermediate colleges, if carried out in all their implications, would lead the way to such a reform.

But we are concerned here to urge that the two new functions of extension and research as we have described them in this Report might be assumed by the Universities of India as well as by the Christian colleges. A little has already been done in this direction. The World Association of Adult Education has a bulletin on Adult Education in India, but it is more a statement of aspirations and needs than of achievements. There are extension lectures given in some of the Indian Universities, but they amount to very little. They do not in the least degree represent any new conception of the functions of a University.

When University education began in India a hundred years ago it was confined to a privileged class, as was the English University education of the same period. In both countries the entry to the higher professions and to Government service was through the Universities and was open only to a small class of the population. As England in the course of the nineteenth century became democratic, its system of education changed under the influence of democratic principles. A system of universal elementary education was set up, the beginnings of a state system of secondary education added, and in the last quarter of the century the demand was made that the entry to the Universities, including the older Universities, should be open to all classes of the nation. Gradually there was constructed by means of "free places" and scholarships an educational ladder from the primary school to the University. The

democratic principle behind these reforms is the principle of the career open to talent, and to democratise the Universities and the professions meant to the supporters of this movement to make the Universities and the professions thus accessible to all members of the nation who had the necessary intellectual gifts. It had very little effect on the kind of education given in the Universities or on the social function they performed.

This form of democratisation of the Universities has already been accepted in principle and to a considerable extent realised in practice in India. The Indian Universities are no longer—any more than the English—confined to a particular class. The Sadler Report notices that the greatly increased numbers attending the Universities are partly due to the fact that new classes of the population are finding their way there. The Christian colleges, originally designed as a means of reaching the higher castes, have played a great part in making University education possible to the lower castes. The proportion of Brahmans in our colleges is very much smaller than it was fifty years ago. The organisation of primary and secondary education in India is still very inadequate, but it is growing, and the ideal of universal primary education is accepted in principle. The educational ladder has been constructed in India as in England.

But in England and in other industrialised democratic countries of the West the ideal of the democratisation of the Universities has taken on another form in the last thirty years. For as democracy became a reality, it began to be recognised that it needs an educated electorate. The more elaborate and complex modern government has become, and the more it needs the expert knowledge which only the specially trained few can have, the more it becomes essential that the ordinary elector should be able to criticise the expert and to use the expert's knowledge. In a democratic state, therefore, the Universities must not only train the specially qualified for the higher professions and the higher ranks of Government service; they must not only be at the top of an educational ladder so that these experts can be chosen from wherever in society they appear; the Universities must also see to it that some of that understanding of society and its problems which the art of government requires should come to the mass of the population. Such understanding cannot be given by the primary or even the secondary education of the young. For the knowledge and understanding that are wanted are needed to reinforce the experience of life. It must be adult education. The demand for such education came in England from men who were already engaged in local government or in trade unions or co-operative organisations, and had come to realise their lack of knowledge. Ever since this movement began in the first years of this century, it has made steady progress in all the democratic countries of the world. It has had a remarkable effect upon the Universities which have taken part in it. For it has given them a direct relation to the great mass of the community and has taken them out of the isolation which institutions

concerned only with the higher professions can hardly escape. Finally, it has made the ordinary public-minded citizen realise the service that knowledge and the Universities which promote and extend it can render to the community as a whole. It has provided a public opinion about education.

The gulf between the educated classes and the ordinary citizen is greater in India to-day than it ever was in nineteenth-century England. The University education which is intended to fit men for the higher professions and for Government service does not fit them to understand the actual needs of the ordinary people whom they have to serve. Rather it removes them into a different world of ideas. So long as that remains true, University studies and University researches will probably be remote from the problems and experience of the people as a whole and academic in the wrong sense of the word. What is perhaps even more serious, so long as this isolation of the Universities persists, there can be no active public opinion on education in India, and we have found the absence of such a public opinion one of the great weaknesses in college education.

Democracy will be an illusory ideal in India until there is an educated electorate, until at least there is a leaven in the general population who have the knowledge to administer all those forms of local government and democratic organisation which must exist between the people and the Government. There are the beginnings of popular movements in India, but unless the leaders which they throw up are equipped with knowledge of the problems they face, they will bring about little but disillusionment.

There is in India to-day a great mass of knowledge, largely collected by Government, which if applied would go far to help the problems of village India. The difficulty is to get it applied. For knowledge can only really help people who have learnt to believe in it. The Agricultural Institute at Allahabad, after many years of experimenting, has found a fruitful way of broadcasting its researches through the training of village teachers. That is only one example of a service which the Universities of India could render to the nation in countless ways. We feel certain that if they would follow the example of the Universities of the West and set up extra-mural departments on sound lines, they would serve India by giving it the knowledge which it needs for its pressing problems and become integrated with the life of India as they have never been before. It will not be an easy thing to apply in India the principles of adult education which have been so fruitful in the West. The conditions are so different that mere imitation of western methods will be ineffective. But we feel sure that the experiment is worth making and should be fruitful of great results, and we therefore venture to commend to the attention of the Universities of India the proposals in this direction which in this Report we have made to the Christian colleges.

III. CHRISTIAN COLLEGES OF INDIA AND BURMA

I

A. AMERICAN COLLEGES

COLLEGE	STAFF				STUDENTS		
	European.	Indian-Christian.	Non-Christian.	Total.	Christian.	Non-Christian.	Total.
1. Andhra	4	21	28	53	97	708	805
2. Ewing	6	16	30	52	54	621	675
3. Forman	6	13	28	47	37	1026	1063
4. Gordon	4	5	13	22	34	332	366
5. Indore.	4	7	4	15	8	364	372
6. Judson	16	2	18	36	137	137	274
7. Lucknow	6	15	10	31	53	516	569
8. Madura	5	13	12	30	74	382	456
9. Voorhees	1	3	7	11	31	125	156
10. Isabella Thoburn.	14	10	4	28	110	38	148

B. BRITISH COLLEGES

11. Bishop Heber	5	6	16	27	106	262	368
12. Christ Church	3	2	14	19	8	227	235
13. Edwardes	1	2	6	9	2	118	120
14. Findlay	3	2	8	13	8	112	120
15. Hislop	3	5	6	14	15	290	305
16. Kottayam	0	9	4	13	160	75	235
17. Madras Christian	13	12	16	41	168	619	787
18. Murray	4	5	11	20	34	452	486
19. Noble	2	10	11	23	33	329	362
20. St. Andrew's	2	4	14	20	3	216	219
21. St. Columba's	2	0	13	15	12	197	209
22. St. John's, Agra	9	11	22	42	36	364	400
23. St. John's, Palamcottah	3	4	2	9	65	40	105
24. St. Paul's	3	4	13	20	42	295	337
25. St. Stephen's	7	5	10	22	19	312	331
26. Scott	2	7	3	12	66	103	169
27. Scottish Church	7	9	21	37	37	1348	1385
28. Serampore	4	3	15	22	26	257	283
29. Wesley.	2	3	6	11	11	93	104
30. Wesleyan, Bankura	2	0	14	16	3	231	234
31. Wilson	8	1	10	19	32	840	872
32. Sarah Tucker	6	5	0	11	15	0	15
33. Diocesan	4	1	4	9	28	54	82

C. CONTINENTAL

34. Malabar	1	6	3	10	14	91	105
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D. INDIAN

35. Alwaye	3	11	9	23	189	148	337
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E. UNION

36. Kinnaird	4	3	4	11	34	33	67
37. Madras Women's	10	9	5	24	115	23	138
38. St. Christopher's	2	2	1	5	16	2	18

II

FINANCE

A. AMERICAN COLLEGES

Name.	Government Grants.*	Fees.†	Home Boards.	Other Sources.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Andhra Christian	17,856	65,688	37,705	None
2. Ewing Christian	Nil	58,466	27,500	29,615
3. Forman	21,667	199,068	50,000	41,030
4. Gordon	13,000	41,500	38,084	..
5. Indore Christian	Nil	22,840	29,233	2,371
6. Judson	114,500	74,900	58,348	56,322
7. Lucknow Christian	24,000	34,868	77,144	19,880
8. Madura	21,000	42,974	140,762	2,799
9. Voorhees	3,445	12,313	6,693	889
10. Isabella Thoburn	31,286	12,919	76,153	5,634

B. BRITISH COLLEGES

1. Bishop Heber	10,620	33,700	37,000	..
2. Christ Church	35,668	17,594	13,985	..
3. Edwardes	12,000	8,000	9,529	..
4. Findlay	8,522	10,993	14,000	307
5. Hislop	22,885	35,142	24,534	11,012
6. Kottayam	1,946	26,585	‡	3,763
7. Madras Christian	53,114	152,385	57,084	5,395
8. Murray	9,850	51,905	25,077	..
9. Noble	9,848	32,973	20,200	2,212
10. Scott	1,220	16,041	8,644	79
11. Scottish Church	33,120	124,563	60,000	29,172
12. Serampore	14,872	28,366	42,500	18,602
13. St. Andrew's	36,142	21,434	6,699	1,163
14. St. Columba's	32,000	19,253	Nil	3,673
15. St. John's, Agra	76,430	40,000	17,037	14,920
16. St. John's, Palamcottah	3,300	9,628	11,316	917
17. St. Paul's	15,600	70,413	14,400	..
18. St. Stephen's	37,720	54,220	30,430	9,810
19. Wesley, Madras	5,616	10,930	16,040	2,346
20. Wesleyan, Bankura	14,868	48,232	17,832	547
21. Wilson	33,085	143,741	49,998	26,321
22. Diocesan	12,000	8,000	Nil	1,858
23. Sarah Tucker	11,692	4,131	3,360	222

C. CONTINENTAL

1. Malabar	3,000	10,489	4,674	933
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D. INDIAN

1. Alwaye	Nil	61,212	‡	20,635
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E. UNION

1. Kinnaird	9,567	12,414	15,116	..
2. Madras Women's	22,000	9,000	39,000	1,500
3. St. Christopher's	6,537	3,288	15,750	7,475

* Recurring grants. On non-recurring grants the Christian colleges report the sum of Rs. 39,146. † Includes boarding fees.

‡ In both Alwaye and Kottayam the C.M.S. ordinarily maintains a missionary on the staff, whose salaries do not appear on the financial statements of these colleges.

IV. A LIST OF THE COLLEGES CONSIDERED IN THE REPORT

I. ARTS COLLEGES

Burma	Judson College (American Baptist)	Rangoon.
Madras	Madras Christian College (mainly Church of Scotland)	Madras.
	Women's Christian College (Union)	Madras.
	Wesley College (Wesleyan Methodist)	Madras.
	St. Christopher's Training College (Union)	Madras.
	Findlay College (Wesleyan Methodist)	Mannargudi.
	Voorhees College (Dutch Reformed Church of America)	Vellore.
	American College (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions)	Madura.
	Sarah Tucker College (C.M.S.) .	Palamcottah.
	St. John's College (C.M.S.) .	Palamcottah.
	Bishop Heber College (S.P.G.) .	Trichinopoly.
Travancore	Andhra Christian College (United Lutheran Church of America)	Guntur.
	Noble College (C.M.S.)	Masulipatam.
	Union Christian College (Indian)	Alwaye.
	C.M.S. College (C.M.S.)	Kottayam.
	Scott Christian College (L.M.S.) .	Nagercoil.
Bengal	Malabar Christian College (Basel Mission)	Calicut.
	Scottish Church College (Church of Scotland)	Calcutta.
	St. Paul's College (C.M.S.)	Calcutta.
	Diocesan College for Women (Church of England)	Calcutta.
	Serampore College (English Baptist)	Serampore
Bihar and Orissa	Wesleyan College (Wesleyan Methodist)	Bankura.
	St. Columba's College (Dublin Mission, S.P.G.)	Hazaribagh.

United Provinces	St. John's College (C.M.S.)	Agra.
	Ewing Christian College (American Presbyterian)	Allahabad.
	St. Andrew's College (C.M.S.)	Gorakhpur
	Christ Church College (S.P.G.)	Cawnpore.
	Lucknow Christian College (American Methodist Episcopal)	Lucknow.
	Isabella Thoburn College (American Methodist Episcopal)	Lucknow.
Delhi	St. Stephen's College (Cambridge Mission, S.P.G.)	Delhi.
Punjab	Forman Christian College (American Presbyterian)	Lahore.
	Kinnaird College for Women (Union)	Lahore.
	Murray College (Church of Scotland)	Sialkot.
	Gordon College (American United Presbyterian)	Rawalpindi.
N.W.F.P.	Edwardes College (C.M.S.)	Peshawar.
Central India	Indore Christian College (United Church of Canada)	Indore.
Central Provinces	Hislop College (Church of Scotland)	Nagpur.
Bombay	Wilson College (Church of Scotland)	Bombay.

II. THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES

Madras	United Theological College (Union)	Bangalore.
Bengal	Serampore College (English Baptist)	Serampore.
	Bishop's College (Church of England)	Calcutta.
Central Provinces	India Methodist Theological College (American Methodist Episcopal)	Jubbulpore.
United Provinces	United Theological College (mainly American Presbyterian)	Saharanpur.

V. THE QUESTIONNAIRES SENT TO THE COLLEGES

I. QUESTIONNAIRE TO PRINCIPALS OF ARTS COLLEGES

I. HISTORY

Any information will be welcomed which will enable the Commission to form a clear view of the circumstances of the college's foundation and its subsequent development. Please mention any particular interest or need that the college was specially designed to serve, any important events or periods which have left their mark upon its life, and any traditions and ideals which you feel to be specially characteristic of the college. Much of this would no doubt be contained in the prospectuses and reports. Please send these for the last two completed years.

II. PRESENT CONDITIONS

It will help very greatly if you will describe the conditions in your college under the following heads. If your statement can be typewritten on foolscap sheets it will simplify the work.

(a) CONTROL.—What is the managing body of the college? What is the constitutional relation of the college to Mission Board or Boards (i) in India, (ii) at home. Is the Indian Church, either locally or in a wider area, related to the control of the college? Have the staff a share in control? Have the Indian members of staff, (i) Christian, (ii) non-Christian, a share in control? Do you think any change in the system of management will be advisable in the near future in view of the devolution of other branches of mission work?

Is there any representation of (i) the University, or (ii) the public on your board? As a paper constitution does not always give a just picture of actual working, please indicate how in practice your various authorities function.

(b) STAFF.—(i) *Missionary Staff*.—Do the boards guarantee a fixed number of missionaries, or do they give a block grant? If they guarantee a fixed number do they keep up this number? If not, do they pay an equivalent grant? How are the missionaries selected? Does decision rest in India or with the home board? Can the mission transfer your missionary staff to other posts? Do you appoint any Europeans apart from regular missionaries (a) short service, (b) long service? Are all Europeans on the staff expected to regard themselves as "missionaries"?

(ii) *Indian Christians*.—What is their relation to the European members of the staff in respect of (a) salary, (b) status? Do you have any difficulty in recruiting men of the necessary qualifications? If so, what is the reason? What is their missionary influence?

(iii) *Non-Christians*.—How many are old students of the college or of

any other missionary college? In what way, if any, do their status, pay, or privileges differ from those of the Christians? How does their presence affect the Christian influence in the college?

How do your scales of pay and security of tenure for your Indian staff compare with those that are current in (a) Government, (b) University, (c) other aided institutions? Are men attracted elsewhere by better prospects? Do fluctuations in your missionary staff affect the security which you are able to offer to your Indian staff? How do the scales of pay of your Indian staff compare with those of Indian clergy and ministers or evangelists in the same area?

Please supply a table of your staff giving academic qualifications in detail.

(c) STUDENTS.—Please supply a table showing the numbers for the last five years, by religions and by sections, *e.g.* intermediate, degree, post-graduate.

How far have recent University or other developments affected your total numbers, or modified the relative proportion of different religions and classes among them? How far does your college serve the immediate neighbourhood, and from what other regions are students mainly drawn? Can you give any evidence to show what your students do in after life?

Christians.—Can you estimate roughly from a review of the past five years how far the Christian students who came to you were influenced in their choice of your college by (a) geographical, (b) denominational, (c) financial, or (d) other considerations? (We do not ask for figures.)

Have the rise of new colleges, or changes in the University regulations, affected these questions in any way?

What attractions do you offer in the form of scholarships or reduction of fees? Can you help us to form a just impression as to what part your Christian students take in the work of the Church in after life? To what extent are you able to keep in touch with your old students, *e.g.* through old students' or alumni associations?

(d) SUBJECTS AND STANDARDS.—(i) In what faculties do you provide courses, *e.g.* Arts, Science (what branches?), Commerce, or Law?

(ii) In what, if any, subjects does your staff undertake or share in honours or post-graduate teaching?

(iii) What part do members of your staff take in University administration? What University examinerships were held by them during the year 1929-30? (Include intermediate examinerships in the list.)

(iv) Have you found it possible to adopt in your college any variations from the official curriculum?

(e) BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT.—What is the general state of these? Unusually good? Adequate? Or unsatisfactory? Can you quote any recent opinion of University inspectors? Who own the buildings? (It would be a great convenience to the Commission if a rough ground plan of the college compound showing the buildings on it could be supplied.)

(f) FINANCE.—What contribution do the home boards make, (i) in

salaries of missionaries ; (ii) in maintenance grants ; (iii) in scholarships ? Has this total amount fluctuated appreciably during the past five years ? Reckoning the missionaries' salaries at the amounts which they actually receive, what proportion does the home board's contribution bear to the total income of the college ? Do you think any alteration in the system of financial assistance adopted by the boards would make things easier for you ?

What, if any, endowments has the college for general maintenance, or other sources of income other than the mission contribution, Government grants, and fees, *e.g.* subscriptions, donations, etc., obtained in India or from other sources ?

Have you any serious financial anxieties, or do you consider that your resources are adequate to the demands which are likely to be made upon you in the next five or ten years ?

(g) RELIGIOUS CHARACTER AND ACTIVITIES.—Please give a sketch of these under the following heads :

1. (a) Worship, (b) class teaching, (c) personal evangelism, (d) use of literature, (e) general influence.

• 2. Special provision for Christian students : How do they live ? Are they taught separately ? What links have you with local church life ?

What courses of religious teaching do you follow ? Has the college any general policy, or do teachers follow their own syllabuses ? Do all the Christian staff take part ? Can you give any account of the amount of time given by the Christian staff to religious work outside the classroom ?

Is Christian teaching compulsory for all—or for all who have not claimed exemption under a conscience clause ? How do you enforce attendance, if at all ? How many claim exemption ?

Do inter-collegiate arrangements make difficulties of time-table ? Do your post-graduate students receive as much teaching as the undergraduates ?

Do you give any facilities to members of other religions for the practice of their religions in or outside the college, or for being taught by professors of those religions ? If the demand for such facilities grows, what do you think the attitude of the college should be ?

Have you a branch of the Student Christian Association, or of the Y.M.C.A., or any similar society in the college ? How far do your students, Christian and non-Christian, take part in them ? Do members of your Christian staff, Indian and European, value and participate in such activities ?

(h) TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY, ETC.—How many students from your college have in the past five years become (i) pastors, (ii) lay evangelists in Church or mission employ ? Where have they been trained ?

• Do you consider that it would be practicable for your college, or any neighbouring Christian college, to undertake such training ?

• Have any Christian students from your college in the past five years

qualified as doctors and engaged in Christian medical work? If so, where have they been trained?

(i) **HOSTELS.**—What proportion of your students live in hostels? What is your system of supervision? Do the Christians live in separate hostels? What are the opportunities for contact between the Christian staff and the students in the hostels? Do the circumstances of college life make it possible to take full advantage of these opportunities?

Are you able to do anything for the day-students outside the classroom?

(j) **THE COLLEGE AND THE COMMUNITY.**—Can you estimate in any way the depth and range of the influence which your college exerts upon the educational and social life of the Province? Upon its religious life? Can you point to any evidence of the difference between the product of the Christian and other colleges?

Have you been able to initiate or give any special support to any movements for the amelioration of social conditions in the neighbourhood of the college.

(k) **NEIGHBOURING COLLEGES.**—Can you say what other colleges there are in your neighbourhood, how they are controlled (Government, private, committees, etc.), the class of work which they undertake, and the ideals by which they are animated? (We do not expect great detail under this head, but the information is of importance in relation to the function of a Christian college in a given area.)

III. FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Can you indicate any special circumstances in the University or general situation in your area which point to the advisability of any serious change in policy in regard to the part which the Christian missions should play in relation to University education?

1. It has been suggested that they should concentrate upon the creation of a Christian University or Universities and give up their separate colleges. Do you consider such a policy practicable and advisable?
2. It has been suggested that the rising standards and increasing cost of University teaching make it impossible for missionary institutions to provide the quality of education which is demanded, and that a wiser policy would be for the missions to provide and maintain hostels both for Christians and for non-Christians who would attend classes at the State Universities.

Alternatively it is suggested that they should take steps to pool their resources and concentrate upon a few well-equipped institutions at strategic centres.

These questions will be examined when the Commission reaches India, but it will help them in approaching the study of the problem if they have before them some indication of the factors which must be taken into consideration.

2. QUESTIONNAIRE TO PRINCIPALS OF THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES

I. *History*.—Any information will be welcomed which will enable the Commission to form a clear view of the circumstances of the college's foundation and its subsequent development. Please mention any particular interest or need that the college was specially designed to serve, any important events or periods which have left their mark upon its life, and any traditions and ideals which you feel to be specially characteristic of the college. Much of this would no doubt be contained in the prospectuses and reports. Please send these for the last two completed years.

II. Please state the total number of students for the last five years.

III. Please give so far as you can the regions from which the students have come during the last five years and the Christian colleges, if any, at which they have had their earlier education.

IV. If the college serves more than one denomination please give the numbers of students belonging to different denominations in each of the last five years.

V. What educational standard do you demand for entrance? Is the standard effectively enforced in practice?

VI. Please give a statement of the curriculum followed in the college. Have you more than one curriculum, *e.g.* both a B.D. and a L.Th.? If so, please describe both curricula and indicate to what, if any, extent the students in the two departments study together. Is any use made of the vernacular in teaching?

VII. What is the staff of the college, and what are the qualifications of the different members? How many are missionaries and how many Indian Christians? How are the subjects taught distributed among the staff? How are the members of the staff, both missionaries and Indians, appointed? Does the decision rest in India or with the home board? Can the mission transfer your missionary staff to other posts?

VIII. Can you give a statement of the work taken up by the students who have left your college during the last five years, *e.g.* ministerial work, Y.M.C.A. secretaryships, etc. etc.?

IX. How is the college governed? In particular, what is the share of the Church in the government, and what the share of the mission?

X. How is the college financed? What fees are paid by the students for tuition and boarding? To what extent are they supported during their training by the mission or the Church? Are there scholarships or bursaries, and on what principle are they given? If mission help takes the form of the supplying of staff as well as of money, please state this. What, if any, endowments has the college?

XI. Do the authorities of the college contemplate any plans for further co-operation or union with other bodies in theological training? If so, will you please outline those plans?

THE HISTORY OF THE

REVOLUTION

The first part of the history of the revolution is the period of the struggle for independence. It begins with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and ends with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783. This period is characterized by a series of military and political events that led to the establishment of a new nation.

The second part of the history of the revolution is the period of the struggle for a new constitution. It begins with the signing of the Constitution in 1787 and ends with the signing of the Bill of Rights in 1791. This period is characterized by a series of political events that led to the establishment of a new government.

The third part of the history of the revolution is the period of the struggle for a new political system. It begins with the signing of the Constitution in 1787 and ends with the signing of the Bill of Rights in 1791. This period is characterized by a series of political events that led to the establishment of a new government.

The fourth part of the history of the revolution is the period of the struggle for a new political system. It begins with the signing of the Constitution in 1787 and ends with the signing of the Bill of Rights in 1791. This period is characterized by a series of political events that led to the establishment of a new government.

The fifth part of the history of the revolution is the period of the struggle for a new political system. It begins with the signing of the Constitution in 1787 and ends with the signing of the Bill of Rights in 1791. This period is characterized by a series of political events that led to the establishment of a new government.

The sixth part of the history of the revolution is the period of the struggle for a new political system. It begins with the signing of the Constitution in 1787 and ends with the signing of the Bill of Rights in 1791. This period is characterized by a series of political events that led to the establishment of a new government.

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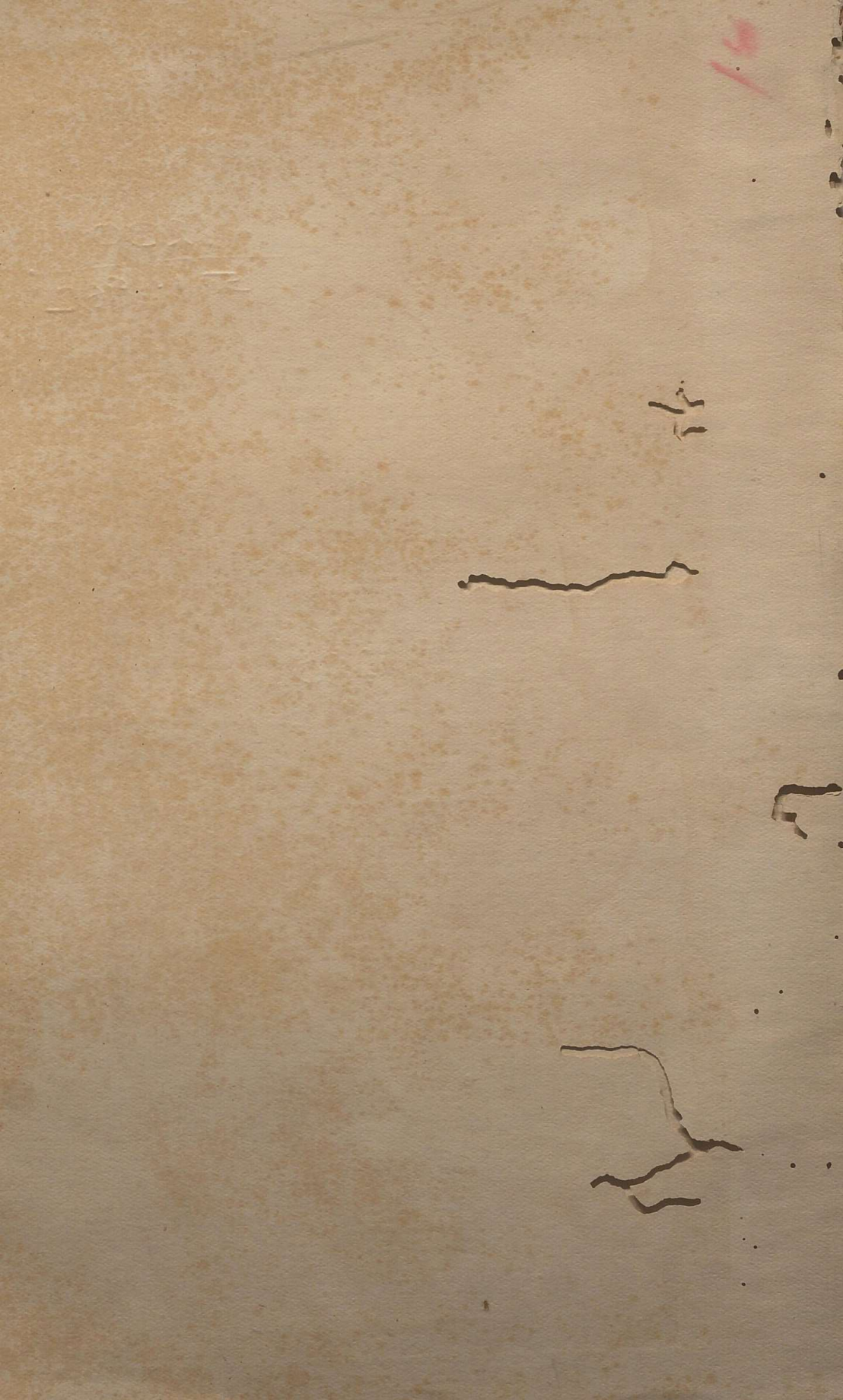
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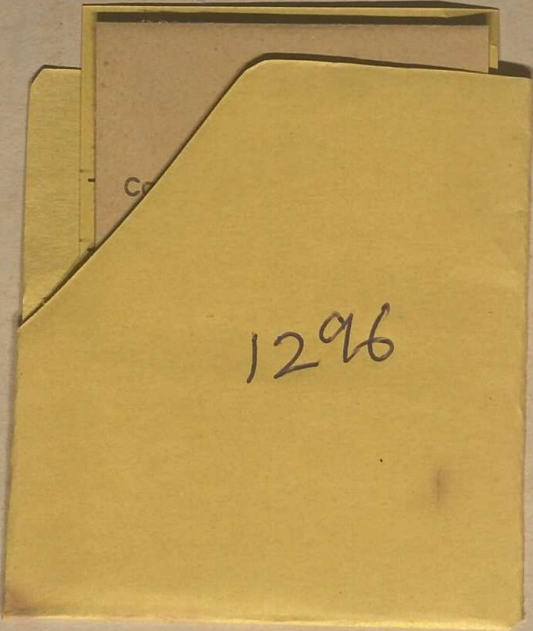
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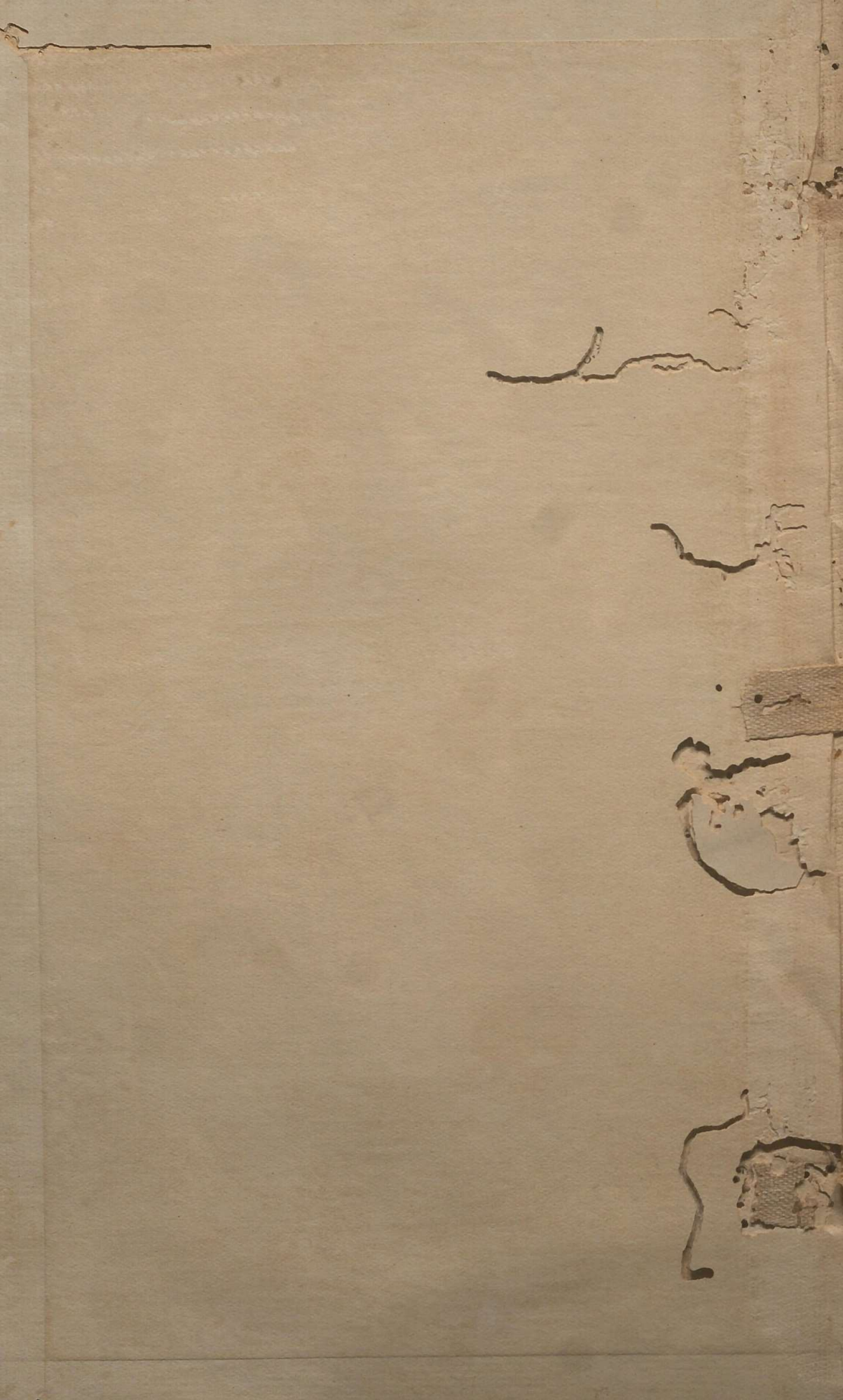
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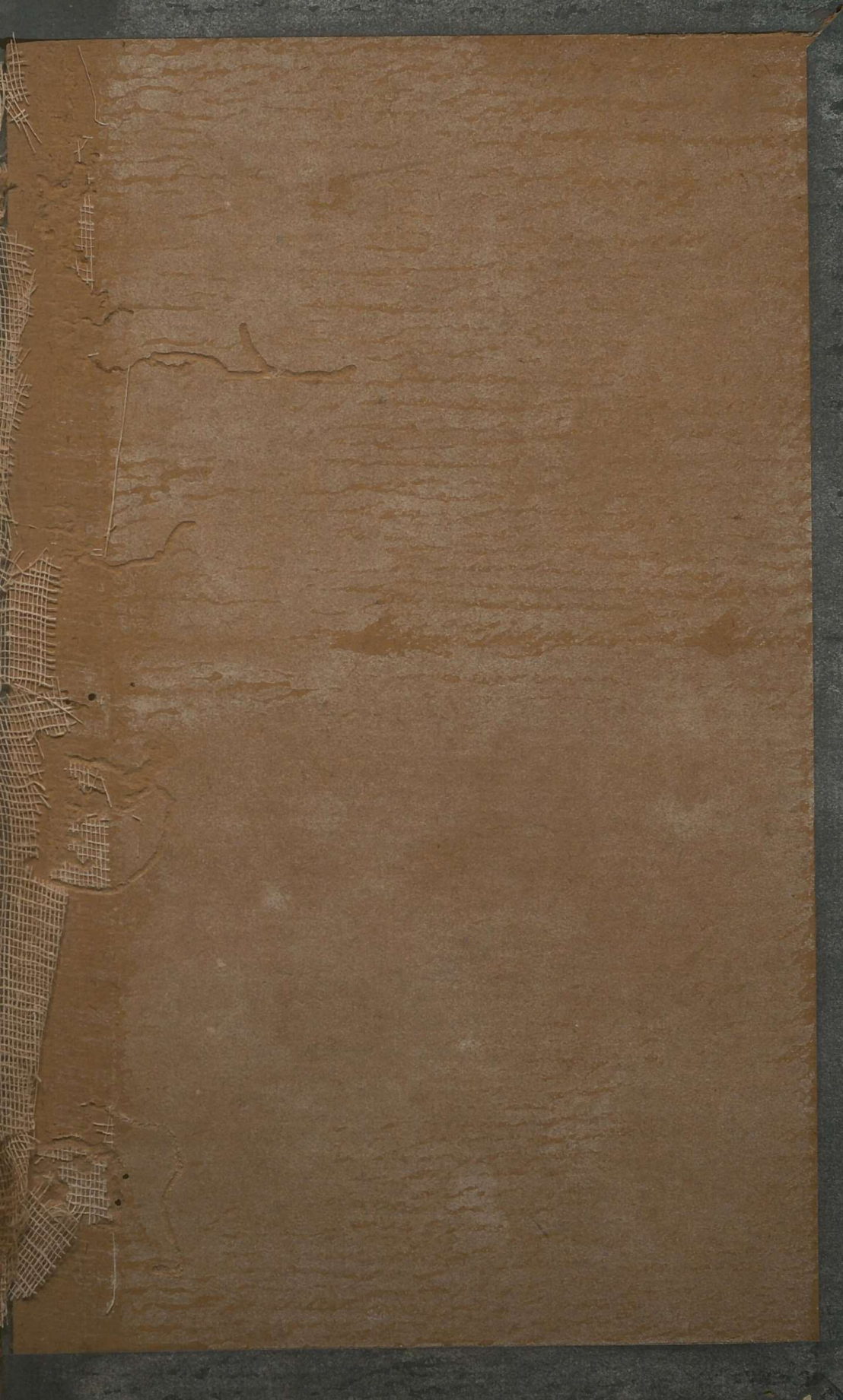
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