

PROBLEMS OF IMPERIAL
TRUSTEESHIP

NATIVE EDUCATION

*Ceylon, Java, Formosa, the Philippines, French
Indo-China, and British Malaya*

BY

THE HON. H. A. WYNDHAM

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FOREWORD

THIS volume is the first of a series of reports under the general title of 'Problems of Imperial Trusteeship', which are to be issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The inception of this scheme of study is due to the initiative of Mr. Hugh Wyndham, who is the author of the present book and who will be in charge of the whole inquiry. Although these reports are being prepared under the auspices of the Study Groups Department of the Institute, and will be published as part of the Study Group series, the method of their preparation varies somewhat from that normally adopted in Group work. As a rule a Group of members of Chatham House are invited by the Council to examine and report on a subject, and they are provided with a Group Secretary to assist them, who is a member of the staff of Chatham House. In this case Mr. Wyndham has voluntarily combined the functions usually performed by the Chairman and the Group Secretary.

Mr. Wyndham has been assisted in this work by an Editorial Committee consisting of Mr. A. I. Mayhew and Mr. J. H. Oldham. In addition the Study Group Department, which maintained close contact with the progress of the work, arranged for a number of authorities to contribute material for Mr. Wyndham's consideration. The Council of Chatham House desire to express their appreciation of the services rendered by the following persons, services which included cartographical work, the checking of statistics, the contributions of original

material, and much helpful comment and criticism on the first draft of the report:

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CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE
OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

March 1933.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

ALTHOUGH the problems connected with the administration of colonial Empires have been a direct concern of several European nations during the last five centuries, they are seldom discussed from the point of view of the experience of the past. It is unfortunate that this is so, for their history has much to teach us, and had more attention been paid to it some mistakes might have been avoided. Similarly, colonial problems are seldom studied comparatively. One colony pays little attention to the lessons which may be learnt from others and tries to work out its own salvation without regard to them. An attempt is made in this book to deal, both historically and comparatively, with certain aspects of the problem of education in six territories. The subjects, therefore, which it covers, having to be traced over a long period of time, must of necessity be limited in number, and many which are obviously of equal, and, in the opinion of some people, perhaps of greater, importance have been excluded. The same remarks apply to much detail. Several of the persons mentioned on the preceding page suggested that the door might be opened wider. It seemed inadvisable to do so for the reasons stated. Nevertheless the points which were brought forward deserve attention, and I will therefore set down some of them.

It was suggested that this essay might have annexed to it copies of the syllabuses and similar information showing the scope of the education at present being given in the schools. Apart from the space which this would require, it seemed out of place in a work which claims to be no more than an introductory essay. Moreover, all the information of this kind can be found in the official reports and documents which are included in the bibliography. Syllabuses which are now in use would also be of no value as illustrating the instruction given in years before they came into operation. For the same reasons I have omitted attempting to summarize in tabular and statistical form the main

features of the education systems which are described. Other suggestions were that a comparison should be made between the effects of the education given in these six territories with the results of that given in European countries; and that more space might be devoted to the influence of Western ideas on the customs, traditions, and ideology of the several peoples. Both these are difficult and complicated subjects which would require a separate study for adequate treatment. Finally some very interesting material was sent in which fell outside the scope of this essay—notably a Memorandum on the Osmania University at Hyderabad. It has all been examined and is filed in the Documents Section of the Information Department of Chatham House, where it can be consulted by any one who is interested.

In conclusion, I must express my warmest thanks to all whose names appear on page vi. Their contributions to and their suggestions and criticisms on the first draft were of great value, and led to many corrections and other improvements.

H. A. WYNDHAM.

CHATHAM HOUSE,
27th February, 1933.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THIS essay deals with the western Pacific where one Asiatic and five Western powers are responsible for dependencies and for the education of their inhabitants.

The pioneer of discovery in this area was Portugal, and it still bears the impress of the work which she accomplished. She was, however, unable to retain her position in it, and she now owns no more than the Port of Macao and the eastern half of the island of Timor. She plays but a small part in our narrative, being staged only in the opening scenes of Europe's connexion with Ceylon, where she was followed first by the Dutch and afterwards by the British. This explains the inclusion of the five chapters allotted to Ceylon, which is not in the western Pacific. Although Malacca had a similar experience it was on too small a scale to serve our purpose. The Dutch have exercised a control over Java since the beginning of the seventeenth century, interrupted only by the short French and British periods early in the nineteenth century. The Spaniards ruled the Philippines from the sixteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries, when they were taken by the United States. At the same time the Japanese acquired Formosa from the Chinese, who had held it since the middle of the seventeenth century. Great Britain's connexion with the Straits Settlements has existed for less than a century and a half, and the French possession of Indo-China is even younger. Thus the educational policy of only four of the eight powers we have named—Portugal, Spain, Holland, and China—come up for discussion during the first three centuries of our narrative; then Great Britain and France join in, to be followed by Japan and the United States.

Our object is to attempt to indicate the educational policies of these governing powers during the four centuries which the book covers. The chief emphasis is therefore given to the school education of the native

inhabitants of the dependencies throughout our period. The special problems connected with technical, professional, and university training are for reasons of space not as fully dealt with as they might be. Similarly some very recent developments which are still in process of evolution are not mentioned.

We can also limit our subject to some extent by concentrating on the chief points of contact of the colonizing powers and the dependencies and on the predominant element of the native populations. Portuguese and Dutch authority in Ceylon was confined mainly to the western and northern maritime provinces, and the interior highlands resisted penetration until the British brought the whole island under control. Its population, which now numbers $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions, is predominantly Sinhalese and Tamil. The aboriginal Veddahs and the so-called Moors are small groups and need not come within our cognizance. The Dutch have made the most of Java, while the other islands of the Netherlands Indies were comparatively neglected until the beginning of the twentieth century. Java has a population of over $41\frac{1}{2}$ millions, more than 800 to the square mile. All are of Malayan stock with the exception of about 200,000 Europeans, half a million Chinese, and some thousands of Arab traders, whom we can ignore. In the Philippine Islands the Christian Filipinos greatly outnumber the rest of the population; and 44 per cent. of the total of $20\frac{3}{4}$ millions live in the island of Luzon. The Formosans are predominantly Chinese. Of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ million inhabitants only 86,000 are aboriginal natives, who live in the eastern fastnesses cut off by a guard line. In Indo-China French policy can be studied to greater advantage in Cochin-China, in Annam, and in Tonkin than in Laos or Cambodia. They have a homogeneous Annamese population which represents 85 per cent. of the total of $20\frac{1}{2}$ millions for the whole of French Indo-China. The people of British Malaya were, until the nineteenth century, predominantly Malay; but recently the influx of Chinese and of Tamil immigrants has effected a radical change which we shall have to take into

account. The British Government has greater control over the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States than over the Unfederated States. We deal, therefore, with the two former.

With the exception of Ceylon and Indo-China, all the dependencies included in our study contained Malay populations; and, apart from Formosa, had been wholly or partly assimilated to one or other of the ancient and highly organized civilizations and religions of Asia. Before Europeans discovered the Philippine Islands Islam had secured no more than a foothold in Luzon in the neighbourhood of Manila. Only in the Western half of Mindanao and in Sulu was it sufficiently firmly established to withstand the proselytizing zeal of the Spanish missionaries. The Portuguese found the Sinhalese to be Buddhists who maintained the Hindu caste system, omitting the Brahmins, as the basis of their social and economic organization. The Brahmins, however, still held sway amongst the Tamils of Jaffnapatam in the north, who were Hindus.

The Dutch found Java, which in the fourteenth century had been the centre of Hindu influence in Indonesia, almost entirely converted to Islam. It had been obliged, however, to adjust itself to many of the political institutions and religious beliefs which it found already established there, some of which were of Hindu origin and others relics of the earlier paganism. The Giau Chi of Tonkin, from whom the Annamese descend, were thoroughly assimilated to Chinese culture and, carrying it southwards, before the close of the eighteenth century had spread it over the present-day Annam and Cochin-China, absorbing in the process the Chams and the Khmers who had previously been under the influence of Hinduism. Siam barred the way to their further extension and protected the Malay States of the present Federation, which remained Malay in population until the nineteenth century created the existing diversity in their inhabitants. When the Dutch embarked on their missionary campaign in Formosa early in the seventeenth century, the Chinese

numbered approximately 20,000 who were mainly engaged in trade. The rest of the country was still in the hands of the Malay people who had occupied it since the sixth century. After the ejection of the Dutch by Koxinga, the Chinese entered it in overwhelming numbers and pursued their customary policy of stringent assimilation. The Spaniards found the Philippines somewhat more advanced than the Dutch had found Formosa; but they continued in undisturbed occupation of them for over three centuries, and their influence was therefore more permanent.

Another fact must be noted. The Dependencies we have chosen for our study are nearly all islands. Only British Malaya and French Indo-China are continental. It is even arguable whether the description should be applied to the former, for it is contained within a narrow peninsula. Annam also is separated from the continent by a mountain range. Its population, before the Annamese penetration, was Malay rather than Mongol. The large river systems which flank it and which are the chief geographical features of Cochin-China and of Tonkin, were not suited, as the French discovered, to be outlets of wide continental hinterlands. The Annamese, also, before they secured control over it and over Cochin-China, had freed themselves from their dependence upon China and had successfully resisted the Manchu invasion. And, although towards the end of the nineteenth century they deliberately revived their former vassalage to the Chinese Empire, they did so only as a convenience and for diplomatic reasons.

The insularity of our territories conveniently emphasizes the predominantly maritime character of the early Portuguese and Dutch Empires in the East. In this they differed from the continental empires of Portugal and Spain in Central and South America. On the other hand, Spanish policy in the Philippines, although of necessity insular, was similar in its social objectives to Spanish policy on the American continent. With this exception, therefore, and with the exception also of the Chinese in

Formosa, contact between the governing powers and their dependencies in the western Pacific was at first largely local and indirect; and, at the end of the eighteenth century, after three hundred years of commercial activity, the native political and social organizations of Java and of Ceylon still survived or could without difficulty be restored.

With the arrival of the nineteenth century, however, this abstentionist period closed and a remarkable cycle of assimilation was opened. The new movement was inspired by high humanitarian motives, by faith in the beneficent influence of individualism, by a conviction that European civilization was the best for all mankind, and by an awakened sense of the duty of trusteeship for native races. It was, therefore, more destructive of native polities and societies than had been the previous three centuries of commercial selfishness. Its instruments and their effects were economic, social, and political. They were less conspicuous during the first half than during the second half of the century, which can, for this reason, be divided into two almost equal periods.

The beginning found Ceylon in the hands of the British, who soon demolished the independence of the interior kingdom of Kandy and embarked upon a policy based on introducing the English language, on undermining the authority of the native rulers, and on revolutionizing the economic basis of Sinhalese society. The country was opened up by roads, capital and labour were imported, and the plantation system, for which the interior was more suited than were the maritime provinces, was inaugurated. Education, to use the contemporary description of it, was diffused. The pace was much slower in Java and in the Philippines. After the uncompromising attempts at reform of Sir Stamford Raffles in the former during only five years of government, the Dutch, with characteristic caution, hesitated to preserve such parts of his work as appeared to be out of harmony with the structure of Javanese society; especially that part of it which was designed to introduce a system of individual peasant

proprietorship, which to Raffles appeared to be in accordance with 'the universal forces' by which mankind is actuated. Still more reactionary was van den Bosch's Culture system. It was a return to the methods of the previous century, and provided a large revenue for the mother country from which the cultivators of Java reaped no benefit at all. The second half of the century, however, saw it abolished, and in its place a paternalism was introduced into the Dutch native administration which fully made up for the previous exploitations and was distinctly assimilative in effect. In the Philippines there was no more than the beginnings of an awakening, which became wider during the second half of the century. The opening of the Suez Canal brought them appreciably nearer to Europe. At the same time the contemporary disturbances in Spain caused an unwonted emigration to them and imported new liberal and anti-clerical doctrines. Nevertheless, when the United States of America assumed responsibility for them at the end of the century, the Filipinos could still be correctly described as living in 'an atmosphere of retarded progress'.¹

The middle of the century also saw the missionary campaign in Formosa, which the Dutch had been obliged to abandon two centuries before, renewed by the Dominicans and by the English and Canadian Presbyterian Churches. In the meantime the island had become predominantly Chinese, with the exception of the mountainous interior, where a remnant of the former Malayan inhabitants still carried on head-hunting operations. Still more important was the beginning of the Government of the French in Indo-China. They have always been believers in assimilation and they showed but little hesitation in applying it logically to Cochin-China. On the other hand, the experience thus gained caused them to proceed more circumspectly in Tonkin and to be still more abstentionist in Annam.

The nineteenth century left as a legacy to the twentieth, in all our territories except Formosa and Malaya, a growing

¹ *The Times*, 9th April 1932.

national consciousness which found expression in an increasing demand for a greater share in their government by their native inhabitants. Two main causes were responsible. In the first place, during the ascendancy of assimilation, the education imparted by the governing powers had naturally been Western. It had had as one of its primary objects the training of natives to serve in junior government posts. The opportunities thus opened to one generation did not satisfy the next, amongst which were individuals who had acquired degrees in European universities. The father was satisfied with a clerkship in a government department under a European chief. The son aspired to replace the latter. Moreover, the supply of Western educated youths overtopped the demand, and many were left disappointed and disillusioned. Secondly, the shrinkage of the world, due to the rapid improvement of international communications, facilitated the export of Western ideas, while the material development of the dependencies, which was an essential part of assimilation, carried them into the remotest villages.

In the twentieth century the impatience and unrest which were the symptoms of awakening nationalism were greatly strengthened by the rise of Japan into a first-class power according to Western standards. Her defeat of Russia had wide repercussions. The movement also acquired some added momentum after the Great War, through the employment of Oriental and African troops by the Allies, and through the bewildering uprise of the cinema industry, which seemed to delight in portraying Western civilization in its most sordid and vulgar aspects. At the same time the substitution of motor for horse transport has diminished the personal and intimate relations between European officials and natives which in the past has been one of the most admirable features of many colonial administrations. Though the area covered by the former more leisurely method of travel was restricted, the effects were more concentrated.

While nationalism grew apace, European faith in

assimilation diminished. It was apparent that Western education had had a disturbing and disintegrating effect. The material development which had accompanied it also came in for much criticism. It had perforce been dependent upon unskilled native labour, the employment of which was, at times, open to grave and undeniable abuses. Both education and development had tended to desocialize individual natives, and to cut them adrift from their ancestral traditions without furnishing them with adequate substitutes. The result has been that the growing revolt against the dominance of the West has not taken the form of a movement to preserve non-Western systems, but rather to get rid of them; and one of the paradoxes of the present situation is that their defence is now being advocated in Europe, which a century ago started the policy which has undermined them.

In discussing this problem of adjustment we must bear in mind the national characteristics of the governing states. If the goal of the government of a dependency by a European or an Asiatic power is to be the production of a synthesis of the two cultures, the characteristics of both must be taken into account. There never has been, and there is not now, any fundamental difference in ideal between colonial powers, but the national characteristics and predilections of the people emerge almost unconsciously in their treatment of colonial as well as of domestic questions. The native caution of the Dutch has had its influence on their educational policy in Java. The French have always been, and still are, tinged with a traditional bent towards assimilation. The British have been more fickle; and nowhere has the reaction of liberal opinion against its old gospel of assimilation been more marked than in the British Empire. Nevertheless, the assimilative forces have become so uncontrollable that little can be done beyond endeavouring to guide them in paths which will create as little further disturbance and disruption as possible.

When Spain passed off the stage with the close of the nineteenth century, the United States of America, some-

what unwillingly,¹ yet in a spirit of assured confidence, took the opportunity of initiating a campaign of assimilation in the Philippines which for vigour and concentration puts all the nineteenth-century movements into the shade.

'It was based on the assumption which came naturally to the American public, that two things were competent to solve practically all social problems, one being free political institutions and the other universal education.'²

Twenty years later President Wilson announced that through their agency the islands had become ripe for representative self-government. Nevertheless, the degree to which it can safely be introduced remains a subject of anxious speculation.³ Japan is still, to some extent, under the influence of the Tokugawa period of her history, which isolated her from contact with the outside world, leaving her highly centralized, and inclined to show the same tendency towards assimilation as does France.

Another fact which emerges from the present situation is that it is impossible to discuss the education given in schools without regard to other factors, such as the influence of the West with its modern communications, science, press, organization, production technique, and its alluring notions of personality, liberty, and democracy. This is, indeed, the most potent educational force of all; but it offers almost insuperable difficulties in dealing with it owing to its wide implications. An attempt is made in this book to indicate one or two of the directions in which it has operated and their bearing on the problems of direct education. For this purpose land tenure and the

¹ The American delegates who negotiated the Treaty of Paris agreed by only a majority of one.

² See record of paper by Dr. Paul Monroe and of a discussion at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, available in the library.

³ The Philippine Independence Act, which was passed by Congress in January 1933 over President Hoover's veto, provides for a transition period of ten years before full independence is achieved. It requires the Philippine legislature to summon a Convention to draft a Constitution which, after being approved by the President of the United States, must be submitted to a plebiscite of the Philippine people.

village organization have been taken as peculiarly appropriate to the peoples with whom we are dealing. They are all mainly agriculturists producing from their own lands, and they have all in the past lived under more or less well-developed village organizations. Their political and economic interests were confined to the land and the village, and the influence of Westernism approaches very near to them through these two channels. Considerations of space make it impossible to endeavour also to appraise its educative and modernizing effect on their family and social customs, on their administration of justice, and on many other factors, more or less important, which properly speaking should be brought into account.

Finally, space must be found for the fullest possible treatment of missionary education as well as of the government-controlled systems—the area we have chosen being particularly rich in missionary history and experience.

In the following chapters we approach each territory separately, and in geographical order, beginning with Ceylon, passing through Java and the Philippines to Formosa, and thence to Indo-China and the Malay States. In reading them, the general historical framework, a sketch of which has been given in this chapter, should be borne in mind. For example, the Japanese victories of 1904 influenced native opinion in all the countries with which we deal, but we have not considered it necessary to draw attention to it repeatedly. The last chapter is a brief review of some of the contents of the book. The map at the end shows the geographical position of the countries, and a table of their populations is attached to it.

CHAPTER II

CEYLON (I)

The Portuguese (1517-1656)

THE Portuguese found a highly organized society in Ceylon based on caste and on an elaborate system of land tenure. The right to all land was centred in the sovereign, and the granting of it formed the basis on which the Government subsisted. Every parcel of land in each village was held on condition of its possessor either rendering service in accordance with his caste or paying a specified share of the produce. The service to be given attached permanently to each holding. A holding allotted to a 'lascarin' or soldier could pass on his death only to another, and if the son of the deceased owner were not a lascarin he became one if he inherited from his father. The plot of an iron-worker always was occupied by a worker in iron, and so forth. In this way the State was guaranteed a known number of professional servants. Lands granted on these tenures were transferable by inheritance—a 'Marala', or death duty, being then due to the sovereign. A third form of grant took the form of lands or whole villages which were vested in office-holders in consideration of services performed for the Government, and which reverted to the sovereign when the grantee died or was removed from office. Such grants were also made as endowments of religious institutions. Each village was a composite entity of services and dues which were owed to its immediate lord, be he the king or some officer of State, individual or institution to whom the sovereign had granted it as a remuneration or as an endowment. The usual gradation of officers connected the king and the cultivators. Each province or 'Dissawa' had at its head an officer of the same name. Under him were subordinate officers in charge of districts and in each village two or more headmen according to its size and importance. Parallel to this civil administration and also

subject to the Dissawas was a military organization under Moodeliars, with Lascarins in the lowest rank.

The difficulty which the Portuguese would have in adjusting themselves to a society in which tradition, birth, and the interests of the community determined immutably the status and functions of each individual, was soon apparent. Their proselytizing activity at once raised a problem. They found the national government in a state of disintegration. The paramount king, Bhuwanaika Bahu, had his capital at Cotte, which was only six miles from Colombo. He had direct control over the four Dissawas of Matara, Saparāgamwa, the Four Corales, and the Seven Corales. A part of these territories was held as a fief by his brother Mayadunne, who had his capital at Sitawaka thirty miles inland, and who was in open revolt against Bhuwanaika. On the central plateau of the island, the Kanda Uda Rata, which remained the base of native opposition to European incursion until the nineteenth century, another vassal, Vikrama Bahu, had also proclaimed his independence. The Portuguese seized the opportunity afforded by this dynastic quarrel to come to the assistance of Bhuwanaika, and to reduce him to the position of dependence on them in the expectation that his conversion to Christianity, which was to be the price of their support, would be imitated by his subjects. Bhuwanaika, however, declined to change his faith and denied that he had ever undertaken to do so. On the other hand, he offered no objection to any of his subjects becoming Christians if they did so out of conviction and so long as they continued to pay their dues, perform their services, and retain their positions in their complex native society. He complained that converts did not do so; and that they embraced Christianity for the purpose of avoiding the consequence of offences which they had committed and for which they would be accountable to him if they were not, through having been baptized, protected by the Portuguese. Others evaded the payment of their land dues, and their heirs their maralas; and the king found himself prevented from taking away their lands when they had defaulted. These

complaints were received sympathetically by John III of Portugal, who issued a decree on 13 March 1543¹ ordering that all Bhuwanaika's subjects who became Christians should continue to pay their taxes and dues, and that no baptized slaves should be liberated without payment of an indemnity to their owners. On their part the Missionaries accused the king of ill-treating converts, of confiscating their property, and of refusing to give them appointments. They attributed the many reversions to Buddhism to these causes and to the failure of the Portuguese authorities to protect Christian natives from persecution. Similar mutual recriminations are usual under such circumstances, and both sides can generally be more or less justified. Nevertheless, their primary cause was the expectation of the Portuguese that converts should become detached from native society and adhere to them. They supplied them with a special cap to wear as a token of conversion. They appointed a Father of the Christians to assist them and to look after their interests. Under these circumstances conversion was apt to become a matter of convenience. 'So long as it served their purpose to live with the Portuguese they received the Faith of Christ; when an occasion offered to throw off the Portuguese domination and they took up arms, with the same facility they abandoned the faith.'²

The difficulty was to some extent overcome by an important political change soon after the death of Bhuwanaika in 1551. He was succeeded by his grandson Dharmapala, who in 1580 made a will bequeathing his kingdom to the Portuguese. On his death, therefore, the King of Portugal became the sovereign of Bhuwanaika's territories. In order to persuade the people to accept the change a convention was held at Malwana in 1597, attended by two delegates from each district, who took the oath of allegiance on behalf of those they represented. At the same time the Portuguese suggested that the

¹ Sousa Viterbo: *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão*, 1551, tom. x. Document xxi.

² Fernão de Queyroz: *The Conquest of Ceylon*, c. 1671. Folio 309, vol. ii, p. 697.

transfer of sovereignty might reasonably be accompanied by the application in future of the laws of Portugal, and that the local nobility should enjoy the same rights and privileges as the Portuguese. The delegates declined to submit to such a wholesale assimilation, pointing out that they were Sinhalese 'brought up from their youth in the laws which they knew and observed and that it would be a very grave matter for them to abandon those laws and take others in their place'. They were prepared to serve the King of Portugal provided their laws and customs were guaranteed to them without alteration. The Portuguese were obliged to agree, and a convention was drafted in which they promised 'always to preserve for the kingdoms and vassals of Ceylon all their laws, rights and customs without any change or diminution whatever'. The Sinhalese on their side swore 'to serve the King, Our Lord, faithfully as if he were our national King and to render him the same taxes and other obligations which they had rendered to their Kings in the past'.¹

The converted Sinhalese now found themselves under a Christian sovereign, who naturally saw no reason why they should not pay him their dues, and moreover was inclined to insist all the more on them adopting Christian customs. The rigour which the Portuguese ecclesiastics and laymen employed to this end was one of the causes of their failure. On the other hand, the new sovereign could, without infringing the rights of any one else, exempt them from the *marala* in consideration of their paying Church dues.

Another effect of the change on the position of the Portuguese was that they became the authority with the right to allot villages and land to individuals and to institutions for services rendered or as endowments. The Captain-General, the Captain-Major of the Field, the Superintendent of the Treasury, the Captains of Colombo, Galle, Negombo, and Kalutturai, the Sergeant-Major, the Ouvidor, the Chief of the Customs, and the Captains of the Infantry, all officers new to the native polity, were

¹ Ribeiro: *History of Ceylon*, 1909, pp. 91-3, and 104.

endowed in proportion to their several responsibilities. Of those villages which had hitherto been the endowments of pagodas a sufficient number were transferred to secure the maintenance of the Christian religious Orders: an example of the conversion of pagan riches to the use of the faithful. Many pagodas were destroyed. Villages were granted to Portuguese who had taken part in the conquest and to native Christians who had proved their loyalty.

Native Christians were also preferred in the allotment of vacant holdings. The preparation of the 'thombo' or register of the various services and dues which each individual had to render in respect of each plot, which was divided into two parts—a head thombo and a land thombo—and on which the efficient administration of the system depended, was put in hand in 1607. The King of Portugal sent out a special officer for the purpose who performed it conscientiously with the assistance of local native officials. They were greatly hampered by the destruction of all previous records in the incessant wars from which the country had suffered.

It is easy to see that many of these actions went contrary to the laws and customs which the Portuguese had undertaken to maintain. A village belonging to a Portuguese lord found its customs revolutionized in several respects. Its lord regarded it as a source from which the largest income possible should be drawn and not merely the old customary dues and services; and additional exactions were demanded. Secondly, the lord's share of the crops in the past had been brought by the villagers to the holding reserved for him in the village, where he took delivery of it. Now villagers were expected to carry it to such place as he directed. Thirdly, the village headman, whose proper functions were to superintend the people, to see that they were not oppressed, that the land was cultivated, and that the crops were collected, became the lord's rapacious and grasping agent, using his opportunities to further his own interests. Fourthly, little attention was paid to caste distinctions in appointing native officials, and villagers of a high caste often found

themselves in humiliating positions and ordered to perform services, such as being a bearer of a palankin, which were below their dignity. A significant result of the disregard of caste distinctions by the Portuguese was that whereas formerly no bearer of burdens or of palankins was included in the 'Vellale' or cultivator caste, a new class of coolies now emerged who were the degraded descendants of Vellales who had performed these low caste services. Fifthly, the favouritism to Portuguese and to native Christians in the distribution of villages and of lands meant that natives who would formerly have benefited were now neglected. Moreover, the principle that a vacant holding should be allotted only to a man of the particular profession which attached to it was departed from; and, with the Portuguese, led to a lowering of the standard of culture, for they were 'poor husbandmen and inexperienced'.¹

All these complaints were included in a petition which the lascarins and other castes handed to the Governor in 1638, forty years after the signing of the Convention of Malwana, in which they drew attention to the fundamental fact that the Portuguese had taken no steps to acquaint themselves with the laws and customs which they had undertaken to maintain. They had retained the form while using it for their own purposes and in order to encourage the spread of Christianity. Native society would have disintegrated under such treatment if Portuguese authority had not been limited to the immediate neighbourhood of the coast settlements and forts.

The area covered by the missionary orders was equally restricted, and yet the result of their work is the most permanent memorial of the Portuguese period. Their method of bringing home the truths of the Christian Faith to their neophytes is described by St. Francis Xavier, who has left us an account of his way of catechizing of which the following are the opening paragraphs:

'The people being assembled, whoever is to give the explanation of the catechism should first make the sign of the cross, and then

¹ Baradas: 'Description of Ceylon in 1613' in *Monthly Literary Register*, 1896, vol. iv, p. 156.

with his head uncovered and his hand raised to heaven, he should pronounce in a clear and intelligible voice with two boys ready to repeat it after him, the Lord's prayer, he saying each word by itself, and the boys each word at once after him.

'Then the catechist says to the congregation: "Now, my brethren, let us make profession of our faith, and let us make acts of the chief and most excellent virtues, which are called theological, and which are faith, hope and charity." Then he is to begin with faith. "Do you believe in the only true God, Almighty, Eternal, Immense, Infinitely Wise?" All are to answer; "Yes, Father, by the Grace of God, we do believe." The catechist must go on: "Then all repeat after me this prayer; O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, grant us grace firmly to believe this article of our holy faith. Let us add in order to obtain it a Pater Noster." This prayer is to be said by all to themselves in secret. Then the teacher, raising his voice again says: "Now then all repeat after me: O holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, obtain for us from God the grace to believe most firmly this article of our holy faith; and in order to obtain this favour from Her, let us all say to ourselves in Her honour, the Hail Mary." After all have secretly repeated it, the teacher continues: "Do you believe, my brethren, that the true God is the One and only God, One in essence and Three in persons—God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost?" All are to answer: "Yes, Father, by the grace of God, we believe this." Then the two prayers mentioned above are to be repeated, and the Pater and Ave said secretly by the people, each standing in his own place. Then the next question is to be put. "Do you believe, my brethren, that the same God is the Creator of all things, that He is the Saviour and Glorifier?" And all answer: "We truly believe this, Father, by the Grace of God." Then they say the two prayers, and Pater and Ave. In this way all the other articles of the creed are gone through, principally those which relate to the humanity of Jesus Christ our Lord.'

In a letter of 1548 he gives an account of his method in Malacca and the Moluccas:

'I used to give instruction from the pulpit at the morning mass to the Portuguese; and in the afternoon I used to instruct the boys and girls, their slaves and the free Christian Natives, in discourses that each would understand, going through the explanations of the heads of the Christian doctrine one by one. Then on a certain day in the week I used to preach a catechetical sermon on the Articles of the Creed and the Sacraments of Confession and Communion to

a congregation consisting of the wives of the Portuguese, native and half-breed. If this method of instruction were kept up vigorously and continuously everywhere and constantly, there would be in a very few years a very great and profitable result.'

His instructions to missionaries on education were equally explicit.

'You cannot find time', he writes, 'for the attention necessary to the holding of schools everywhere, day after day. So you must appoint in each village or station fitting teachers and caracopoli, as we have already arranged, and these must assemble the children every day at a certain time and place, and teach and drive into them the elements of reading and religion, and the prayers which all must know by heart. And that this may be done with greater exactness, you must never omit, whenever in your circuits you visit any particular village, to have all the children assembled, and make them give an account, in the presence of their teachers, of what they have learnt, so as to put to the proof their diligence as well as that of their teachers, taking careful notice how much of the sacred prayers each one can recite without fault, and how far each one has got in the learning and understanding of the catechism.'

The remarkable results which St. Francis Xavier achieved were due to his personality. Wherever he planted the seed it took permanent root. It was never entirely eradicated even in Japan. His principal difficulty lay in persuading the converts to abandon habits and customs which were contrary to Christian morals. It was the obstinacy of the Hindus on this point which caused him to go to Japan, where, in the end, he fared no better.

'The whole race of Indians,' he wrote to Ignatius Loyola in 1549, 'as far as I have been able to see, is very barbarous; and it does not like to listen to anything that is not agreeable to its own manners and customs, which, as I say, are barbarous. It troubles itself very little to learn about anything divine and things which concern salvation. Most of the Indians are of vicious disposition, and are averse to virtue. Their irritability, levity and inconstancy of mind are incredible; they have hardly any honesty, so inveterate are their habits of sin and cheating.'¹

The Jesuits who remained in India after he had gone to

¹ Coleridge: *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 1872.

Japan determined to try the experiment of an external conformity to their customs as a means of gradually introducing Christianity to them. This same idea underlay their activities in China, though they did not carry it so far there as they did in southern India. Neither did they in Ceylon. The memorizing of a catechism remained their standard form of Christian teaching. In 1641, for example, in the area which they controlled from Colombo, they claimed 27,602 Christians, 3,981 catechumens, and 608 school children. In 1644 in Jaffnapatam they had 24,366 Christians 'fit for confession', 4,620 attending catechism classes, and 609 at school. Catechism classes were held twice a day, the girls in the morning, the boys in the evening. A distinguished visitor would be welcomed by the children marching before him 'devoutly singing the doctrine'.¹ The more accurately it was memorized the better the performance. But the Jesuits went farther. They insisted on the use of the vernacular. The other orders relied more on the Portuguese lingua franca. As soon as the Jesuits arrived in Ceylon they applied themselves to learning Sinhalese. Coming from southern India they already had a knowledge of Tamil. As early as 1545 a Sinhalese Catechism was produced at Goa, and other works in the same language followed.² They made their teaching more simple and less mechanical. They attracted the Sinhalese to church by love rather than by fear and did not punish them if they failed to attend. They held that natives were more impressed by what they saw than by what they heard. They followed their regular practice of organizing theatrical displays, and erected platforms outside their churches where scenes from Bible history were presented on holidays.³ No more

¹ Manoel Baradas: *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

² 1610. A translation of prayers, a Life of Christ, Anecdotes of the Saints, and a Catechism. 1612. A grammar and other works prepared at Matragama. 1626. Similar works prepared at Colombo. 1645. A Sinhalese grammar.

³ Examples of the scenes depicted are: (1) Simeon receiving the infant Jesus in his arms and taking him into the Jewish temple. (2) A play of

striking tribute can be paid to them than the Rev. Philippus Baldaeus's. He was the first Dutch Reformed Church Minister in Jaffnapatam, and he found that the teaching of the Jesuits had far exceeded in effectiveness the teaching of the Franciscans and Dominicans. He even claims to have followed in their footsteps, so far as they were consistent with his conscience and were 'consonant with the genius of the Natives'. Unfortunately he does not give examples of the ways in which he imitated them.

The Jesuits' most important educational ventures were the colleges in Colombo and Jaffnapatam. The former was started in 1605, six years after the Order had issued its *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu*, which divided the education given in Jesuit establishments into three stages. The first or 'Grammar class' was designed to be an 'exercise of the memory and it included Latin'. The 'Humanities' and 'Rhetoric' classes which followed were intended to develop the capacity for formulating and expressing ideas. Accordingly the elementary school of the Colombo College employed two fathers, one teaching Latin to the more advanced students and the other 'reading, writing and singing' and Christian morals and doctrine to the younger. It grew rapidly. It was designed for scholars of Portuguese parentage, who were mostly Eurasians. In 1620 it was attended by 150 'sons of Portuguese'. But it also served as a College for the sons of prominent Sinhalese. Two sons of the Dissawa of the Seven Corales were educated there early in the seventeenth century and three sons of the King of Uva. Every Saturday and every day in Lent the pupils went in procession through the streets with lighted candles singing 'Ave Marias' and other prayers. In 1620 the second stage was reached and lectures in 'Moral Theology' were started.

The college in Jaffnapatam had a staff consisting of a which the argument was a comparison between the Synagogue with the Ark of the Covenant and the Church with the Mother of God. (3) At Christmas 'a devout performance in the presence of a curious and well-made crib'.

Rector, a Father who taught Latin, a Lay Brother who looked after the property and who was Procurator, and a virtuous secular priest in charge of the school. The situation in Jaffnapatam, which became a Portuguese province in 1621, was more favourable to intensive educational and missionary work than was Colombo, for it was isolated from the reactionary influences of the interior by the deserted area of Wannia and by the sea; and its children earned the reputation of being the best educated in the Far East.

The influence of the Portuguese was confined to the coast. Nevertheless, their occupation left a permanent effect on the population. They established Portuguese as the *lingua franca* not only of the Far East but of the coasts of Africa also, and thereby greatly facilitated intercourse between Ceylon and other European nations. The Dutch never succeeded in stamping out its use and were obliged to print catechisms and translations of the Bible in it. Nor did the Dutch succeed in uprooting the Roman Catholic Church which the Portuguese also established and which continues to-day. They brought into being a Eurasian population which was unconnected with native society and added a new ethnical group. They influenced Sinhalese dress and taught them to use and manufacture firearms. But on the whole they did little to undermine Sinhalese society and the customs on which it rested; and when the Dutch replaced them in the middle of the seventeenth century they had to grapple with the same problems as their predecessors.

CHAPTER III

CEYLON (2)

The Dutch (1658-1795)

THE Dutch dealt with the problem in a different way from the Portuguese. They were more interested in trade than in either the conquistador or the Christian propaganda sides of empire building. Their control over the maritime provinces of Ceylon was at first even more restricted than had been the Portuguese. It varied from time to time with the relative aggressiveness of the Kandyan kings, against whom they avoided embarking on military expeditions. They contented themselves with exercising pressure through their control of the ports and of the commerce of the island. This state of affairs continued until 1766, when a successful military expedition and the condition of starvation to which Kandy was reduced put them into possession of the whole of the maritime provinces. Their effective influence over them remained, however, as limited as it was before. Of necessity it diminished the farther it was removed from its base at the coast. They divided this territory into three provinces—Colombo, Galle, and Jaffnapatam—and placed a Dutchman as Dissawa over each. They preserved the native machinery of local administration, making the appointments to it themselves as the sovereign. The authority of the Dissawas over the natives, so far as it extended, was therefore exercised through the customary native channels in the same way as was the authority of the Residents in Java.¹ Thus Governor Schreuder, writing in 1762, says:

‘Ceylon has its Native chiefs as well as Dutch dissawas. The former cannot be depended upon and yet they are for the present indispensable. They must be cautiously chosen for there are a few good men amongst them. Their descent must be carefully regarded as well as their private characters.’²

¹ See below, p. 68.

² Schreuder: *Memoir for his Successor*, 1762.

The Dutch also continued the payment of officers by the grant of villages or of lands. Their dependence on the lascarins required the maintenance of the service and other tenures, and they prepared the thombos necessary to administer them. They also maintained the castes and paid attention to them in appointing schoolmasters and in opening schools. On one occasion an attempt was made, with the aid of castigation, to eradicate caste from a school in Jaffnapatam, as being unchristian, but it was abortive.

At first the Dutch followed the example of the Portuguese and favoured miscegenation as a means of strengthening their position; and 150 of them married native women in Colombo during the first year. But the many Eurasians of low character, who bore witness to their predecessors' pursuit of the same methods, warned them of the danger of race degeneration unless the offspring were educated and the females married to good Netherlanders. A few years later marriage with native women was forbidden, because there were 'a sufficient number of women descended from European fathers'.¹ Dutch soldiers, however, were allowed to marry Sinhalese if the latter became Christians, and despite regulations the Eurasian population increased and still remains as evidence of the Dutch as well as of the Portuguese occupation. The marriage of Christian natives was also supervised. Their promiscuous intercourse with non-Christians was punishable by death—a provision which failed as a preventative. The education of girls never received the same attention as that of boys. As a general rule they were not taught to read and write, and in order to qualify them to marry a Christian they were required to repeat a certain number of prayers and to explain the catechism and the creed. Where Buddhism was especially strong, as it was in Galle, such regulations were obstacles to conversion, for the men complained that they prevented them finding wives.

The Dutch exerted themselves manfully to substitute their own language for the Portuguese *lingua franca*,

¹ Ryclof Van Goens: *Memoir for his Successor*, 1679, p. 12.

the use of which they forbade in 1659. Most of the missionaries were in favour of Dutch being made obligatory. They were already hampered by having to acquire Portuguese and Malay in the East Indies. To add Sinhalese and Tamil in Ceylon was intolerable. The advantages of one language from their point of view were obvious. The majority of them were incapable of learning any native language, and would only do harm by attempting to instruct in any medium but their own. The translations of the scriptures into Portuguese and Malay were also very faulty. But the authorities in Batavia had already expressed their disapproval of the introduction of Dutch as a medium in Formosa,¹ and they were not likely to agree to it in Ceylon. Education had of necessity to be in the vernacular, as only native schoolmasters and teachers were available. Moreover, missionary opinion was no more united on the question in Ceylon than it was in Formosa. Baldaeus was a strong advocate of the vernacular. He could preach in Portuguese and he learnt Tamil, although he found it so 'difficult that no minister dare pretend to be perfect in it'. He took the line that it was more reasonable to ask one man to accommodate himself to many than to expect the many to adjust themselves to him. He considered it absolutely necessary that the catechism should be in Tamil, and he prepared a version which was adopted by the general assembly of the clergy in Colombo in 1659. He translated a large number of prayers, the Gospel of St. Matthew, some of the Psalms, and several sermons from Portuguese into it. But his example was not followed by others, and of the ninety-seven Dutch ministers in Ceylon between 1642 and 1725, only four could preach in Sinhalese and only four in Tamil.

Other principles which Baldaeus advocated were that: (1) the teaching should be quite simple—'the naked truth of the gospel in as few points as possible' and that oral instruction was the best means of making an impression on 'the minds of these tender Christians'. In this he

¹ See below, p. 135.

received the support of the Governor-General of Batavia, Johan Maatsuiker, who expressed the view that 'reading and writing are things not absolutely necessary for the edification of these poor wretches as that they may be instructed in the fundamentals of religion which consist of a few points'.¹ (2) That a catechism once introduced into use should be retained without any alterations in order to avoid confusion in the natives' minds. He was confirmed in this by the mischiefs which ensued upon the alterations made from time to time in the catechism in use in Formosa by ministers who, instead of following in the footsteps of Junius and Candidius, insisted on introducing novelties on the ground that their catechisms were inadequate expressions of the faith.²

In Ceylon the Dutch were not operating in a virgin field as they did in Formosa. The Roman Catholic Faith had taken permanent root; it was actively fostered from Goa. The Dutch had to admit that it was still strong in Jaffnapatam in the middle of the eighteenth century. In Negombo in 1750 the parents presented a petition written in Tamil protesting against their children being taught Calvinistic tenets of which they disapproved. At Galle a Tamil school which the Dutch opened was poorly attended because most of the Tamils in the place were Roman Catholics. Much time had to be devoted to endeavouring to eradicate Popish errors. Baldaeus, for example, holds up the school at Paneteripon in Jaffnapatam as an example of successful work. Its 600 pupils, under the tuition of a schoolmaster and an usher, had made such progress that they could 'refute the popish errors concerning purgatory, the Mass, indulgencies and auricular confession'. On the other hand, a Roman Catholic authority claims that the children confounded Baldaeus by successfully defending them.³ Anti-Catholic regulations fared no better. Their failure was incomprehensible to the Dutch. 'Only God knows why our religion is not more

¹ Baldaeus: in *Churchill's Voyages*, 1744-6, vol. v, pp. 708, 719, 720.

² See below, p. 136.

³ Baldaeus: op. cit., p. 714; *Ceylon Antiquary*, 1917, vol. iii, p. 164.

readily accepted.’¹ One possible explanation is that the external pomp and circumstance of the Roman Catholic ritual appealed more to the Tamils and Sinhalese than did the frigid atmosphere of Calvinism. However this may be, the statistics which Baldaeus quotes show how undermanned the Dutch missions were compared with the Roman Catholics. In 1663 he and one European colleague (the religious in Jaffnapatam numbered over forty when the Dutch took it) were responsible for 15,012 children under native catechists who had to grapple single-handed with classes of six or seven hundred. Two hundred was considered to be the maximum which a teacher could manage single-handed.

Although all education was free a considerable income was made out of fines for non-attendance. The schools were open every day of the week with half-holidays on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and all the year round except on Christmas Day, New Year’s Day, Ascension Day, and the anniversary of the taking of Colombo. The same conditions prevailed wherever the Dutch opened schools in Ceylon. That the results were poor is scarcely surprising, and by the end of the seventeenth century both Christian religion and education had fallen so low that a radical reform became necessary.

Three school commissions were established in Colombo, Galle, and Jaffnapatam, and seminaries were opened in Colombo and Jaffnapatam. The Commissions were important bodies presided over by the Dissawas and composed of three or four civil and military members and all the local clergy. Their functions were not limited to education. They examined and appointed the masters and the school thombo keepers; they inspected the native baptismal and marriage registers and were responsible for administering the regulations governing native marriages and for settling matrimonial disputes. They had a discretionary power to issue marriage licences where questions of consanguinity were involved, and all natives

¹ Zwaardecroon: *Memoir for the guidance of the Council of Jaffnapatam*, 1697, pp. 52-3.

who were Christians and who lived within the precincts of a school were under their jurisdiction. Their decisions were subject to the veto of the Governor and his political Council. Every year two members, a minister and a layman, were appointed by each commission to inspect the schools, to examine the children in reading and writing (which were now described as more effectual ways of spreading knowledge than was oral instruction),¹ in the Creed, in the Commandments, and the prayers, and to ascertain if the master had explained what his pupils had committed to memory. Their arrival at a school for an inspection was heralded by the beating of a tom-tom. They allowed no child to leave school until they were satisfied with him. He was then (usually at the age of fifteen) given an unsigned certificate as 'Largeerden' or 'discharged'. For the next three years he was classed as a 'Nieuwe Largeerden' and was expected to attend twice a week for religious instruction, after which the master signed the certificate and he became an 'Oude Largeerden'. He was still required to attend school for another two years. His education, therefore, was not complete until he was about twenty. The Inspector examined also all who had recently left school and the parents who wished their children to be baptized.

The educational arrangements in Ceylon at the same time came under the review of a travelling commission composed of two ministers—the Revs. P. Synjeu and G. de Costa. They recommended that new instructions, which included Baldaeus's two principles of simplicity and avoidance of changes in the catechism, should be issued. The introduction of a new catechism which was under consideration was postponed in order that the Sinhalese who had more or less learnt the old one should not be confused, and no controversial doctrines were to

¹ The Sinhalese character was taught by the same method as the Chinese characters in Annam. Each child wrote with his finger in sand spread upon a bench and they memorized what they wrote by singing at the tops of their voices. The elder children wrote with a stylus on slips of the palmyra leaf.

be taught or even hinted at although they were being discussed at the time among the Europeans. A meeting of schoolmasters was also to be held every two months to be a check upon their activities.

A still more interesting suggestion was that teachers should be trained to study more closely the actual needs of the natives, their customs and superstitions, which should be respected in the teaching of the Christian religion. In the past they had been ruthlessly thrust aside as unworthy of consideration, and the natives had in consequence evinced an unwillingness to be taught and a distrust of the missionaries' motives. Here we see expressed again and in more definite terms Baldaeus's admiration for the Jesuits' methods. The Sinhalese never showed any genuine desire to depart from their old customs. They were willing enough to have their children baptized in order to get their names entered in the Church registries and so to receive the advantages which they would otherwise have to forgo. They were aware that the company would appoint no native to any office, nor allot him any land, unless he outwardly professed to be a Calvinist. They adjusted themselves to these conditions. Nor does it appear that anything practical was done to carry out the admirable suggestions of the Commission, beyond the preparation of 'The Thesawalamai', a compilation of the customary law of Jaffnapatam.¹ A few years later the pride of the missionary was still some children who could repeat several chapters of one of the Gospels and three catechisms, and some others who knew by heart twenty chapters of the New Testament.

The chief obstacle to educational progress was the quality of the teachers and of the catechists. The seminaries in Colombo and Jaffnapatam were designed to raise the standard. The former had been established in 1696 and had not had a propitious beginning; but in 1703 its future and that of the College of Jaffnapatam were put on a sounder basis. The Chamber of Seventeen, the con-

¹ Printed in vol. i of the *Ceylon Legislative Enactments*, 1923, revised edition.

trolling body of the Dutch East India Company in the Netherlands, resolved that six Dutch youths should be selected, three to be attached to each of the seminaries, and that they should learn the vernacular and qualify to become 'Proponents' or assistants in the work of evangelization and of training native catechists and teachers. The plan did not work in the manner contemplated, because Europeans were not available for the purpose and the proponents were soon all natives.

On the other hand, on the appointment of Dr. Synjeu as Rector of the Seminary of Colombo that institution began an active career of development which is an interesting example of eighteenth-century European education in a tropical dependency. It is interesting also because one might have expected that as occupant of the Rectorial Chair, which he held for twenty-one years, Dr. Synjeu would have put into operation his own recommendation that the needs, the customs, and the superstitions of the natives should be taken into consideration in devising an educational policy. The Colombo Seminary was the leading educational institution in the country. The best students from Jaffnapatam were transferred to it to complete their course. It set the standard to which all should aspire. Its primary object, however, was the training of native preachers; and in 1712 the higher classes were examined in the Divine Attributes and Perfections, on the soul of man and on logic. Its curriculum was almost entirely Western in its outlook. In the higher course the medium was Dutch, and therefore the curriculum of the lower course had perforce to include Dutch grammar and composition and translations from the vernacular into Dutch, and in 1729 a special Dutch master was appointed. Latin and Greek were also introduced into the lower course because the medium of instruction in the higher theological class was Latin;¹ and when Governor Van Imhoff visited the Seminary in 1740 nothing pleased him

¹ The classical works studied were: Cornelius Nepos, Terence, Cicero's Epistles, Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, the Fables of Phaedrus, the Colloquies of Erasmus and of Maturin Cordier.

more than 'the perfect manner' in which Latin and Greek were imparted to the younger pupils. 'It was astonishing to hear the little black fellows chatter in Latin and construe Greek when they hardly knew Dutch.' Two years later descendants of European fathers were admitted as pupils.¹

The authorities in Amsterdam now intervened to express doubt on the wisdom of the policy which was being followed; and, while disclaiming any desire to discourage, suggested that the quantity of memory work which it entailed was harmful and that more attention should be paid to illustration and explanation of the subjects. Nevertheless, in spite of this warning, the Rector, in 1743, examined the three senior boys in Hebrew and Greek through the medium of Latin, and twelve pupils were engaged on the classics. Another important advance was made in 1744 when two students, a Sinhalese and a Eurasian, were sent to Leyden University.² In 1759 a Hebrew Preceptor was added to the staff; but at the same time the appointment of a Sinhalese and a Tamil master put the Seminary a little more in touch with realities and local conditions.

While the Seminary was developing in this remarkable manner, the Dutch colonial administration steadily deteriorated. It suffered from the facility with which appointments could be created, and which encouraged nepotism and corruption. At the same time the means by which office was remunerated led, as they had under the Portuguese, to the exploiting of the villagers and cultivators; and it became increasingly difficult to find men willing to accept the position of village headman. They preferred to rank as lascarins and to receive government land grants which carried little liability to serve. The Dutch succumbed no less than did the Portuguese to the temptations which were inherent in the native system unless it was administered strictly in accordance with

¹ Van Imhoff: *Memoir for his Successor*, 1740.

² Altogether six students went to Leyden, one of whom afterwards became Rector.

custom, tradition, and caste. The result was that when Van Imhoff became Governor in 1736 he found that the number of officials, both European and native, was unreasonably large. He set to work to reduce it. His example was followed by his successor, Van Gollenesse, and also by Governor Falk, who effected a reduction in the number of native officials.

At the same time the importance of training natives to become office-holders became recognized and is reflected in the reform of the Colombo Seminary which Governor Schreuder decreed in 1760. In the first place all descendants of Europeans were excluded from it. It was to be in future a purely native institution, a change which no doubt reduced the number of aspirants for the higher courses in the Classics and Hebrew. In the second place it was to train students to become schoolmasters and catechists and only exceptionally proponents and preachers. The previous attempts to establish normal schools for teachers had failed. One had been opened in Colombo in 1747, but it was absorbed into the seminary. Another founded in Jaffnapatam in 1709 had been closed in 1723 and its six pupils transferred to Colombo. Therefore the seminary as the only normal school would be more usefully employed in producing schoolmasters instead of preachers with Leyden University degrees. Thirdly, respectable natives were to be encouraged to join the seminary in order that they might be trained to become headmen, Moodeliars, interpreters, and so forth; the Government undertaking to educate at the public expense twelve Tamils and twelve Sinhalese for the public service.

The assimilative trend of this reform was emphasized six years later after the signing of the treaty of 1766 with the King of Kandy. The Dutch having thereby received undisputed possession of the maritime provinces began to favour denationalizing the Sinhalese as much as possible and no longer respecting their customs. They should assimilate the Dutch customs.

'Common sense directs', declared Leonard de Coste, the Dissawa of Colombo, 'that all these country pomps and grandeurs should

be abolished in order to remove from the natives the impression that the customs of the Sinhalese and their Kings are much more venerable than ours'.¹

The Dutch East India Company, however, was not in a position to do anything of the kind. It was rapidly sinking into its final decline, and when the British took over Ceylon the native culture was still intact.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to undervalue the educational system of the Dutch. When it was at its best in the eighteenth century the school attendance averaged about 70,000, a figure which was not reached again until 1879. It had deteriorated when the British took over, and they allowed it to collapse. Although they did not interfere with the Dutch Church they abolished compulsory attendance which was the keystone of the schools. At the same time they reduced the amount spent on education, with the result that it ceased to exist in rural districts in the course of a few years and the Roman Catholics remained alone in the field.

¹ Pieris: *Ceylon and the Hollanders*, 1658-1776, 1924, p. 130.

CHAPTER IV

CEYLON (3)

The British (1795-1867)

ONE of the first acts of the East India Company, which took over Ceylon from the Dutch in 1795, was to assimilate its agrarian system to that of India by abolishing service tenures, substituting an assessment of one-tenth of the produce of all holdings and converting the occupiers into freeholders having power to alienate. Strange to say these reforms, 'which appeared so manifestly advantageous to the natives', caused them to revolt. The British Government therefore decided to take over the administration of the island from the company and to restore the old Sinhalese system. But only for a short time. Mr. North, the first Governor, was convinced that it was not one that was suited to the circumstances.

'I have no scruple', he wrote in his very first executive minute, 'in declaring that, as it was established and administered under the Dutch and their predecessors, no system could be imagined more directly hostile to property or to the industrial improvement and felicity of the people.'

On the other hand, he admitted that the experience already gained showed that it could not be incontinently swept away from a people who were 'long accustomed to poverty and slothful submission to vexatious and undefined authority'.¹ The resemblance of these views to the opinions which Sir Stamford Raffles afterwards carried with him to Java shows that North was equally under the inspiration of the prevailing assimilative conceptions of the proper way of fulfilling the trusteeship of a tropical dependency.

Accordingly, after a very short interval, another attempt was made by giving occupiers of service tenures the opportunity of acquiring their holdings in full title, subject

¹ *Minute of Nov. 1798*, quoted by Emerson Tennent: *Ceylon*, 1860, vol. ii, p. 74.

to their being inalienable and charged with the payment of a tithe to the Government. The response was again unsatisfactory. The Sinhalese showed no anxiety to exercise the option, and so in 1803 service tenures were abolished, the lands granted to office-holders were resumed and all were made liable to a general assessment of a percentage of the produce. At the same time all the inhabitants were rendered liable to be called out by the Governor to do public work either gratuitously or for payment. The subdivision of land held in common was encouraged by subjecting it to an impost of a fifth of the produce instead of a tenth so long as it remained undivided. North also amended the Roman-Dutch law of inheritance, which the Dutch had left to Ceylon as a legacy,¹ and appointed officers to register estates in individual tenure. In 1818 similar reforms were decreed for Kandy in Sir R. Brownrigg's second Annexation Proclamation.

The difficulties of applying them to any lands except rice land proved insuperable owing to the complications caused by the confusion of titles, the minute subdivisions of property, and the absence of surveys. Owners, therefore, found themselves in possession of their land with no other liability to the State than that of being called out by the Governor for public service. The institution of such a general *corvée* was in itself a radical departure from native customs. Service tenure implied the performance of a recognized duty for a specified time and by a certain individual. It was now replaced by a liability which was subject to no such limitations. The iron-worker could be called upon to make a road for so long as the Governor chose, and his family also. Nevertheless, it was a recognition of the principle that occupation of land implied a performance of some service to the sovereign, and with its abolition in 1833 the old land system may be said to have disappeared in the maritime provinces.

The effect on Sinhalese society was at once apparent in the loss of authority of the native officials—a development which was welcomed by the reformers. Colonel

¹ It was proclaimed by the British in 1799.

Colebrooke, one of the peripatetic commissioners who were engaged in reporting on various British Colonial possessions and on whose recommendation the *corvée* was abolished, had pointed out as one of its disadvantages that it had conduced to 'upholding the privileges of the headmen', while Sir John Emerson Tennent, writing fifteen years later, describes British policy as having been directed towards reducing the power of the headmen by the commutation of the feudal tenures, but still more by the abrogation of forced public labour.

On the other hand, equally experienced authorities took the opposite view. Mr. P. E. Wodehouse, who was later to play a prominent part in South African history, in his evidence before the Select Committee of Inquiry into the 1848 rebellion in Kandy, controverted the theory that the native officials were an aristocracy whose privileges were antagonistic to the well-being of the rest of the community. The future prosperity of the country in his opinion depended upon their influence being maintained, especially as a large amount of administrative work was done by them without cost to the Government. The system of compulsory labour had worked to that end and, although it was open to abuses, its abolition had contributed to the breaking down of restraints and to the weakening of orderly influences.

At the same time other causes were operating in the same direction. It appeared obvious to Colonel Colebrooke that if the Government refrained from countenancing caste distinctions 'the unrestricted intercourse of the various classes would gradually obtain'; only such customs and usages of particular classes as were not incompatible with the rights of other people ought, therefore, to be recognized. But by what standard were they to be judged? Obviously none other was possible 'except that of every one both Sinhalese and European being on an equal footing'.¹

As applied to the public service the principle of equality of opportunity had many disadvantages. A native senior officer might find himself of a lower caste than a sub-

¹ *Colebrooke Commission*: 24 Dec. 1831, p. 25.

ordinate. It was not unknown for the latter to receive the former seated while the former felt it incumbent on him to remain standing in the presence of his junior officer who was of a higher caste. The low-caste people were not able to fulfil their duties as efficiently as the high caste, although in point of ability and of information they were quite equal to them. Complaints of 'low-caste adventurers basking in the favour of indiscreet officials' are perhaps less impressive. On the other hand, an ignorance of the vernacular was a disadvantage from which most of the European officials suffered, and it caused them to be unduly dependent upon those natives who knew some English. They were often in consequence unaware of what really went on in the districts and were liable to be imposed upon. Nevertheless, a regulation was passed in 1828 that no native headman should in future be appointed who could not read and write English. The responsibility for overcoming the language difficulty was thereby placed on the Sinhalese, and a new qualification for native office undreamt of in Sinhalese philosophy was introduced.

Another threat to native society was the growth of the planting industry. When first the Dutch occupied Colombo they had decided that the area immediately surrounding it was so depopulated and laid waste that they need not 'follow any old customs and practices of the Sinhalese in cultivating it'. They, therefore, embarked on a policy of European settlement. Emigrants were offered a free passage out, a free return after fifteen years' residence and free land. The plan failed owing to the climate. Ceylon was not a white man's country and its Dutch population, unlike that of the Cape, was urban. According to Ryclof van Goens their only talent lay in establishing and supporting taverns. After the British occupation the purchase of land by Europeans was forbidden until 1812. But even after it was permitted immigrants were not attracted by the low-lying maritime provinces. With the opening of the interior by road and rail after the fall of the kingdom of Kandy, the more healthy hill country offered better opportunities and from

1837 the growth of plantations was rapid. We need not trace it here. It was accompanied by a general expansion of trade, commerce, and shipping. Its effects and the results of the first fifty years of British rule cannot be better summed up than they were by Sir James Emerson Tennent, who was a convinced admirer of their assimilative tendencies:

‘A multitude of social reforms have been effected which, coupled with the recent commercial development of the land, encourage a belief that the period has at length arrived when fundamental changes are not only indispensable in order to adapt the colony to the new state of things, but when there is ground to hope that those changes may be effected with every reasonable confidence of success. Slavery has been abolished amongst the lowest grades, [this alludes to the alleged enslaving of individuals of the lowest castes by the Dutch,] and the system of compulsory labour at public works, to which the population was liable, was put an end to in 1833. The pernicious and oppressive influence exercised by the headmen and petty officials has been to a great extent done away with, at least so far as it is practicable for the law or the influence of the executive to detect it. The exclusiveness of caste and the prejudices connected with it have been shaken by the exertions and policy of successive Governors; the general position of the population has been elevated; education has been extensively diffused; and employment in the public service conferred upon such Natives as have become qualified for office; and finally the arrival of large numbers of English planters throughout every district of the interior; the establishment of English Merchants at the seaports; the vast influx of European capital amounting to nearly one million per annum during each of the last five years; and the regular increase in British shipping, all within the last ten years, have created a demand for labour both skilled and manual which has opened a new field for the employment of Natives. Vast numbers have been engaged both as superintendents and labourers in the felling of forests and the planting of coffee and sugar, the construction of roads, the building of bridges, the erection of houses and stores, and the carriage of supplies from the coast to the interior, and of produce from the interior to the coast. Artisans and mechanics have found abundant occupation and extravagant wages, without which it is difficult to overcome their dislike of exertion. Above all, many of the higher class of Natives have at length been kindled into something like enterprise

by the example of the European settlers and have themselves begun to clear their forests, plant their estates and enter into competition with the English merchants in the production of coffee, cinnamon and the other products of the island.¹

The only allusion to education in this long catalogue of achievement is that it had been 'extensively diffused'. The description could justly apply only to the western maritime provinces and to Jaffnapatam. In Kandy there were only three schools in 1850 at the places of greatest European resort. In the eastern province there were schools only in Trincomalee and in Batticaloa. Moreover, education was not always welcomed by native headmen, who realized that it tended to undermine their influence. Their opposition induced some people to revive the theory that with so-called backward peoples enlightenment could only flow downwards and never upwards, and that beginning with educating the people and not the rulers was like 'toiling with the broad end of the wedge foremost'. The suspicious attitude of headmen towards education was undoubtedly justified. The primary object of the government schools during the first half of the nineteenth century was the teaching of English and of a purely Western curriculum. The headmen saw little chance of being able to rectify their ignorance of the former and were unable to appreciate the latter. On the other hand, the disposition of many other natives to cultivate European attainments and to learn English, to which the Colebrooke Commission draws attention with evident satisfaction, was equally understandable. They saw opportunities of qualifying for appointments to which under the old customs they had less chance of attaining, and of participating much more fully in the material benefits of European contacts. Neither was education welcomed by the Buddhist priests. They regarded it as an attack on their religion. In this they were also justified; for although missionary education was carried on mainly through the vernacular its chief purpose was the spread of Christianity.

¹ Tennent: *Report on the Finance and Commerce of the Island of Ceylon*, 1848, p. 49.

The duty to teach English appeared as self-evident as did the reform of the native economic system.

‘Let her (England) sedulously labour to diffuse her vernacular idiom through all her foreign settlements and let her regard it as the best means of facilitating the greatest of all human works—the intellectual improvement of man.’¹

The seriousness of such eloquence cannot be doubted; any more than can the sincerity of a soldier like Captain Percival, who favoured training Sinhalese as personal servants as a means of introducing European manners and ideas amongst them. He would have been pleased, fifteen years later, to see the waiters in Colombo ‘looking remarkably well when in attendance at table’ and dressed ‘very neatly in white calico jackets ornamented with silver buttons &c.’, and not as formerly, with ‘a piece of stuff wrapt round their bodies’.²

During the first three years of the British occupation the salaries of the schoolmasters of the old Dutch schools remained unpaid and the schools fell into decay. North did his best to re-establish them as far as his finances would permit, and he followed the Dutch precedent of employing schoolmasters as government registrars. In 1803, however, his expenditure on education was cut down by the Home Government from £4,500 to £1,500—a false economy, as other people had to be paid to do the registering work. He maintained that useful institution the Orphan Seminary which had been founded by the Dutch, and which educated half-caste children and the children of soldiers and poor Europeans at the public expense. He restored and remodelled the Colombo Seminary, as it was now called, opening it to Sinhalese, Tamils, and Europeans. The sons of Moodeliars were particularly catered for, and their fluency in English and the accuracy of their translations from Sinhalese—‘the Bible being the chief model of their compositions furnishing

¹ Fellowes (‘Philaethes’): *History of Ceylon*, 1817, p. 228.

² Campbell: *Excursions, Adventures and Field Sports in Ceylon*, 1843, vol. i, pp. 68–9.

them with an abundance of excellent expressions'¹—were commended. British interests benefited much from it, for it took the place of a translator's office and furnished confidential interpreters for the Government. On the other hand, it did little towards training schoolmasters suitable for native schools. The experiment of sending some of its best pupils to English universities was no more successful than was the Dutch in sending others to Leyden. The expense was indefensible after the American Mission had proved that £5 a year sufficed to cover the subsistence, clothing, and contingent expenses of a pupil at its Jaffna College and that elementary education cost even less.

The Colebroke Commission found all the government schools extremely defective and inefficient. They had been put under the control of a Colonial Chaplain as 'Principal of Schools and King's Visitor', while the native schoolmasters were quite unfit for their work, and (worse fault of all) were not required to know English. They were paid only £6 6s. a year, but made a little more from registration fees. They taught nothing but reading and writing the vernacular—'a chorus of many tiny lungs chanting out their daily lesson in dreary verse'—alas sometimes accompanied by the 'wilder older chorus at the arrack shop just over the way'. The schools of the Buddhist priests were even worse. A dozen dusky infants assembled and, squatting on the ground, chanted a dismal alphabetical chorus; and spent weary days over 360 combinations of letters before being advanced to lists of temples, places of pilgrimage, and so forth.

The principal reform proposed by the Colebroke Commission was to place the government schools under a Commission with sub-committees at Kandy, Galle, and Jaffna, and composed, as the Dutch Committees had been, of the clergy of the established Church, the local government agents and some of the principal civil and judicial functionaries. Its duties were to arrange for the inspection of the schools and for the appointment of masters. The

¹ Cordiner: *Description of Ceylon*, 1807, vol. i, p. 161.

latter were all to have a competent knowledge of English and the Colombo Seminary should provide them. It also recommended the establishment of a college at Colombo in order to 'afford to native youths the means of qualifying themselves for the different branches of the public service'.¹

The new School Commission started work in 1834. It founded the Colombo Academy in 1836, taking over for the purpose a private school which had been opened to educate 'sons of the upper classes of the Sinhalese in English, the classics, mathematics and religion'. The Commission also organized a number of English schools in the more important towns, and the men educated in them and in the Academy played a useful part in the colony. Its policy appears to have been based on the principle that the higher education of the few has usually preceded the elementary education of the many, and that the best way to introduce a new system into a country is to begin by training a small section of the population very carefully under the best possible influences. In 1841 it was remodelled and became 'The Central School Commission for the Instruction of the Population of Ceylon', the lay members being allotted four seats and thus gaining a majority over the three clerical members. The special duty of promoting education in English was imposed on it.

Its most striking contribution to education was the opening of Central Schools at Colombo, Galle, and Kandy, which were designed to give 'such an impetus to practical education that youths will take the opportunity to qualify themselves for agricultural and other lucrative employments'. The curriculum was: (1) general geography and history; (2) commercial arithmetic, book-keeping, exchange, &c.; (3) mathematics, mensuration, surveying, navigation and drawing; and (4) outlines of natural philosophy and chemistry, and their application to mechanics and agriculture. This programme, however, was not adhered to and the classics soon returned.

When the Central School in Colombo was opened it

¹ These reforms are very much a repetition of those made by the Dutch a century previously; see above, p. 26.

took over the Normal students who were studying at the Academy. The training they received is indicated by the syllabus of their examination in 1844. It was divided into four parts—scripture, theology, mathematics, and Latin and English. The scriptural subjects were texts on the Divinity of Christ, sin, condemnation and justification before God, the whole of the book of Genesis, Exodus, Chapters I–XX, and Joshua, Chapters I–LX; Paley, Chapters I–XIII was set for natural theology; Euclid books I–V and algebra for mathematics. Latin and English included Valpy's *Second Delectus*, pp. 62–82, *Paradise Lost*, Book V, lines 153–208, and a passage from Young's *Night Thoughts* on 'Procrastination'.¹

The Commission soon made two interesting discoveries. In the first place it found that until female education was taken in hand the progress of male education would be slow. Pupils forgot what they had learnt because they had to talk another language at home. Fortunately two English mistresses who belonged to the 'Society for Promoting Female Education in the East' offered their services. One was installed in a Colombo Female Seminary for European, Eurasian, and Native girls. They were taught English grammar and composition, arithmetic, history, geography, the use of the globes, and plain and ornamental needlework. The other was put in charge of the girls' section of the Dutch Orphanage or Consistory School.

The second discovery made by the Commission was that English education had been extended as far as there was a legitimate demand for it, and that future expansion must be in the direction of education in the vernacular. In spite of the desire of intelligent and enterprising Sinhalese for a good English education, many others

¹ See *Night Thoughts*, i, lines 393–7:

Procrastination is the thief of time;
Year after year it steals till all are fled,
And to the mercies of a moment leaves
The vast concerns of an Eternal scene.

Good reading for Orientals this!

obstinately refused to see its advantages and to send their children to the government schools. The Commission therefore decided to introduce vernacular education as a preliminary to English education. It resolved that 'means of giving instruction in the Native languages so as to afford the necessary preparation for English education' should be provided in every elementary school in the hope that many natives who could not be made to see the advantage of learning English would thus be induced to send their children to the government schools.¹ At the same time more attention was given to the Normal School at Colombo. Lads from the villages which wanted schools were sent to it to be trained, and thirty vernacular schools, taught by Sinhalese who had passed through it, were opened.

A few years later it became still more apparent that the demand for English education had been more than satisfied. When the Commission started work it took over schools containing 2,200 pupils and costing £3,125 a year. The pupils had now increased to 6,000 and the outlay to £10,000. Nor was it possible to argue that the expenditure was not out of proportion to the results obtained, especially when the government village schools were compared with the missionary schools. Nevertheless, opinion on the School Commission was sharply divided on the problem of the medium to be used. The supporters of English contended that to do any good at all it was essential not only to impart entirely new knowledge to the native mind but also to communicate it through the medium of a new vernacular. The vernacular party argued that such an education could produce nothing but a 'feeble and sickly exotic' incapable of taking root or of bearing any fruit.

Faced with the divergence of opinion the Commission decided to take a middle course, and, while agreeing in principle that a complete renovation of the native mind was necessary, they recognized that the time was not yet ripe for performing the operation through a new medium.

¹ *Fourth Report of the Central School Commission*, 1843-4, p. 16.

They therefore made English the principal but not the sole medium, and maintained the vernacular schools as subsidiary to the English schools. They hoped thus to lead the Sinhalese 'from the less to the greater, from the lowest to the highest'.¹ This solution was little more than a reaffirmation of the resolution of 1834; but in order the better to carry it out they reclassified elementary schools into English medium schools, mixed medium schools, and vernacular schools.

The extension of the vernacular education by the Government was a rather delicate matter owing to that field being the peculiar perquisite of the missionaries, who had realized its importance long before the Government. As Colonel Colebrooke saw occasion regretfully to point out, the English missionaries did not generally appreciate 'the importance of diffusing a knowledge of English through the medium of their schools', though the American missionaries, who started work in Ceylon in 1815, were alive to it. Moreover, the Government, in spite of its more extravagant expenditure, found competition with the schools of the missionaries very difficult owing to the more effective and personal superintendence which the latter could exercise. This was particularly so in Jaffna where the government schools were so bad that the Commission decided to close them entirely and in their place to subsidize the American Mission schools which were satisfactorily diffusing English education. The subsidizing of one Mission meant the same treatment for the others, and 'the grant-in-aid' school soon afterwards became a recognized feature of the Ceylon educational system.²

We need not go to any length into the education which the missionaries gave. It differed little in substance from the Government's. The Church Missionary Society maintained the traditions of the past by giving instruction in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, and theology at their Christian Institution at Cotte to the young Sinhalese who

¹ Barrow: *Ceylon Past and Present*, 1857, p. 171.

² The rules governing grants were not such as the Roman Catholics could accept until they were amended in 1869.

aspired to become instructors of their countrymen. The Diocesan School Society of Colombo had about 1,000 children in 30 schools. The Church of Scotland opened a number of female schools in which 200 girls were given an elementary education and were instructed in needlework. The Wesleyans had 2,963 boys and 675 girls in their schools. The Roman Catholics, the strongest Christian community in the island, made conversion their main object and claimed 324 churches and 28 apostolic missionaries, amongst whom the Rev. J. Cordiner had noticed early in the century, 'fifteen swarthy Priests' from Goa who were daily making proselytes.

The American Mission kept the best equipped and most elaborate educational structure. They had boarding-schools founded in 1823 for girls and boys in which they gave domestic training in addition to scholastic instruction. The best pupils of the elementary schools were drafted into them and instructed in 'the higher branches of literature, science and religion'. The majority of the natives employed by the Government in the northern province were recruited from them. They had a printing press employing 82 workmen which, during the first twenty years of its activity, produced 50,000 volumes annually 'filled with sound and valuable information'.

CHAPTER V

CEYLON (4)

The British (1867-1904)

THE Central School Commission continued in charge of education and of its special mission to diffuse English for nearly twenty-five years. It was then discovered to be too amateur and unwieldy in its composition, and too vague and undefined in its aspirations to be able to meet its responsibilities adequately. The accusation of vagueness bears a little hardly on it. The use of general terms in defining the objects of education is not unusual, and indefiniteness of purpose was not absent from the régime which replaced it. Nevertheless, it was impossible to deny that the results of its work were unsatisfactory. They were described by the Committee of the Legislative Assembly, which was appointed in 1867 to inquire into the state of education and to suggest improvements, as having done no more than to produce

‘a class of shallow, conceited, half-educated youths who have learnt nothing but to look back with contempt upon the conditions in which they were born and from which they conceive that their education has raised them, and who desert the ranks of the industrious classes to become idle, discontented hangers-on of the Courts and Public Offices.’

The most important reform proposed by the Committee was to sweep away the School Commission and to create a Department of Education in its place under a Director responsible to the Governor. It criticized the education given in the past as being too unpractical. It recommended the reopening of the Industrial and the Central Schools which had been closed in Colombo. It condemned the addition of Latin to the curriculum of Central Schools. ‘English’, it roundly declared, ‘should be to the natives of Ceylon what Latin is to the natives of Great Britain.’ It found that the education given in the Ceylon Academy was not ‘as practical or useful as it should be’. It favoured

vernacular instruction in primary schools and suggested that prizes should be offered for the production of school books, the supply of which was deficient both in quantity and quality. The training of teachers also was as bad as ever. The Committee suggested that the Industrial School should train them for the vernacular schools and the Colombo Academy for the mixed medium and the central schools. It recommended that the combination of village schoolmaster and registrar should be revived.

The assumption of the control of education by a Government Department led to a rapid spurt of development which continued until the collapse of the coffee boom in 1882. The Government opened a number of vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools.¹ At the same time the recognized missionary schools increased still more rapidly owing to the amendment of the terms on which grants-in-aid were paid. They were now made conditional only on secular education to which at least three hours daily had to be devoted. They ignored sectarian differences. Between 1869 and 1872 government schools increased by 212 per cent. (64-200) and grant-in-aid schools by 1,814 per cent. (21-402).² During the following decade the former multiplied by 110 per cent. (200-421) and the latter by 108 per cent. (402-832).

In the financial stringency of the early 'eighties, however, reasons of economy decided the Government either to close its English schools, or, when they were situated in municipalities or in towns with local boards,³ to hand them over to missionary bodies: and during the ten years of 1882-92 government schools grew only 7.6 per cent. (421-53) and grant-in-aid schools 23 per cent. (832-1,024). The effect of the change was not only to dissociate the Government from the management of English education, which during the first half of the century had been its primary consideration, but also to cause it to concentrate on developing vernacular schools in the interior and to

¹ i.e. mixed medium schools; see below, p. 49.

² Including sixty-four Roman Catholic schools.

³ See below, p. 54.

leave the maritime provinces to the grant-in-aid schools, and to establish a Board of Education to advise it on all questions relating to them.

This division of the field was accompanied by certain disadvantages. Missionary and private enterprise could not afford to open enough elementary schools. In Colombo, for example, the census of 1891 showed that only 20 per cent. of the population was literate. The Missions were able to cope more adequately with the demand for higher education. Indeed, in this sphere there were instances of overlapping due to unhealthy competition between denominations. Furthermore, the absence of a conscience clause prevented compulsory attendance being applied to grant-in-aid schools. Children could not be made to attend for the three hours of secular instruction only. This drawback was less noticeable in schools where English was taught, because the desire for a knowledge of it acted as an incentive to attendance. The position was worse in rural than in urban areas. The proportion of children at school in the former was no more than 1 in 11 in the more enlightened districts and 1 in 28 in the backwoods. The law regulating village councils¹ empowered them to pass a by-law enacting compulsory attendance. But even if they did so it could be enforced only in the government vernacular schools. No grant-in-aid school could claim its application in the absence of a conscience clause, for the village councils represented feelings alien to missionary purposes.² There was, as the 1905 Commission pointed out, something anomalous in a system under which funds raised by taxation were used to support a movement to change the religion of the taxed.

During the period we are now dealing with the controversy between English and vernacular education continued; but with the difference that the official attitude now favoured the latter in all primary schools. On the

¹ See below, p. 54.

² The procedure was that the schoolmaster reported the names of absentees to the headman, who then secured the appearance of the parents before the Communal Court to be fined or otherwise dealt with.

other hand, some authorities maintained that insistence on the vernacular was being carried too far. They argued that in a British colony passive recognition of European education was not enough. It should be actively developed because of 'the convenience which a knowledge of the dominant language was to the villagers'.¹ Reports from all over the island in the 'nineties showed that there was a demand for it almost everywhere. It was not wholly due to a laudable desire for knowledge. It also arose from the prestige which attached to an English education. The schools which gave it were in popular estimation on a higher plane than those which did not. The use of the vernacular was regarded as an admission of inferiority. Pupils who had attended a school which gave an English education were crowned with an aura which was frequently quite undeserved. Three types of schools provided it: (1) English schools using no other medium than English; (2) English schools on a vernacular basis in which the vernacular was the medium; and (3) Anglo-vernacular schools in which the vernacular was the medium in the lower standards and English was introduced into the higher.

The teaching of English, however, was very inefficient. The facility with which children could be drilled to read a passage in a manner to give the impression that they understood it was dangerously misleading. The real extent of their ignorance became revealed when they attempted an English composition. The English medium schools did nothing to remedy these defects. They rather aggravated them. They were divided into primary schools giving an education up to Standard V and middle schools going up to Standard VIII. The education given by the former was of little practical use. Its range was too limited to qualify a pupil for any position for which an English education was necessary. The result was a continual struggle on the part of managers to get their schools classed as Middle. Their success in this had a still more deleterious effect. For it carried with it a liberty to

¹ *Report of Director of Public Instruction, 1896*, p. 17.

introduce into the curriculum, at stages which varied from time to time, a choice of 'Nineteen Specific Subjects' with the object of preparing candidates for the Cambridge University Local Examinations. Unhappily human vanity, the craze for examination results and the dependence of Government grants on the number of subjects taught inspired both masters and pupils to dabble in as many as possible. It was not unusual to find pupils entered for fifteen or sixteen. Moreover, teachers always pressed on their pupils the claims of Latin which thus after all threatened to become to the natives of Ceylon what it was to the natives of Great Britain. In order to save the average boy from its 'unfamiliar treadmill' English literature was added. It at least had a close connexion with the language all were anxious to learn. But the masters of village English schools preferred 'the Latin accidence to the end of the regular verbs' to the *Vicar of Wakefield* and *The Deserted Village*.¹ In some cases Latin was started as early as Standards III or IV with boys who could not properly understand a sentence of the English which was the medium of instruction. The consequences were apparent in the pupils who went out to earn their livings. The Inspector of Schools in his report for 1905 remarks on the absurdity of a pupil at the end of four years at school being unable to speak two consecutive sentences correctly; and candidates for employment in the Post Office made such elementary mistakes in the qualifying examination that only a very small proportion could be accepted. One of the inspectors remarks that on first examining schools in Ceylon in 1903 he was impressed with the notion that most of them were employed in performing a routine march to Oxford and Cambridge Universities which more than 99·8 per cent. of the children had no prospect of reaching. The result was that almost every boy fell out by the way. Some succeeded in holding on far enough to reach the points where branch roads led off to law and medicine. Some reached tracks leading off to clerical and other work; but it seemed to him that many

¹ *Report of Director of Public Instruction, 1896, p. 25.*

must be destined to wander off into the barren places of 'loaferdom and hanger-onism', for few were likely to be inclined to turn back to the point where the tracks their parents had trodden branched off. It seemed that a laudable effort at progress had defeated itself by advancing too rapidly. There were too many high schools and too few elementary schools.

The inefficiency of the teachers was another source of weakness. Sir Walter Sendall, who was the first Director of Public Instruction, had taken the matter in hand as soon as he assumed office. He persuaded the Government to open a Normal English College with a Vernacular Department. He created an education service graded according to the certificate which teachers earned after passing through its three years' course. After appointment to schools they were encouraged by bonuses on the results of their annual inspections, by salary increments, and by promotion to a higher certificate as rewards for good service. The system worked satisfactorily except that it was too centralized. It narrowed the recruiting of students for the Normal College to the western province and thus ignored the differences between the highlanders of Kandy and the lowlanders of the maritime provinces. The former objected to their schools being officered by the latter and yet declined to come to the College to be trained themselves. The southern province was equally unaccommodating. For these reasons the Vernacular Department was closed in 1886 and it was replaced by three smaller establishments in the three provinces. This lowered the standard of the training given, for the course was reduced to two years. The English Normal College was also closed and the whole burden of training teachers for the grant-in-aid schools was placed on the missionary bodies which managed them and which kept establishments for the purpose in Colombo, Kandy, Galle, and Jaffna. Students passing through them were awarded second-class certificates which could be converted into first-class after five years' satisfactory service. The number turned out was quite inadequate to meet the demand;

and it was obvious at the end of the century that many years must elapse before unqualified teachers could be replaced and the general average of work raised.

The position of female education was more satisfactory if only because of the rapidity of its growth in spite of the prejudice against it which lingered on in many places. In 1869 only twenty-six schools educated girls.¹ By 1897 their number had grown to 1,015.² Although the Government provided no training for women teachers the Church of England, the Wesleyans, and the American Board of Missions did so in connexion with their large and successful boarding establishments for girls in Jaffna; and an examination for the issue of similar certificates as for the men was instituted in 1882.

In 1893 a Technical College was founded at Colombo, and an active policy of opening industrial schools was initiated and was at first welcomed as demonstrating that the Sinhalese youths of the middle and higher classes were willing to learn to do work 'for which the labour of coolies had hitherto been deemed to be indispensable'.³ By 1901 there were thirty-five of them but they were no longer proving satisfactory. They were too English in their conception and their methods were applied without proper regard for local conditions. It was useless to teach carpentering, iron-work, tailoring, or shoe-making to boys who looked upon following such trades in after life as a social disgrace. Printing and book-binding, which had no connexion with caste distinctions, were more suitable. Similarly, to train girls in European cookery and dress-making was of small service to them as Sinhalese mothers. Lace-making was more profitable as the product could be readily sold. The Ceylon Technical College worked on a syllabus avowedly designed to substitute the less expensive labour of the country for the more costly European imported skilled labour employed on the railways, the Public Works Department, and the Post Office. It was

¹ Four in the principal towns; 7 bi-lingual schools; 15 vernacular schools.

² Eighty-six government schools; 284 grant-in-aid schools; 645 mixed schools.

³ *Report of Director of Public Instruction*, 1895, p. 17.

merely a Government Engineering College. Its pupils were handicapped by the poor general education which they received before they entered it, and there was little demand for mechanical or electrical engineers outside the government service. Agricultural education also made little headway owing to the conservatism of the Sinhalese cultivators.

Thus at the end of the century, although European contact was rapidly opening up the country, it had not had the same disintegrating effect on native society as it had for example in Cochin-China.¹ The towns which it had developed were comparatively small. The Sinhalese remained overwhelmingly rural. Their ambition to learn English and so to become eligible for the occupations which would otherwise be closed to them did not affect their mainly agricultural outlook. This was particularly so with the Kandyan who had been in contact with Western influences for a much shorter time. The European planting industry, which recovered from its coffee collapse by developing an export in tea, had little direct effect on native society because it imported its labour from India. Native and plantation farming subsisted side by side following parallel and independent courses; the one interested in producing for export and the other mainly for the home market. An Ordinance which was passed in 1863 with the object of remedying the evils connected with the tenure of land in undivided shares was slow in its effects. It did not interfere with existing rights by prohibiting holdings in common, but aimed at inducing their owners to apply to the Courts to order their subdivision, or, if they were too small or the proprietors too numerous, their sale; the subsequent ownership being in freehold. The process has since occupied a great deal of judicial time and attention.²

The native administration remained unaffected. The nineteen Revenue Districts into which the nine provinces were demarcated were subdivided into local areas under Chief Headmen, Superior Headmen, and Village

¹ See below, pp. 168-71.

² Jagewardene: *The Law of Partition in Ceylon*, 1925, xxix-xxx.

Headmen, all of whom were servants of the Government and represented the royal officers who had formerly looked after the interests of the king. The resuscitation of the Gansabhawa Councils in 1871 restored in some measure¹ the village government which under native custom had subsisted side by side with the king's. Apart from this, constitutional changes between 1837 and 1910 were unimportant, being limited to increases in the number of nominated unofficial members of the Legislative Council.² Of the eight to which their number had been enlarged in 1889 only two were Tamils and two Sinhalese out of a council of seventeen. The creation of municipalities in Colombo, Galle, and Kandy in 1865, and of local elected boards in seven minor towns in 1871, although a product of contemporary assimilative philosophy, remained isolated examples of it and were not followed up by a wider extension of European representative institutions as was a similar municipal development in Cochin-China.³

Nevertheless, there was a growing feeling in favour of the abolition of separate racial representation in the Legislative Council, and of the election instead of the nomination of its unofficial members. There was also an ever-widening demand for education. Applications for schools began to come in even from the 'intellectual deserts' of the north-west province and from other equally remote regions. The school attendance began to improve. The Buddhists were obliged to start a movement in defence of their faith and to open schools capable of attracting the modern pupil. Nevertheless, government schools increased during the decade of 1892-1902 by only 13·7 per cent. and grant-in-aid schools by 39 per cent.; and in 1903 only 49 per cent. of the boys and 26 per cent. of the girls of school-going age were being educated at all; and a Commission was appointed in the following year to report on the reorganization of primary education.

¹ In 1928, 371 areas had councils out of a total of 657.

² Two in 1837, increased to six in 1845 and to eight in 1889.

³ See below, p. 168.

CHAPTER VI

CEYLON (5)

The British (after 1904)

IN the face of these statistics the 1904 Commission was constrained to point out that, although thirty-five years had passed since the creation of the Department of Education, less than half its work had been accomplished. It was essential, therefore, to take steps to bring it as far as possible to something like completion. To do so meant solving four problems which had been continually present in Ceylon since the days of the Dutch. *The first* was the question of compulsion, which in turn involved the problems of providing a sufficient number of schools and of contriving a conscience clause to enable compulsory attendance to be applied in grant-in-aid schools. *The second* was the problem of the medium through which the children should be educated and of the methods which should be employed in teaching it. *The third* was the difficulties arising from the lack of qualified teachers. *The fourth* was whether the education given in Ceylon was sufficiently related to the opportunities which were open to pupils after they left school.

I

On the first point the Commissioners had no hesitation in declaring that a general application of compulsion was desirable. It was already enforced in government schools; and in order that it might be applied to grant-in-aid schools they recommended that religious instruction should be given only during specified periods of the time-table, that it should be withheld from pupils professing denominations differing from that of the school if the parents so desired, and that children not receiving it should be given other work to do. They also proposed that the opening of schools for boys should be compulsory in every place where the population was sufficiently dense. These

reforms, modified in respect of compulsion, were embodied in the Rural and the Town Schools Ordinances of 1907,¹ the former of which also established a new rural education authority. Every revenue district and every province which was not divided into revenue districts became a School District with a School Committee composed of the Government Agent as Chairman, an officer of the Education Department, a Headman nominated by the Government Agent, and one or more School Managers nominated by the Governor. Their duties were to draw up schemes for the establishment of vernacular schools for all boys and, if they thought fit, for all girls. Their funds were expended in assisting in the erection and repair of buildings and in supplying furniture. They were empowered to make by-laws enforcing compulsory attendance in grant-in-aid schools in their districts.

This had previously been a function of the village councils which were, therefore, now relieved of it. They had also been responsible for erecting and repairing government school buildings. They were now required to place annually at the disposal of the District School Committees the money or the labour for which they had been liable for these purposes in the past, and the latter saw that they were carried out. In areas where there were no village councils, elective school committees were established with the same duty. In theory the village council still remained the unit of administration as it had been in the past and as it was under native custom. But in practice the entire administration of the Ordinance fell into the hands of the district committees, subject to the general control of the Education Department. In many cases they attempted to meet all expenditure from government contributions without calling on the village councils. The resulting diminution of the village councils' connexion with education was carried still further by the Education Ordinance of 1920. Hitherto both in the towns and in the rural districts the education and the local government authorities had been closely identified. There

¹ The Town Schools Ordinance was not compulsory.

had been no separate educational authorities in municipal and local government board areas, and in rural areas the Education Committees had been distinctly official in personnel and had been able to rely on the assistance of government officers such as Headmen. The Ordinance of 1920 set up separate education committees everywhere and recruited their personnel from outside the government officials. They were composed of not less than six nor more than nine members, two of whom were nominated by the local authority and the remainder by the Governor. Thus the control of education became dissociated from the other functions of local government and was more centralized in the Department.

Another result was that the government schools once again increased more rapidly. During the decade 1902-12 they multiplied by 51 per cent. (515-779) and grant-in-aid schools by 39 per cent. (1,424-1,986), the latter being the same rate as in the previous ten years. Between 1912 and 1922 the respective percentages were 30 (779-994) and 6 (1,968-2,086).

II

The language problem was far more complicated. The Portuguese had encouraged the Sinhalese to become Portuguese-speaking. The Dutch had been more favourable to the vernaculars. The British were at first determined to diffuse English but later turned more towards the vernaculars. They now adopted the obvious compromise of bi-lingualism. A European language was essential. The vernacular Sinhalese literature, unlike the Tamil, was comparable with the pre-Renaissance literature of Europe. Many of the best works in it were written in a language which was no longer spoken. Only through translations could a vernacular student get into touch with modern movements. Scarcely any subject referred to in a newspaper could be studied in a Sinhalese work. And although Tamil literature has been more progressive there was no class whose earning capacity was not increased by a knowledge of English, which had become the

common medium of all business and commercial transactions. Naturally, therefore, parents were anxious that their children should learn it, and it was impossible to deny them on the grounds, as some people averred, that it had a disturbing effect politically and unsettled the equanimity of labourers. On the other hand, those who could not read and write the vernaculars were seriously handicapped. The diffusion of English which had been proceeding for more than a century had affected directly only a small fraction of the population. Its limited spread was due to the inefficiency of its teaching and to the fact that 90 per cent. of the school-going children attended only the elementary vernacular schools. If the small minority who mounted higher on the education ladder confined themselves to English and to Western studies there was danger that native society would suffer and the vernaculars would degenerate through neglect. Their study had, therefore, to be encouraged.

The problem of the introduction of English could not be dealt with in Ceylon, as it was in India, by providing separate schools for persons of European descent and by teaching English to the others in Anglo-vernacular schools. The Ceylon system, in which the children of both sections did the same lessons side by side and in the same classroom, had developed as a natural growth. It was an inheritance from both the Portuguese and the Dutch and had been continued by the British. Its supporters claimed that it had done good in many ways and that the best interests of the country would suffer if any change added to the two main problems connected with carrying it out. These two problems were: (1) every one was agreed that the vernacular must be used in the first stages of elementary education; but differences of opinion arose on the advisability or otherwise of introducing English as a subject into them. The opponents argued that it prevented a child reaping benefits which could only be secured by a complete education in the home language. The advocates asserted that if the teaching of English were reduced to a minimum and the vernacular used as the medium for, say, the first

four years, this difficulty would be overcome. (2) At some stage of a child's career a change from the vernacular to English as the medium had to be arranged and experience showed that at least two years must be devoted to it.

In 1908 an attempt was made to solve those problems by providing three separate curricula. The first, known as Schedule A, was designed for pupils whose mother-tongue was English. At the same time, in order to give an opportunity to those who had no knowledge of English and who also did not desire to attend a vernacular medium school, a special Infant Department was created to enable them to become bi-lingual before they entered the full standard English course. The second, Schedule B, was for English schools on a vernacular basis and Anglo-vernacular schools.¹ By it a pupil was expected to acquire a sufficient knowledge of English in the first four standards to enable him to use it as a medium in the last four. The third, Schedule A. 1, was meant for pupils wishing to transfer from a purely vernacular school to an English school. It instituted a new course of two years of intensive instruction in English, after undergoing which it was hoped that the pupil would be equal to being drafted into Standard V of an English school.

The Schedules did not work satisfactorily because they left the door open to schools to aim too high (always as we have seen a besetting sin of education in Ceylon). They were not properly applied and the tendency was still for schools to aspire higher than their capacity. Out of 177 grant-in-aid English schools in 1911 only ninety were working under Schedule B, and even in them pupils were not taught to read and write the vernacular but English through the medium of the vernacular. Moreover, the 1911 Census showed that the proportion of English literates in the population, excluding Europeans and Burghers, only increased from 2.5 in 1901 to 2.7 in 1911 amongst the men, and from 0.6 to 0.7 amongst the women, in spite of the apparently active demand for a

¹ Both these types of schools are hereafter referred to as Anglo-vernacular schools.

knowledge of English.¹ Obviously the system was producing miserably poor results.

As a corrective the 1911-12 Committee proposed that the Schedules should be amended in accordance with the following principles:

1. If a child is not bi-lingual the first steps in his learning English must be entirely oral.
2. He must learn reading, writing, and arithmetic in the vernacular before learning them in English.
3. If he comes from a vernacular-speaking home he must spend the first three or four years of school life in a vernacular school.

Furthermore, only those schools should be allowed to adopt Schedule A where either admission was confined to pupils having already a working knowledge of English, or where there was an Infant Department with special arrangements for vernacular-speaking children. All other English schools should work under Schedule B, which should be revised so that the Infant Department and Standard I should do the three 'R's' in the vernacular, English being confined to colloquial conversation, a pass in which should be a condition of promotion from the Infant Department into Standard I. English reading and writing should then begin in Standard II through the medium of English. The same principles were applied to arithmetic. The first two standards should be in vernacular, oral work in English being introduced in Standard III and written work in Standard IV. Furthermore, the Committee recommended that no child should be admitted into an English school from a vernacular school before he had passed Standard III in the three 'R's' in the vernacular and that he should then have to go through the two years' course of Schedule A. 1, after passing which he would be drafted into Standard V.

These improvements did not solve the three problems and another Commission was appointed in 1929 to

¹ It is doubtful whether even these diminutive increases were genuine, for the 1901 Census drew no distinction between those who could only speak English and those who could also write it.

examine them afresh. It found in the first place that the demand for English had encroached upon the principle that a child should be taught in his vernacular during the first four years. English was still frequently introduced at a much earlier stage, some families even going to the length of artificially adopting it as the home language in order that their children should be able to start it at the very beginning of their schooling. In the second place, the method by which the vernacular was the medium up to a defined point when English replaced it involved an abrupt change (as, for example, in the special classes under Schedule A. 1), which was harmful to the pupil. Thirdly, the position of vernacular teaching in English medium schools was unsatisfactory. The first action taken to encourage it had been the institution of a grant for it in the three highest standards only. The grant had been extended to the lower standards in 1912, and a regulation had been passed that none would be paid for any scholar of Sinhalese or Tamil extraction promoted from the fourth or a lower standard to the fifth or a higher standard unless he had passed the fifth standard in reading and writing in one of the vernaculars. Thus instead of being accepted as a natural part of the system it depended upon the artificial stimulus of special grants to get it taught at all. The Commission, therefore, recommended:

1. That instruction in the vernacular should be compulsory for all pupils at the earlier stage of their school career.
2. That the Director of Education should prepare a scheme by which a second language could be introduced into schools in a carefully graded and increasing manner and that the effect of such a 'sliding scale' should be compared with the existing abruptness.
3. That while the education system should aim at securing for pupils a competent knowledge of the languages of the country it should do so without at the same time forfeiting any of the traditional or intellectual advantages to be secured from a close contact with the language of childhood.

It is perhaps not unfair to remark that the two latter recommendations only show how very difficult and embarrassing were the problems which the Commission was appointed to solve.

III

It is not necessary to add much on the subject of the inadequate supply of qualified teachers. The rise of the cost of living which accompanied and succeeded the War made an improvement of their pay more urgent even than it had been previously. An amendment in the method of assessing grants to schools by basing them upon a fixed contribution from the managers towards the salaries of the staff led to an improvement. But at the same time the requirement that the staff of a school must be proportionate to the number of children in attendance resulted often in its being strong in numbers but poor in quality. The Government also found it difficult to keep abreast with the growth of vernacular schools owing to the shortage of teachers; and the employment of law students and educated youths who could not find more lucrative professions was not always satisfactory as they were inclined to regard their positions in village schools as unworthy of them. A very useful innovation, however, was the organization by the school inspectors of Conferences of Teachers, who returned to their villages after attending them with a renewed and expanded interest in their work.

IV.

The question whether the education given was sufficiently related to the opportunities open to pupils after leaving school was more simple in relation to the vernacular schools than to the English schools. The elementary vernacular schools, which provided 90 per cent. of the education given, aimed at producing 'a good type of sturdy literate peasantry' and succeeded in doing so when the pupils gave the time required to complete the eight standards. As an inducement a Standard VIII Examina-

tion was established in 1908 and was replaced by an Elementary School Leaving Certificate in 1912. It did something to improve the position. But in spite of it the percentage of those who remained to the end was very small.¹ Their opportunities of employment were not thereby appreciably increased except for those who wished to become schoolmasters. It was argued that more could be made of vernacular education if its agricultural side were more developed and if more attention were paid to industrial training. Nevertheless, the ever-growing demand for new schools, which outran the supply of teachers, and the diminution in the prosecutions for non-attendance, proved that the schools were not ineffective and that they were appreciated. The constant urge towards anglicization was their main drawback and caused their best and most ambitious scholars to leave them as soon as they could in order to learn English. Were their opportunities any better after they had done so?

In order to answer this question we must resume our account of the development of the English schools. They had been divided into primary schools giving an education up to Standard V and middle schools going up to Standard VIII, and the results had not been satisfactory.² In 1908, therefore, this classification was abolished and all became elementary schools whose curriculum was strictly confined to the eight standards, to drawing and to vernacular literature. A certificate was instituted for pupils passing Standard VIII in the hope that it would become a recognized qualification for employment and would encourage scholars to persevere for the whole course. At the same time schools which were allowed to take up the 'specific subjects' and which prepared a fair number of pupils for the Cambridge Local Examinations³ were classed as secondary.

But once again the regulations failed to specify the points at which any of the secondary or specific subjects

¹ e.g. in 1922 only 0.6 per cent.

² See above, p. 49.

³ London University Examinations or the First Arts Examinations of an Indian University were also included.

should be started, and they were combined with the standard work. Latin, for example, began at different points in different schools from Standard III upwards, and there was nothing to prevent its being introduced into the Infant Department. The requirements of the Cambridge Local Examinations continued to dominate everything, and the 1911-12 Education Committee was constrained to repeat the criticism of the 1867 Committee that the English schools passed a large number of pupils through a course which was suited to the needs and the capacities of only a small minority. As a remedy it proposed to reclassify them into:

- (a) Elementary.
- (b) Elementary with a secondary department working up to the Junior standard.
- (c) Elementary with a secondary department working up to the Senior standard.
- (d) Fully organized secondary schools.

At the same time the Standard VIII examination was transformed into an Elementary School Leaving Certificate the earning of which was a necessary qualification for a scholar desiring to enter schools of the (b) and (c) type. It was also made a condition of admission to the technical schools, to the Fourth class of the Civil Service, to the Apothecaries' course at the Medical College, and to minor government positions and departments.

Judging from the reports of Directors of Education not much improvement has resulted. We read in 1917 'A pass in English in the Senior Cambridge Examination does not necessarily mean that the student can write a simple letter applying for an appointment without several mistakes', and that 'so long as Latin is required for admission to the Ceylon Medical College and its study is encouraged for the London Intermediate and the Cambridge Senior, so long must hundreds of victims be sacrificed for the higher education of the few.' And in 1922,

'The great increase in the number of English schools indicates that the problem of employment is becoming pressing. In Jaffna

a serious position has arisen owing to the Federated Malay States being no longer open to the employment of immigrants.¹ The problem will continue serious until people realize the dignity of all kinds of labour. The outlet for educated boys, apart from the government and the commercial services, is bound up with the development of industries, and until there is a development on the industrial side no solution of it is visible.'

The returns of 44 secondary schools, giving the employment of former pupils, although incomplete and for one year only, were some indication of the state of affairs:

Agriculture . . .	4 %	Clerical	22 %
Business	5 „	Unemployed . . .	34 „
Teaching	18 „	Unknown	17 „

And in 1926,

'the general standard of work in the English schools is greatly handicapped by the restricted curriculum which is directed towards an examination (the Cambridge Senior, or the School Leaving Certificate), rather than based on the need of the pupils or the economic conditions of Ceylon. Few schools have given a practical bias to the education given to the pupil above the age of 11 or 12, and the academic school course leading to the "professions" is still the only course holding the field.'

Moreover, the separation of the academically educated minority from the great majority of the population was reflected also in the political developments of the twentieth century. The 1910 reform of the Legislative Council, which increased the unofficial membership to ten, provided that four of them representing the 'communities educated on European lines' should be chosen by election and not nomination. One of them was a Sinhalese.² The subsequent reforms of 1920 and 1924 departed from the strictly communal system, and in response to the reiterated demands of the Ceylon National Congress, which represented mainly the low-country Sinhalese who had been the longest

¹ Due to the passing of the Labour Code, 1922. See below, p. 215.

² The other three were European urban, European rural, and Burgher. The six nominated members included one Kandyan Sinhalese, one Muslim, two Low-country Sinhalese, and two Tamils.

and most intimately in contact with Western ideas, introduced a territorially elected representation, which in 1924 grew to be 23 out of 37 unofficial members. The qualifications for the exercise of the franchise were an ability to read and write English and Sinhalese or Tamil, and property of a specified value. On this basis the electorate numbered 204,997 or 4 per cent. of the total population.

The most recent change in the franchise has abolished all literary tests. At the same time, reforms in the curriculum of the elementary schools have had in view a lessening of the former dependence on memorizing work with the sole object of obtaining examination results, and have introduced a third column into the syllabus containing suggestions as to how the subjects can be taught by relating them to actions. Industrial education also now conforms more to local conditions with the object of reviving the skill in craftsmanship which is still found in different parts of Ceylon. The school garden movement, too, has made a rapid and encouraging advance.

CHAPTER VII

JAVA (I)

*The Dutch (1595-1808), The French Period (1808-1811),
The British (1811-1816), The Dutch (1816-1848)*

WHEN the Dutch came to Java the kingdom of Mataram, which was the centre of Muslim influence, had spread east and west until at the end of the sixteenth century it had absorbed almost the whole.¹ Wherever it was weakest, evidences of the previous Hindu political system survived. It was a combination of autocracy superimposed on village communities nominating their own headmen. A hierarchy of native officials united the sovereign and the people. They were the 'Regents', the heads of divisions or Wedanas and their subordinates whom the Dutch continued in their offices. Appointments depended upon the whim of the ruler and were usually made from the aristocracy of birth. The Government was semi-feudal. A fifth of the crop and one day's work out of the Javanese week of five days was a reasonable and customary exaction from the cultivators as a condition of their occupation of their lands. But as every officer had unlimited power over those below him, and was himself subject to the capricious will of those above him, there was no limit to the possibility of abuse.

This machinery supplied an admirable instrument to the Dutch for levying 'contingents' and 'forced deliveries',² without expense. They therefore interfered with it as little as possible and aspired to limit their political responsibilities to the utmost. Their first treaties with the kings of Bantam and Jakatra gave them, in return for their

¹ In 1625 Mataram included all Java except Bantam and Blambangan and the islands of Madura and Bali.

² Contingents were fixed quantities of agricultural produce delivered through the Regents in recognition of Dutch sovereignty. Forced deliveries were the product of compulsory cultivations which were purchased through the Regents at prices which allowed the Government a substantial profit.

assistance against all other invaders, freedom of trade, the right to establish factories, security of person and of property, and immunity from native taxation. They were soon forced, however, to go beyond this by the instability of the internal situation. By the middle of the seventeenth century they had acquired sovereign rights over Jakatra¹, Preanger,² and the north-east coast³. They also exercised the rights of a suzerain over Bantam and Cheribon which were bound by agreements to trade only with them, to allow their seaports to be controlled, and in the case of Bantam to pay annual tribute of pepper. The remains of the kingdom of Mataram were split up into two states, Surakarta and Jokyakarta, both of which acknowledged the suzerainty of the Dutch, who were able to foster their mutual antagonism and so to prevent them uniting against the Company. In all these territories the existing form of native government was preserved. In western Java, in which the capital and the residence of the Governors-General were situated, a Commissary of Inland Affairs controlled the natives but with Regents as coadjutors. On the north-east coast government through Regents was also the rule. All Java east of Cheribon was under the jurisdiction of the Governor of north-east Java, who resided at Samarang and through whom all correspondence with Surakarta and Jokyakarta was conducted. By retaining these Kings and Regents in their former positions in relation to their subjects, the Dutch were able through them to exercise pressure indirectly on the cultivators.

The result was to encourage the defeudalization of the native authorities, who in turn were forced to interfere increasingly with the functions of village self-government. Thus the Company's régime did at least prepare the Javanese for the more intensive Western contact which the nineteenth century was to bring. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they had been seafarers and colonizers. They had dominated the trade of the Malay Archipelago and of the Philippines. In the seventeenth century they had become agricultural and accustomed to the presence

¹ In 1677.

² In 1705.

³ In 1748.

of a Western power whose maintenance of internal peace made a large increase of population possible. Between 1740 and 1810 it is said to have trebled.

Although the Company never came into direct contact with the native races in Java and did little directly for their advancement, the Dutch Reformed Church was by no means inactive in the East Indies in the seventeenth century, though its work declined markedly in the eighteenth. The first Governor-General was instructed to build schools and to promote missionary work; and campaigns, similar to those conducted in Formosa, were set on foot in Amboina, Huruku, Saparua, Ternate, the Banda islands, Macassar, and Timor. They were hampered, however, by the insistence of the Government that only the High Malay dialect, which the natives could not properly understand, should be used for church purposes. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that the Church Council in Batavia, which was the ruling body of the Church in Indonesia, had cause to complain early in the eighteenth century that converts were grossly ignorant. Fear of antagonizing Muslim sentiment prevented similar activity in Java. One of the first Batavian Church ordinances confined Church membership to the inhabitants of the port, the town, and the surrounding district. Some Javanese were thus included, and in the following year their instruction through the medium of their own language was ordered. As soon as a competent missionary, who was capable of speaking Malay, started work, conversions became so numerous that a special Malay Church had to be built 'where the services were sung in the manner practised in Holland'. Conversion was encouraged by the payment of forty stuivers to every new Christian; and soon afterwards the Company had to take over the payment of the school teachers' salaries which had become too heavy a charge upon the Church. The schools were mixed schools and, although the sexes were made to sit apart in 1684, the races were not separated until 1780. The curriculum included the elementary Christian truths, prayer and the singing of hymns, church attendance, the

catechisms, and respect for one's betters. The children were examined every six months. Towards the end of the century the qualifications of teachers were raised to 'an ability to read with ease any book or document, to write a good legible hand, to sing the Psalms of David, and to be quick and accurate at figures'.

The education given in these Christian missionary schools differed little in standard of attainment from that given in Muslim village schools. The curriculum of the latter consisted in reciting verses from the Koran in Arabic with little concern for their meaning, and in learning the ritual ablutions and the daily devotions. Or children were sent away to boarding-schools or 'Pondocks', where religious discipline was stricter, while those who wished to advance still further went to the 'Peasantrens' which were establishments which attracted pupils according to the reputation of the teachers who conducted them. In both the Christian and the Muslim schools education was primarily religious and had as its object the mechanical assimilation by their pupils of an imported culture through the medium of an alien or unfamiliar tongue.

For the first two centuries of its history, therefore, contact between West and East in Java had comparatively little effect on the native institutions. The island was cut off from the outside world by the Dutch monopoly of its trade. Its internal communications were not developed and it remained in a state of social and political stagnation from which the successors of the Dutch East India Company found it difficult to extricate it, owing to their dependence on the economic system which the Company bequeathed to them. The Commission of Inquiry for example, which the Batavian Republic appointed to advise on the future of its possessions in Indonesia, could do no more than suggest that any change from contingents and fixed deliveries to freedom of culture and regulated taxation would lead to a decline of cultivation, and to a heavy increase in the direct cost of salaries which no taxation would be adequate to meet. The result would be that the Mother country, far from drawing any

benefit from its possessions, would have to make good their deficits. Moreover, such a change would revolutionize native institutions and would open the door to dangerous political and economic consequences. The Government should, therefore, confine itself to establishing a system of supervision rather than of direct government, leaving the natives under their own rulers and in the enjoyment of their own manners, customs, and laws.

The years during which Marshal Daendels ruled Java as representative of King Louis Napoleon of Holland were equally ineffective in making any impression on the old system. And for the same reason. He was financially dependent upon it. All he could do was to see that as much as possible of the proceeds of exaction reached the central treasury instead of the pockets of the officials. He did this by putting them on fixed salaries which were paid from the same sources as those from which they had previously paid themselves. He left intact the rights of the Regents to make what levies they chose, but he reduced the number of personal services which they could call upon their people to perform. The people, therefore, were in much the same position as before, except that the traditional authority of their rulers had been diminished.

Sir Stamford Raffles was the first to break through the vicious circle. He elaborated a scheme which involved the abolition of feudal services, contingents, and forced deliveries of produce at inadequate prices, and the introduction of freedom of cultivation and of trade. He was satisfied that between the Government and the cultivators there was no class whose landed interest he was bound to respect and that the cultivators had a prescriptive right of occupation which could not be disturbed so long as they paid their dues. The European Government consequently could assume the 'immediate superintendence of the lands' and 'without the intervention of native authority' could 'act directly with each individual cultivator' and lease him his land at a fixed rent. He realized that the change 'exploded the whole system of native management' by rendering the people economically independent of the

Regents, and by encouraging them 'to look up to the European power which protects them'.¹ It also seriously weakened the communal organization of the village by removing from it all concern in the distribution of the lands, for, although during a transition period the village headmen acted as middlemen lessees, the intention was to eliminate them also.

The principle upon which Raffles's scheme was based, that a Western sovereign who had replaced an Eastern ruler was entitled to a share of the harvest of his new subjects, was quite in accord with Javanese traditions and customs. Where it departed from them was in transforming a right to collect a tribute into a right to demand a rent as a sovereign landlord. This introduced an agrarian conception which was foreign to Java and an individualism which was antagonistic to the village organization.

The point of most interest to us in this comprehensive reform is the educative influence which Raffles expected it to exercise. He found that the lower classes of Javanese were apparently lost to every idea of their own advantage, were governed by apathy, were almost insensible to the value of property, were strongly prejudiced in favour of their chiefs, and were simple and unenlightened. He relied on 'the fixed and immutable principles of human character and human association' to overcome this attitude of complacent stagnation, and to assure success for his reforms because they were 'consonant with every motive of action that operates on man, and justified by the practice and experience of every flourishing country in the world'.²

In the meantime while these universal forces were coming into play, he hoped to secure the support of the Regents by maintaining their emoluments and their rank. They were to be the 'chief native officers in their respective districts' and were to be employed in the department of police, but under 'the watchful attention of the Resident'. This meant another change in the native organization

¹ Raffles: *Substance of a Minute*, 1814, pp. 193-4, 261; Lady Raffles: *Memoir of Sir T. S. Raffles*, 1830, pp. 193, 212, 214.

² Lady Raffles: *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 221.

which had hitherto been based in principle on the unity of all functions in the chief. The new system involved their division into two departments—the judicial and the revenue. The Regents were in future to be confined to the former and were to have no concern in the latter. On the other hand this dualism was not carried below the Regents. The 'Wedanas' and the village headmen were both to be continued in 'the double capacity of superintending the judicial and the revenue proceedings within the limits of their official range'. For them to do so was 'consonant with the immemorial customs of the country'.¹ But there was this difference—they now served under two separate superiors for each department and were to be called upon to administer regulated systems of police and of land revenue, with all the paraphernalia of filling in forms, rendering reports, and carrying out instructions.

This interesting experiment in the adjustment of a native agrarian system to European individualism was never completed. The British occupation of Java was too shortlived. The Dutch after their resumption of the government retained many of its features, but they abandoned its individualistic objective. They continued the subordination of the Regents to the Residents, whose jurisdiction now covered the whole island and Madura. The former were to act as 'the confidential advisers' of the latter in all matters concerning the government of the natives and were to be treated by the Residents as 'younger brothers'.² Their titles, rank, etiquette, and retinues were regulated. Their dissociation from all management of the lands was maintained. They were to be employed on such business as fostering agriculture and cattle-raising, developing communications and keeping registers of population and livestock. They were made responsible for providing elementary education in 'the manners, customs, laws, and religion of Java'. This duty had been conferred on the Regents on the north-east coast

¹ Raffles: *op. cit.*, Revenue Regulations, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, 24.

² Chailley-Bert: *Java et ses habitants*, 1900, p. 239; Day: *The Policy of Administration of the Dutch in Java*, 1904, p. 219.

by Daendels in 1808 and the principle was several times reaffirmed.¹ They paid little attention to it and left it to the elementary Muslim schools in the villages.

The different position thus allotted to the Regents under the Restoration Government shows how far, under the influence of the time, the Dutch had departed from their former policy of abstention. The Regents being made advisers to the Residents instead of the reverse indicates also the extent to which the new native administration was direct. On the other hand, Raffles's ideal of the Central Government coming into direct contact with the cultivators, and his scheme of separately assessing the land rent due in respect of each holding, were abandoned. The Dutch were alive to the non-native individualism which they implied and the greater expense which they involved. Instead, they adopted the principle of village assessments which were settled by negotiations or bargaining with the village headmen representing the cultivators as a body. Thus the village was once again accepted and reinstated as an organic unit and as the basis of native society; and the danger of too easy an alienation of native land to non-native interests, which was inherent in Raffles's plan, was averted.²

The new plan worked satisfactorily until 1824. The budget showed annual surpluses and the land revenue gave satisfactory returns. Then followed the five years of the Java war, an accumulation of deficits amounting to £3,000,000 over a period of seven years, and the solution of the financial problem by Governor van den Bosch's Culture system.

It is unnecessary to give more than a very brief outline of this scheme, which attracted so much attention owing to J. W. B. Money's enthusiastic description of it in his book on Java published in 1861, and the deplorable effects which it caused. It fitted in with the traditions of the

¹ In 1818, 1820, 1827, and 1830. Cabaton: *Java, Sumatra, and the other islands of the Dutch East Indies*, 1912, p. 145; Chailley-Bert: *op. cit.*, p. 254.

² de Kat Angelino: *Colonial Policy*, 1931, vol. ii, p. 434.

natives in so far as they were accustomed to pay at least a fifth of their crop to their chief and to give one day's work out of the Java week of five days. The same result would be achieved under the Culture system by making each village community set aside a fifth of its lands to be sown with certain prescribed crops which it had to deliver either direct to the Government or to one of its contractors at prices which assured a large profit to the State. It was a payment of a tax and not a rent.

The results were the same as developed out of the contingents and forced deliveries. In the first place nothing was done for the welfare of the cultivators. They became once more mere producing machines and the *corvées* levied on them increased largely. Once again they came under the direct control of Regents and other native officials who could extract from them the products which the Dutch required and which they found they were unable to procure without native intervention. Secondly, the government officers, both European and native, again became dependent for a large part of their salaries upon exactions from the cultivators. It was the most economical way for the State to pay them. 'Gain for the Europeans, power for the natives' became the accepted theory of the relationship between the two peoples. In Money's opinion 'it accorded to the peculiar requirements of each' because it necessarily implied 'the government of the people by their chiefs', which in turn, was the cause of 'the really cordial relations between European and native'. But the cultivator had to pay the price. Their individual interest in the products of their land became subordinated to the communal liability to produce the prescribed crops in sufficient quantities. The possession of a field or its acquisition by inheritance, transfer, reclamation, or allotment by the decision of the village assembly, which had previously been the highest ambition of most villagers, became a burden from which they tried to escape by dividing the land into smaller parcels and distributing them to all able-bodied men irrespective of their claims or of their status. The traditional classification of villagers

into owners of houses with land, owners of houses without land and people who did not yet own either was also upset. At the same time the village headmanship, formerly a coveted office, became a burden which no one willingly undertook and which had to be imposed on its holders by rotation, each one handing it on to the next as soon as he could.

One result was novel and unexpected. The efficient management of the Culture system depended upon the keeping of registers and accounts. Few natives were capable of doing either and yet they had to be depended upon for the purpose. The State, therefore, found itself for the first time obliged to take a direct interest in native education in order to train a class of native officials with the necessary qualifications.

Early in the nineteenth century also missionary activity began to revive, and three societies—‘The Society of the Netherlands Missions of Rotterdam’, ‘The Bible Society’, and ‘The Society of Javanese Missions’—were founded. Liberal opinion in Holland, however, in its anxiety to be fair to all creeds and to ensure complete freedom of worship, influenced the Government to continue discouraging any propaganda which might offend the Muslims.

CHAPTER VIII

JAVA (2)

The Dutch (1848-1900)

THE liberal movement in Holland which brought about the reform of the constitution in 1848 was equally potent in colonial questions. It was able to profit by the tendency to a more direct European intervention in native affairs in Java which had in the past been initiated by Daendels, carried further by Raffles, and continued by the Restoration Government. Even the Culture system, reversion though it was to eighteenth-century practice, led in the same direction, for under it the Regents were employed for European rather than for native administrative purposes. The contingents and forced deliveries had had a similar effect; but with the difference that under them the Regents had been called upon to produce certain quantities of goods and had been left to do it in their own semi-feudal way. Under the Culture system the method was prescribed for them and European officials saw that they carried it out; and if, as frequently happened, they were incapable of doing so, the interference of the Europeans increased in directness. Although the system was never applied to more than 5.5 per cent. of the arable lands of Java in any one year¹, its influence spread over a much larger area owing to the periodical changes in the fields cultivated. Furthermore, arable land not subject to it came under the land-rent which was outside the Regents' authority and under direct European supervision. While the Culture system was in force, therefore, government interference in native affairs and the number of European officials increased materially.² The whole island had been divided into twenty European Residencies. They were now in turn gradually sub-divided into Assistant

¹ In 1845.

² In 1844 there were 32 Assistant Residents; in 1866, 60, and in 1900, 77.

Residencies each of which usually coincided in area with a Regency; and although a Regent was technically superior to an Assistant-Resident, as the latter represented the Resident who was supreme over all, the former had in effect to obey his commands. Consequently, in spite of the Regents regaining much of their former feudal authority under the Culture system they became in reality more and more dependent upon the Dutch.

The administration of the land-rent necessitated an increasing departure from abstention. It required the appointment of Controllers¹ who came to play an important and unusual part in the government of the natives. Their duties brought them into intimate contact with the village authorities and with those details of village economic life which had to be taken into account in assessing the land-rent. They were equally essential under the Culture system, and in 1855 a code of instructions was prepared for them in their capacity as 'Controllers of Rural Revenue and Cultivation', in which they were reminded that the mutual interests of Java and of the Mother country depended greatly upon the manner in which they carried on their intercourse with the native chiefs and their people. Each controlled an area equal to a third or a half of that of an Assistant-Resident. But they had no specific administrative duties. They had no power to give orders. The Assistant-Residents could not delegate any responsibility to them. They acted as connecting links between European and native, seeing that the orders of the former were executed and explaining the difficulties and the hesitations of the latter. They travelled incessantly, lived amongst the population and were in daily contact with the villages and their headmen. They were expected to know everything about the people, to place their knowledge at the disposal of the native officials, to point out to them their shortcomings, to inform the Assistant-Residents on all subjects of importance and to make suggestions to them. So general did their duties become that the Government eventually withdrew the instructions which had been

¹ Previous to 1827 these were entitled 'Supervisors'.

issued to them and left them free to operate as seemed to them best. At their meetings with local authorities they would discuss a variety of subjects such as the policing of the district; the assessment, distribution among individual taxpayers, and the collection of taxes; the cultivating, harvesting, and marketing of produce; agrarian problems, including the reclamation of lands, breaches of hereditary individual rights, and conversions of communal into individual tenure; compulsory government and communal services, the number of days to be allotted, the maintenance of the roads and of the irrigation canals; the general health of the community. After the passing of the Communal Government and Electoral Ordinances of 1906 and 1907, which regulated and defined the procedure of village assemblies and the powers of village headmen and elders in Java and Madura, the Controllers presided over village elections and interested themselves in the starting of village schools, savings banks, markets, corrals, and so forth, and were, in short, admirable instruments of the protective and paternal policy which became characteristic of Dutch rule after the abolition of the Culture system. They continued to function until they were absorbed in the political and decentralizing reforms of recent years.¹

The increasing importance of the Controllers had a parallel effect on the position of the Wedanas, the native district officers under the Regents. They became the mainspring of the native side of the administration while the Regents retired into the background. The latter had shown themselves to be deficient in the business ability required in the Culture system; they now appeared equally to lack the administrative gifts which the higher standard of native government called for. The same transfer of real authority to the Residents was observable in the two native States.

Furthermore, the government continued the policy of defeudalizing native society by forbidding the occupation of the land by virtue of the tenure of office, which the cultures had revived, and by gradually abolishing the

¹ See below, p. 96.

right of native officials to the personal services of the people, which Daendels had considerably reduced and on which the Regents' traditional authority largely rested.¹ Their control over the administration of justice had been whittled down by Raffles, while police functions were exercised mainly by Wedanas and Assistant-Residents, and they were left with little else than the traditional halo with which religious custom and native feeling for heredity endowed them. The former showed signs of losing some of its force, for the Regents themselves sometimes neglected it, while education was apt to undermine belief in the latter.² For these reasons education was deprecated and discouraged by conservatives. Nevertheless, the training of a sufficient number of the higher-class natives, from whom the Wedanas and other native officials and eventually also the Regents would be recruited, was imperative.

The idea of a Western education had not previously appealed to the natives, except only to a few in the larger towns whom a regulation of 1818 admitted, in principle, to the European schools. The native leaders feared that Western culture would undermine the established religion. The Dutch Government sympathized and for the same reason discouraged missionary propaganda. Gradually, however, the possibility of remaining faithful to religious customs and traditions without continuing to live in ignorance of the multiplication table began to be realized. The rising demand for native officials under the Culture system and in the administration encouraged them to fit themselves to meet it. New qualifications, which were not necessarily hereditary, became the avenue to the honours and outward distinctions, the much coveted umbrellas which all envied and which indicated rank in the official hierarchy. The upper classes began to realize that if they were to retain their position in society they would have to be educated. A few Regents were equally alive to the same truth, and two of the most progressive in Japara and

¹ The personal services were abolished in 1882.

² See the statement of a Regent quoted by de Kat Angelino; *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 76.

Pasoeroean opened schools in the 'forties and scandalized the natives and astonished the Dutch by giving their own children a semi-European upbringing.

The movement grew as European intervention increased. The response was necessarily slow owing to the exigencies of finance, and it did not attain any real momentum until the twentieth century. The first step was taken in 1848, when the modest sum of 25,000 florins was set aside in the budget, mainly for the training of native officials. In 1851 the first native normal school was established, and in Article 128 of the East Indian Government Act of 1854 the principle that it was the duty of the Government to provide for native education was recognized, and the Governor-General was authorized to take all the necessary steps to improve and to extend it. Nevertheless, although a separate Department of Education was set up and a beginning was made with opening schools and training teachers, progress was very slow until after 1872, when a whole plan was drawn up and an active campaign was set afoot, with the result that in 1884 a halt had to be called owing to lack of funds. One cause of expense was the medium of instruction. The Government adopted the liberal view that each language zone had to be respected; an ideal which although excellent in itself meant a multiplication of normal schools. In 1875 there were nine. In 1885 they were reduced to four and their curriculum was simplified, Dutch being omitted from it.¹ The same reform was applied to the special schools for the sons of the upper classes, which had been opened in 1878 with a much too ambitious curriculum, and which later were converted into training schools for native officials.

Following on these reforms the whole system was re-organized in 1893, the schools being divided into two classes, the first for children of the upper classes and the second for the lower classes. In both the medium was the vernacular with some reservations necessitated by the absence of text-books and readers in some of the local languages and the primitive character of others. In these

¹ It was reintroduced in 1907.

cases Malay, the lingua franca of the Dutch East Indies, was substituted.¹ The first-class schools gave a five years' course with a curriculum which included local history, geography, natural history, drawing, and surveying. But the absence of Dutch was a serious drawback in the opinion of the Javanese. It made the schools an end in themselves leading to no higher form of education than the special schools for the sons of the upper classes and a few technical schools which used the vernacular as the medium. In order to gain entrance into the others, which were European and for which a knowledge of Dutch was essential, a scholar was required after passing through a first-class school to join a European elementary school, thus duplicating his primary course. To overcome this difficulty the Javanese endeavoured to get their sons directly into the European elementary schools and not into the native first-class schools, and they were in practice admitted provided their knowledge of Dutch was sufficient and the accommodation was available. The second-class schools gave a three years' course with a curriculum limited to the three Rs taught in the local language or in Malay; but a fourth year could be added in which any of the subjects taught in the first-class schools could be taken.

The financial difficulty also impelled the Government to subsidize private schools, but it refused to extend the privilege to missionary schools until 1895 owing to its determination to preserve a strict religious neutrality.

As the result of all this activity there were in Java in 1896: 3 normal schools; 3 schools for government officials; 205 government schools with 37,103 pupils; 116 subsidized private schools with 14,212 pupils; 86 unsubsidized private schools with 7,176 pupils. A total of 58,491 pupils out of a population of 25,000,000. The cost of education had risen to 1,371,512 florins a year. In addition the 'Dokter-Djawa' school for medical students at Batavia and a few schools for native agricultural and veterinary experts gave professional training.

¹ There are now text-books in no fewer than twenty-four Indonesian languages.

We may here take note of the attitude of the Dutch towards the introduction of their language among the natives. In the abstentionist period of their policy the question did not arise. Low Malay became the *lingua franca* of the Archipelago and also its official and judicial language. The use of Dutch by any native was deprecated. Any Javanese, no matter how exalted his rank, who used it in conversation with a Dutch official would be brusquely answered in Malay. The implication that the superior language was reserved for Europeans alone was not the only explanation of this practice. It was also a symptom of the dualism, the division between European and native and other racial groups, which has always been characteristic of the Dutch East Indies. The two parallel native and European administrations—the Regents and Wedanas on the one side, the Assistant-Residents and Controllers on the other; the recognition of all Eurasians as Europeans and their registration and education as such are other examples. The weakening of this barrier by the removal in 1864 of the ban on natives studying Dutch was lamented by conservatives. But it was inevitable. The desire of the higher-class natives to become proficient in the language increased as they realized that a knowledge of it was essential if they were to play their part in the affairs of their country, which they saw being gradually absorbed by the reforming zeal of a paternal Government. The withdrawal of Dutch from the curriculum of the schools for the sons of the upper classes in 1885 impeded their development; and not until it was reintroduced in 1907 did the first-class schools rapidly increase.

This growing demand for the teaching of Dutch amongst the higher-class natives was typical of other movements indicating that Java was awakening to the spirit of the age. As the nineteenth century advanced to its close people began to talk of ominous innovations like an independent budget and representative institutions. The natives were equally stirred. Their interest in the affairs of the country had increased, their intellectual outlook had widened; and if they were still, according to

European standards, unprogressive and illogical, they were wiser in matters of which they were better to remain in ignorance if the Government wished to prolong its fatherly control. They had, however, reached this stage by a development which was gradual enough to allow of its healthy assimilation. Their contact with Westernism was never haphazard. There was no sudden and revolutionary impact. It had been far more controlled than liberal opinion in Holland at one time desired. The native social, religious, and educational systems remained intact. Above all they retained possession of the land. There is no better example of the gradual adjustment of a native land-owning system to modern conditions than that of Java after 1854. Within its scope it sums up the whole evolution which we have endeavoured to describe.

Those who supported the abolishing of the Culture system had to face the problem of raising revenue by some other means. Liberal opinion favoured the attraction of Western capital and enterprise, coupled with freedom of production and of trade, while the Conservatives were opposed to private capitalist enterprises. Fransen van de Putte's Culture Bill, which was introduced into the States General in 1865-6, was the extreme expression of the former policy. It adopted Raffles's ideal of individual tenure and proposed to make it effective forthwith. The attempt failed owing to the opposition of the Conservatives, supported in this case by Thorbecke and some of the Liberals, who preferred the educational value of the gradual development of native society to the risks of a too rapid modernization.¹ On the other hand, van de Putte refused to guarantee existing native customary land rights before an investigation had been held to determine what they were. The ownership of all land had been vested in the State by the East Indian Government Act of 1854, subject to the rights of the natives being safeguarded. Government action, therefore, was dependent upon their definition. The conversion of those of them which were in the hands

¹ For a contrary view see van der Hoeven: *Veertig Jaren Indische Dienst*, 1894.

of individuals into Western rights of possession, as proposed by van de Putte, would not have been a breach of the proviso although it would have broken through the inherent communalism of all native tenure. But there was also a wide range of less concrete traditional rights over waste land, such as woodcutting, collecting fuel, and so forth, which if included within the proviso would render any active agrarian development impossible. According to native custom they covered the whole island in varying degrees with the exception only of certain uninhabited regions. After several attempts to solve the problem, a village territory apart from its arable lands was defined by the Java Reclamation Ordinance of 1874 to be grasslands set aside for the exclusive use of one or more villages, and lands which had been reclaimed by villagers for their own use and which they had not afterwards left derelict. Outside these categories waste land became free government land and any one wishing to reclaim any portion of it had to apply for a licence to do so. At the same time the system of assessing the land rent by villages was reformed and a cadastral survey was inaugurated as the only reliable basis of assessment. These reforms did not result in the interests of the natives in free government land being disregarded, but in their being brought under the control of the European administration. Nearly all the waste land in question has since been occupied by Javanese. The rigorous and lengthy training in crop raising for the export market which so many generations underwent during the currency of the contingents and forced deliveries and under the Culture system in the end redounded to the benefit of their descendants and enabled them to support a greatly increased population by their own unaided efforts. It was a form of compulsory agricultural education. Moreover, European capital was not attracted to waste land although leases over it could be granted¹ for a maximum period of seventy-five years. Europeans were, however, anxious to secure interests in

¹ The sale of land by the Government was forbidden under the East India Government Act of 1854.

native arable land suitable for growing sugar and indigo and the leasing of them by Indonesians was accordingly permitted by the land law of 1870, subject to conditions which effectively protected both the natives' interest in them and their labour. Nevertheless, non-Indonesian agrarian enterprises have occupied a comparatively small part of the arable land of Java. At the present time they hold 275,018 hectares of a total of 7,704,954 hectares of arable land, that is to say less than 4 per cent. and 550,035 hectares of waste land. In the native States where, before the agrarian reforms of 1912¹ and after, the land was at the disposal of the Princes and could therefore be leased with greater facility, 71,450 hectares were held on lease by Europeans in 1929.

The agrarian problem in Java was not, therefore, the division of the territory between European and native holding, but the adjustment of the latter's customs to modern requirements. The disadvantages of communal possession with periodical redistributions of fields compared with communal tenure divided into fixed shares were obvious. Van de Putte's Culture Bill had been designed to eliminate both. The Reclamation Ordinance of 1874, with the same ultimate object in view, enacted that the man who reclaimed a piece of waste land under a licence was to be the hereditary individual owner of it. The natives, however, frequently ignored this legal provision and applied their customs in spite of it. The Ordinance also offered cultivators the opportunity of acquiring a written title to any hereditary individual claims to land which they could prove—a stipulation which was taken advantage of in the more progressive agricultural districts. In 1885 the more drastic step was taken of decreeing that in the event of at least three-quarters of those entitled to village land expressing a desire for individual tenure the conversion should take place. Native custom, however, was still too potent to allow this pro-

¹ The reforms of 1912 had for their object the removal of all seigneurial rights in the Native States. The reform is now almost accomplished. de Kat Angelino: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 474-5.

vision to become effective and it was not until after 1900 that the change began to come with any rapidity; with the result that in 1927 75 per cent. of the arable land was held in a free individual hereditary tenure, 14 per cent. in communal tenure divided into fixed shares, and only 5 per cent. subject to periodical redistribution. The change came more by a natural process due to the influence of the forces in which Raffles placed his faith than by government intervention. With the large increase in the populations of the villages, and with the rapid occupation of waste lands, a division of the land according to custom would have made holdings too small; and the people silently accepted the transfer of the holding of a father to his eldest son in hereditary individual possession.

CHAPTER IX

JAVA (3)

The Dutch (after 1900)

THE adjustment of land tenure to modern conditions has been accompanied by developments of political institutions and of education. They form the subject of this chapter. The expansion of education dates from the reforms of 1907 and the few figures given below show its remarkable extent:

	1900.	1928.
<i>Number of Primary Schools:</i>		
Vernacular medium	1,375	17,611
	1. (1st & 2nd class schools)	2. (2nd class, complementary and village schools)
Dutch medium	—	396
		3. (Dutch-Indonesian schools, i.e. the former 1st class schools and the liaison schools)
<i>Number of Pupils:</i>		
Vernacular schools	98,460	1,513,000
	(same schools as 1)	(same schools as 2)
Dutch medium	1,540	75,317
	(European schools)	(same schools as 3)
<i>Secondary Schools:</i>		
Number of Pupils	13	6,462
<i>Professional Schools:</i>		
Number of Pupils	200	16,177

The growth was both upward and downward. The former involved abandoning the dualism between European and native education which had hitherto been characteristic of Java, and the most recent example of which had been the withdrawal of Dutch from the curriculum of the first-class schools in 1893. It was now restored to them and they were lifted up into equality with the European

primary schools. The downward growth meant relinquishing the theory that education should be confined mainly to the upper classes and that it should percolate through Indonesian society from the top. The problem was now attacked with great vigour from the bottom; and it is this which accounts for the enormous increase in the number of the vernacular schools.

The need could not be met by the multiplication of second-class schools. In the first place, the desire for a more advanced curriculum on the part of the urban classes for whom they catered had caused them, generally without justification, to exercise their option to include in their curriculum some of the subjects taught in the first-class schools. They were in consequence too advanced and in the second place were too costly to be used merely for the elimination of illiteracy in the villages. A new type of village school was, therefore, invented for this purpose and the financial responsibility for it has been borne jointly by the villagers themselves and by the Government on the same lines as in Ceylon. The former organize the school, erect the building and furnish it, with the occasional help of the Government, which pays the salary of the teacher.

This arrangement accords with the traditional Eastern practice of leaving elementary education to the village and imparting it in the prayer-house or in some building specially erected for the purpose. On the other hand, the village schoolmaster had never before been paid by the Central Government, and the establishment of elementary schools in partnership with it and unconnected with the religion of the people put a new responsibility upon the villagers. Their powers of fulfilling it had just previously been enhanced by the passing of the Communal Government Ordinance.

Nevertheless, the new village schools were not at first attractive. The education given in them, like that provided by the vernacular schools in Ceylon, held out no material advantages to those who went through it. The certificate earned in them was valueless as an aid to government or any other employment. They were, indeed, regarded

more as social than educational institutions and were not brought under the control of the Education Department until 1918. It was apparent that if they were to be effective they would have to be brought into relation with the second-class schools which were recognized as the 'type' or 'standard' to which elementary vernacular education should conform. This object was achieved by making their curriculum and that of the first three years of the second-class school course identical, so that a pupil who had gone through the former could pass at once into the fourth form of the latter. As at present administered it is as follows:

First Year. Object lessons, Reading and Pronunciation ($6\frac{1}{2}$ hours), Elementary Arithmetic, up to the number 20 (6 hours), Writing (3 hours), and Drawing ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hours). Total, 18 hours.

Second Year. Object lessons accompanied by conversation, Reading and Dictations in the Vernacular and in Latin characters ($7\frac{1}{2}$ hours), Arithmetic oral, mental, and written up to the number 100 (6 hours), Writing in Vernacular and Latin characters (3 hours), and Drawing ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hours). Total, 18 hours.

Third Year. The same subjects but more advanced, Arithmetic going up to 1,000, with the weekly school-period increased to 27 hours.

The vernacular may be either Malay or any one of the local languages. In the fourth year of the second-class schools, however, Malay becomes a compulsory subject in those schools where it is not the vernacular language. Six hours a week is devoted to it and the time is deducted from that allotted to the vernacular language (3 hours) from Arithmetic ($2\frac{1}{4}$ hours) and Drawing ($\frac{3}{4}$ hour). Apart from this the fourth and fifth forms carry on the education given during the first three years with the addition of Natural Science. In order to bring their more advanced course within reasonable reach of all, the Government set itself the task of establishing a 'standard' second-class school in every sub-district in Java,¹ and in 1915 simpli-

¹ The population of a sub-district is about 40,000.

fied the process by opening 'Complementary Schools', consisting only of these two forms. There are now 3,000 of them with 400,000 pupils. The training of teachers for the village schools was also taken in hand and was dealt with by instituting a two years' course for those who, having passed through a second-class school, desired to qualify for the diploma of a village school-master. The system worked so well that in 1923 it had to be slowed down temporarily owing to an overproduction of teachers. In 1928 277 of such courses were held with 5,726 students. Similar arrangements were made for second-class school teachers, but they were found to be inadequate, and since 1915 normal board-schools giving a four years' course have been opened. In 1928 there were 23 of them with 2,477 students.

In spite of these reforms and of the great growth in elementary education, progress in eliminating illiteracy has not been as rapid as might be expected. The Census for 1920 showed that only 6.5 per cent. of male adults were literate and 0.5 per cent. of the women. The only figures available from the 1930 Census show that the percentage of literacy for west Java has risen to 11.71 for men and 2.72 for women; and for central Java to 10.81 and 1.21. The principal cause of these low percentages is the rate of school wastage, although one promising feature is that 20 per cent. of the pupils are now girls. As a general rule barely 40 per cent. of the pupils finish the full course. Moreover, not every village sees the advantage of having a school. There have been cases when the people become bothered with too many entreaties to establish one and sometimes collect the money needed for the building, in order to show their willingness so far as the expenses are concerned, and, bringing it in procession to the local government official, hand it over with the request that he will take the will for the deed and leave them in peace in future.

The expansion upwards involved the development of the first-class schools into a type which would be able to meet the insistent demand for a Dutch education. They

were accordingly Westernized. In 1907 Dutch was introduced as a subject in the third year and a sixth class was added in which it became the medium. Four years later its introduction was put forward to the second year and the full course was increased to seven years. In 1914 it became the medium for the whole course and a preparatory class was instituted for those whose knowledge of it is insufficient. These schools have thus been brought on to the same level as the European primary schools. Their curriculum is the same although periods are reserved for the study of local languages and of Malay as subjects. They have been renamed Dutch-Indonesian schools. They are inspected by the same inspectors as the European schools and pupils passing through them are no longer obliged to join a European primary school before being admitted to a higher Western education. They have thus been removed from the native education and have been included in the European; and the demarcation between the two, which formerly was accepted as a principle, has been eliminated so far as they are concerned.

On the other hand, their elevation left an unbridged gap between them and the second-class schools, which was all the more noticeable after the latter had been connected up with the villages by the opening of 'Complementary Schools'. If a villager wished to qualify for a secondary course he had to start at the bottom of a Dutch Indonesian school, or of a European elementary school. The five years he had spent in a second-class school could not be a qualification because Dutch was not included in the curriculum, while it was the sole medium of secondary education.

Moreover, the latter originally was meant more particularly for the children of the upper classes; and it was not until 1921 that steps were taken to complete the education ladder for the second-class and village-school pupils. The 'Schakel' or 'Liaison' schools which were then created give a five years' course to children of promise who have passed through the first three years of elementary education either in a second-class or in a village school. They

carry them to the same point as do the Dutch-Indonesian schools, Dutch being taught for an average of six hours a week as a subject throughout the five years. There are some sixty of these schools with about 4,000 pupils, of whom not more than 20 per cent. belong to the upper classes.

The danger of confining education to the upper classes and to those who in the urban areas were in daily contact with European influences lay in the disparity which it encouraged between them and the rural population. The literary education of the upper classes having made some progress before 1907, that of the rural population had to be brought up to the same point in order to redress the balance. The village-school movement inaugurated in 1907 and the reorganized second-class and complementary schools had this object in view. Their curriculum, therefore, was mainly literary. Moreover, of the 16,177 students who were being trained in professional schools in 1928, 10,398 were qualifying to become schoolmasters, 1,215 were taking medical and hygiene courses, and of the remaining 4,564, 3,510 were learning artisan trades, 55 were qualifying for a commercial career, 285 were training to become sailors, and 212 were studying agriculture. At the same time the number of Javanese attending school exceeded 1½ millions.

In view of these figures it is natural that the education given should be criticized for being unpractical and for aiming too much at book-knowledge and not enough at action. As one critic observed in 1923:

Throughout the Indies there is urgent need first of all for a wide extension of simple agricultural and trade education in which practical work must be the main consideration. But this is not enough. Even in schools where a general formative education is given, much could be done by cultivating the love of work.

Before 1907 the Government had paid no attention to this side of education. But it then decided to embark on three technical schools and they were opened in 1910 at Batavia, Samarang, and Surabaya with a three years'

course for men who had passed through a second-class school. It was hoped that their certificated students would carry popular vocational education into the country by means of small mobile industrial schools. The experiment was not successful owing to the pupils trained considering themselves superior to the work. In 1915, therefore, less ambitious schools with a two years' course were started, leaving the training of their teachers to the three technical schools. The movement is still only in its elementary stage. It has been criticized on the ground that it is fashioned too much on the experience of Holland, where a vocational training follows on an elementary education as a matter of course. In Java, on the other hand, a native who has passed through a second-class or a complementary school is inclined to look upon such occupations as unworthy of him. Simple agricultural schools, similar to the school garden movement in Ceylon, and courses of agricultural training for village schoolmasters have been instituted; but they have as yet had only a restricted application.

Dutch policy previous to the reforms of 1907 had confined education to the higher levels of native society. Its main object had been to train native officials and the sons of notables in order that they might co-operate with the European Government and maintain their positions in native society. On the same principle the Dutch administrative system had always been highly centralized and autocratic.

It was 'a one man's rule, one man at the centre, one man in each of the Residencies, one man in each of the Divisions, one man in the Regencies and in the Native States, one man in the Districts and one in the sub-Districts'.¹

The population as a whole had no voice in the Government. The fact that the States General in Holland, which was elected on a democratic franchise, had ultimate control made no difference, for the people of the Dutch East Indies

¹ See record of paper by Dr. de Kat Angelino, and of a discussion at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, available in the library.

were unrepresented in them. Nor did the administration of their own affairs by the Village Communes under the East India Government Act of 1854 contribute to any growth of self-government. They had to conform to the requirements of the authorities above them, who were in every case representatives of the Central Government. The system served until the end of the nineteenth century, but was thereafter unsuited to the rapid change of circumstances both in Java and throughout the western Pacific.

It required amending in two directions. In the first place the control had to be decentralized from the top, and secondly some form of autonomy had to be introduced at the bottom and gradually extended up to the top. The 1907 reform of education which we have described fitted into both these requirements. Its expansion upwards was calculated to produce a larger supply of natives capable of replacing Europeans in the management of their country's affairs, while the development of village schools made more possible the extension of communal autonomy. The first steps in decentralization were taken under the Act of 1903. Local councils were nominated in each Residency, their finances were separated from the central revenue and were spent in accordance with their proposals. They were still, however, far removed from being autonomous or representative, except in the municipalities, where they developed more rapidly. They were largely composed of officials who had worked under the old fatherly régime; and their relations to the Communes, especially after the passing of the Communal Government and Electoral Ordinances, were unsatisfactory because the Regencies, which intervened and which were the natural superior authority of the Communes, were not included in the reform. On the other hand, the Residency Councils were adequately connected with the *Volksraad*, an Advisory National Assembly created in 1918. Together they formed the electoral body which returned half its members. Since the War the reforms have advanced a step farther and the island has been divided up into a regular descending scale of local authorities below the *Volksraad*. The Residency

Councils have been absorbed into new and higher entities called Provinces and have also been superseded from below by the emergence of Regency Councils which are now the connecting links between the Provinces and the Communes.

One outcome of these reforms is the passing of the intimate contact which the Dutch side of the administration formerly maintained with village life through the Controllers; and the Government is now considering means of restoring it.

CHAPTER X
THE PHILIPPINES
The Spanish (1571-1898)

I

THE Spaniards found the Philippines inhabited by natives who were organized in clan communities called Barangays, each of which chose its own headman. There was no central authority, and even if several of these family groups formed a township they were bound to one another only 'in friendship and relationship' and in mutual defence. Each remained a separate entity. Each headman had the right to call on the members of his Barangay to render him certain services, such as rowing his boat and helping to build his house and to till his plot. He was expected to feed them while so employed. The use of the Barangay lands was divided between its members so that each one knew his field and could leave it to his heirs. Waste and unoccupied land was available to any one who cleared it and it remained his so long as he cultivated it.¹

The Spaniards accepted this organization as the basis of their native administration and adjusted it to their centralized form of government. The clan headman became a 'Cabeza de Barangay', who collected the tribute which the Spaniards exacted, settled local quarrels and maintained order. The villages or 'Barrios' were grouped into 'Pueblos', and the natives were concentrated as much as possible to facilitate their conversion. The seat of the government of a Pueblo became a 'Poblacion' or town, the government of which was in the hands of a native or mestizo 'Gobernadorcillo', who was appointed annually by the Central Government from a panel of three names chosen by the outgoing holder of the office and twelve of the leading inhabitants of the Pueblo who were known as

¹ Blair and Robertson: *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1893, 1903-9*. vol. vii. *Two Relations by Juan de Plasencia, a Franciscan Missionary*.

the 'Principalia'. He was assisted by 'Alguacils' or constables, whose numbers depended upon the size of the population. Together they settled all minor disputes between natives and they were specially charged to assist the clergy, under whose close supervision they conducted their business. The Pueblos were organized into Provinces, each under a Provincial Governor or Alcalde Mayor, who in turn was responsible to the central government. By the Maura law of 1893 the twelve leading inhabitants of the Pueblo were made elective, the franchise being confined to former office holders and to those who paid not less than P.50 land-tax. The twelve then chose the Capitan Municipal, as the Gobernadorcillo was now called, and the four other municipal officials, subject to the approval of the Provincial Governor. Only to this extent had the elective principle been introduced by the Spaniards before the Americans replaced them;¹ and it did not satisfy the Filipinos.

The Spaniards also introduced into the islands their regular method of exacting tributes from the natives as a token of their vassalage to the King of Spain and applying them to the reward of the conquistadors, to the financing of white settlement and the development of the country, and to missionary enterprise. Each tribute represented two persons—a married couple or two single men or women above certain ages and below the age of sixty. It amounted to ten Castilian reals and was payable partly in kind and partly in silver 'or more commonly whatever the Indians choose to pay in rice, cloth or cotton'.² A grant of any of these tributes to a Spaniard was known as an 'Encomienda', the grantee being an 'Encomendero'. He had the right to 'collect and recover for himself the tributes of the Indians awarded to him, subject to his being responsible for their spiritual and temporal welfare and to his living and bearing arms in defence of the Province in

¹ There is a detailed description of the local government as it was under the Maura law in the *Report of the Philippine Commission of 1900*, pp. 43–72.

² Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 254; vol. xviii, p. 106; vol. xxviii, p. 180.

which his *encomienda* was situated'.¹ He might employ his natives on his farms and other enterprises, but only as free labourers and for payment; and, above all, subject to his having them taught the Catholic Faith.

This last was officially the dominating consideration. In 1596 Philip II gave a ruling that whenever the resources of an *encomienda* were insufficient to support the *encomendero* and also to pay the cost of instructing the natives, preference was to be given to the instruction even though this meant leaving the *encomendero* without resources.² The natives' temporal welfare was served by associating them with the Spaniards. They were to have 'just contracts and shares with the farmers so that they may conceive a liking for and learn farming as it is practiced here' (Spain).³ In the middle of the eighteenth century 250,000 tributes were collected. Of these 18,437 were in the hands of private *encomenderos*, who paid 10 per cent. of the amount collected to the king and were responsible for the clergy stipends.⁴ The balance accrued to the Colonial treasury and was almost entirely expended in subsidizing the religious orders and the upkeep of the church.⁵

The natives were also liable to be called on to perform labour and services for the State; and one of the chief criticisms of the early Spanish colonial administration was the hardships suffered by the Filipinos in the ship-building yard at Cavite and as rowers. In the nineteenth century, and at the time of the American occupation, every able-bodied male was liable to perform fifteen days' service in each year. It might take the form of 'ordinary' service such as acting as watchman or as messenger or helping to cut wood, or 'extraordinary' such as road-making for the

¹ Juan de Salorzano: *Politica Indiana*, 1776, Lib. iii, Cap. iii.

² Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. viii, p. 239. Instructions to Governor Tello.

³ Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. vii. Paragraph 24 of Instructions to Governor Desmariñas.

⁴ Juan Delzado: *Historia general*, 1751-4. Blair and Robertson: vol. xxviii, p. 182.

⁵ For details see Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xxxvi, p. 181; vol. 1, p. 79.

benefit of the village or the province. But not much of the latter was done and the Americans found the communications of the islands very inadequately developed.¹

II

The islands were divided between the various religious foundations in order to avoid overlapping. But there was no essential difference in their methods. Wherever possible the natives were concentrated into villages where they would be more under control. This was frequently a long and tedious process for they were 'like deer', and sometimes as difficult to domesticate.² Nevertheless the plan was steadily followed. A good example of it is the action of the Jesuits at Taytay, about ten miles east of Manila, at the end of the sixteenth century. The number of families concerned was 400, divided into four barangays. They were living on marshy ground from which the Jesuits moved them to a more salubrious site where they erected the Church, organized a Pueblo, and subjected the natives to the Christian discipline which was usually adopted at that time. It is thus described by Father Pedro Chirino:

'It is a general custom in all mission villages in the Filipinas for all the people to repair on Sundays and on days of obligations to the Church for the mass and the sermon before which the doctrine and the catechism are recited. As a result of this they not only have a thorough knowledge of the prayers, but even excel many peoples of Europe in their comprehension of the mysteries of our holy faith. In order to lighten the burdens of these people, that they might not weary of their constant attendance at church for the doctrine, catechism, mass and sermon—not to mention the frequent publication of marriage banns and the fact that mass is solemnly celebrated with music and the accompaniment of the organ in which they spend many hours—we thought it best to reserve the doctrine and the catechism for Sundays in the afternoon, and even then not all the people were obliged to attend—part being present on one Sunday

¹ For example of missionary protests against the abuse of Indians services, see Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vols. v, p. 211; xix, pp. 71–6 xxix, pp. 269–90; and xxxvii, p. 292. A decree purporting to regulate the services is given in vol. xvii, pp. 79–84.

² Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 83–4.

and part on another and thus in rotation until the turn of the first ones came again. By such an arrangement this exercise is rendered easier and is even more profitable to the people serving them upon such days as legitimate diversion to which they all repair with greater inclination and pleasure. To this end a bell is rung at the hour of vespers and the children go forth through the streets of the place, bearing the cross and singing the doctrine, and then followed by their elders they return to the church. The adults in the presence of the Father recite the prayers and catechism with great devotion and satisfaction, spending in all about half an hour. This done they return to their homes.¹

Schools were opened in which children were taught to read and write and to do 'such other things as are appropriate to childish years'; and some were taught Latin. The attitude of the missionaries was above all things paternal.

'One must not shout at them,' writes a member of the Order of St. Augustine in 1720, 'one must not strike them with the hands; but all their faults must not be overlooked. Consequently it is necessary to give them some lashes as a father. Nothing must be taken or received from them without payment owing to their poverty.'²

By these methods the goodwill of the neighbouring natives was gained and they began to submit in larger numbers, the missionaries choosing their locations and helping them to erect their huts. There were, of course, numerous set-backs to the work. 'A great plague of idolatry (nourished by some ancient remains of heathenism)' and lasting perhaps two years at times broke out; but on the whole the work was permanent.

Nor was it confined to spiritual matters. Some attention was paid to the material. Thus the Dominicans, who had the difficult task of civilizing the Zambals in Luzon after their numerous uprisings during the latter half of the seventeenth century, found that:

'This effort of causing the Indians to form their villages would have been of slight use if at the same time they had not been obliged

¹ Pedro Chirino: *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, Roma, 1604, in Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xii, p. 256.

² Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xl, pp. 204, 208, 265.

to work in their fields in order that they might have the wherewithal to sustain life, so that they might not be under the necessity of abandoning their villages and returning to the mountains, where with hunting and with various roots they are wont to sustain life at small cost, without the care and trouble of cultivation. And as they were unaccustomed to the cultivation of the soil and did not know how to plough or dig, and had no instruments for that, nor even seed for planting, they were provided with all by our religious. More than fifty buffaloes or caraboes (which are their oxen) by which the ploughing is done in this country, were taken there at the cost of the order. Also many ploughs were bought for them and they were also given the seed so that they might allege no reasonable excuse. In as much as they did not know how to plough or plant, salaried Indians were taken from other provinces so that they might cultivate the land and so that the Zambals might learn of them. After the land that first year had been cultivated and the rice headed, it was given to them at the time of harvest, in order that they might reap and gather it. But so great was the laziness of those Zambals that many of them refused to accept the land because it was not reaped. But others, having the profit so plainly in sight, set to work to reap it and gather it; and since by that means they made sure of their food they were inclined to work at the cultivation of their fields. Our religious encouraged them in this by thus forcibly setting before their eyes the profit of the harvest that they would have afterwards. The religious accompanied them to the fields to work, heartily praised those who applied themselves, and perhaps in order to inspire them by their example, put their hands to the plough. For the religious very well understood that if the Indians did not turn husbandmen they would not be secure on the level land and they would easily return to the mountains under the obligation of necessity. And thus that necessary diligence was compulsory in order to reduce them to a civilized life and to a good government.¹

With the last object in view special attention was paid to the sons of chiefs

‘in order to teach them good morals from childhood and to rear them with those qualities which are considered necessary to enable them to govern their respective villages afterwards with success, since the administration of justice is always put in charge of such Indians’.

¹ Vicente de Salazar: *Historia de el Santissimo Rosario*, 1742, in Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xliii, pp. 44-5.

They were kept in the convents from childhood in charge of the fathers.¹ When they took over their duties in the villages they were equally under control. The Gobernadorcillo on receiving an order from the Alcalde, always went first to get the permission of the father; and it was the latter who tacitly saw to its fulfilment or prevented its course. The father settled suits in the village, issued writs, went up to the capital to plead for his Indians, protected them from the violence of the Alcalde, and generally managed everything.

‘It is impossible’, declares Thomas de Comyn, writing in 1810, ‘for there to be any human institution at once so simple and so firmly grounded and from which so many advantages can be derived for the state as that which is firmly established in the ministries in these islands.’

‘The missionaries were the real conquerors of the Philippines; they gave laws to millions and, scattered as they were, they established by unity of purpose and of action a permanent empire over immense multitudes of men.’

When this was written the Christian Filipinos numbered about 2,300,000.²

The friars were firm supporters of the vernacular as the medium of all intercourse with the Filipinos. In this they acted contrary to the opinion of the Home Government. The problem of the medium of instruction had naturally arisen from the beginning. In 1550 the Emperor Charles V, after making an investigation as to whether ‘the mysteries of the Holy Catholic Faith can be thoroughly and properly explained even in the most perfect language of the Indians’, came to the conclusion that it could not. He, therefore, ordered all Indians to be taught Castilian. The order was repeated in 1636.³ But the experience of the missionaries proved to them that ‘nothing can be done in the missions

¹ Pedro de San Francisco de Assis: *Historia General de los religiosos descalzos de San Agustin*, in Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xli, pp. 194-5.

² de Comyn: *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810*, in Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xxviii, pp. 231-3. Also p. 351.

³ Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xlv, pp. 184-6.

if the religious do not learn the language of the Natives'.¹ They made no effort to diffuse Spanish. The Jesuits opened a seminary in Manila 'to teach Indians the Spanish language in an orderly manner'; and in the middle of the eighteenth century prayer-books were in use from which young Filipinos culled a few Spanish words, but one league outside Manila a traveller could scarcely make himself understood except in the vernacular.² The Dominicans carried the policy even into the college of St. Thomas³ and refused to appoint any lecturer who did not know at least one native language—'not because there was any logic in it' but because their primary object was to train preachers and missionaries. All must therefore know a vernacular. 'He who does not know one, even if he be a very learned theologian, does not render all the service that he can'.⁴ Having adopted this policy the religious orders produced a great number of works in the vernaculars.⁵ They even went so far as to object to any native using Spanish in their presence.⁶ The repetition of the decree ordering the teaching of Spanish in 1792 which followed decrees of 1770, 1772, and 1774 prohibiting the use of the vernacular was as ineffective as had been the previous decrees.⁷

III

The theocratic paternalism of the missionaries was not always appreciated by the natives. The policy of concentration could not be applied as consistently as was desirable. The natives often refused to submit to it. Sometimes economic pressure was exerted to induce them to do so, as when the Zambals in 1679 were prohibited from trading with their neighbours in Pampanga Province 'in order that being deprived of that resource hunger and

¹ Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xxxv, p. 310.

² Le Gentil: *Voyages dans les Mers de l'Inde*, 1781, in Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xxviii, p. 211.

³ See below, p. 108.

⁴ Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xxxvii, p. 104.

⁵ For some of them, see Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xxix, p. 265, and vol. xxxv, p. 310.

⁶ Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. I, p. 15.

⁷ Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xlv, pp. 221, 222.

necessity might compel them to descend from the mountain and live in a settlement in order to exist'. On this failing, an edict was published ordering them to come down under penalty of severe punishment. More than 500 did so and they were deposited on the site allotted to them. There the military commandant again read the edict to them and was referred by them to an 'Indian named Quiravat'. Quiravat on being interviewed replied: 'Let him who wishes to descend to settle do it and welcome, but as for me I am going to live with my people where I choose'. He was thereupon bound and manacled; and, when the Filipinos began to discharge their arrows, he was beheaded. Next year the country was invaded by 300 soldiers who inspired such fear that many Zambals descended and it was possible to form three villages.¹ Moreover, the natives who had been reduced to villages sometimes rebelled against the church discipline. The formidable series of native risings which broke out during the seventeenth century, though partly caused by the exactions of the civil authorities, was directed equally against the Church;² and were the first indications of the emergence of a Filipino nation.³ Although the missionaries frequently and forcibly protested against any ill treatment of the natives by the Encomenderos or by the civil authorities, some of them were at times themselves not wholly guiltless of imposing services and other exactions on the natives and taking their lands from them;⁴ and they naturally at all times supported the temporal authority of the King of Spain.

The determination of the friars to prevent the spread of the use of Spanish was no doubt inspired to some extent

¹ Vicente de Salazar: *op. cit.*, in Blair and Robertson: vol. xliii, pp. 42-3.

² Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xxxviii, deals with these risings.

³ e.g. The combination of various tribes under the leadership of Andres Malong. The Dutch took the opportunity of this unrest to point out to the Filipinos that a transfer of their allegiance would result in exemption from tributes, and freedom from personal services and religious instruction. Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xx, p. 56, and vol. xli, p. 13.

⁴ On the usurpation of natives' land by the friars, see Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xlvi, pp. 27-37.

by their desire to keep their charges under a paternal control. They wished to shut out other influences than their own. Their attitude was exclusive. They resisted being subjected to the visitations of the Archbishop and claimed independence under their Provincial Superiors. Their monopoly of the highest positions was resented by the secular clergy. 'The wretchedness and misery suffered by my poor ecclesiastics', wrote the Archbishop to the King in 1621, 'is very great because their numbers have increased rapidly in these latter years.'¹ The Colleges of St. Joseph and of St. Thomas were beginning to produce them and he was unable to employ them. In order to cure this evil the King decreed in 1638 that all benefices which had been annexed to the orders during the last twenty years should be restored to the secular clergy.² But this was only a temporary palliative and the struggle over the secularization of the curacies became a dominant issue in the islands.

It assumed additional importance and a new aspect after François de Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin,³ arrived in the Philippines, having been driven thither by unfavourable winds. The appointment of a Frenchman to this post was not viewed with favour by the Spanish authorities any more than it was by the Portuguese at Malacca. They therefore detained him in Manila, lodging him in the Jesuit Convent, and at the earliest opportunity sent him to Mexico and from there to Madrid, where he had much communication on Philippine affairs with the President of the Council of the Indies. His reports were unfavourable to the friars; 'His knowledge', as they afterwards asserted, 'came not from ocular experience but only from information by secular persons'. In other words he advocated the point of view of the seculars; and with such success that the ordination of Filipinos originated out of his recommendations. Any

¹ Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xx, p. 84. Letter to the King, 30th July 1621.

² Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xxix, p. 106. Decree, 30th Oct. 1608.

³ See below, p. 176.

such action had been strongly deprecated in the past by the regular clergy. It was admitted that many Filipinos were more worthy than many Europeans to attain to so high a dignity; but it was not believed that they would enter upon it as a vocation, but only as a means of benefiting themselves by thus becoming exempt from the payment of tribute and from the performance of services, and instead earning a regular stipend;¹ or as one friar put it, changing 'from rowing in a banca to being rowed in one'. 'We must', he observes, 'allow the Indian to remain an Indian and go to his labour as before.'² But the Filipinos who were in closest contact with Spanish influences had no intention of remaining stagnant. By the middle of the eighteenth century they formed the majority of the secular clergy, although they were usually not dressed as priests should be and were treated with little respect by the Spaniards.³

Moreover, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, only twenty-five years after the foundation of Manila, they had begun to drift into the town in order to escape from the farm labour which was demanded of them in the country. On becoming urbanized they were accused of being 'thieves, vagabonds, hucksters, and retailers' and general nuisances. The many religious houses in and near Manila were blamed for attracting them and settling them in the neighbourhood.⁴ Many made effective use of the educational opportunities which Manila afforded. By the middle of the seventeenth century some of them were serving as clerks in 'the public accountancies and secretaryships of the kingdom'. A few were admittedly capable of filling higher posts and even the highest *ad interim*. They were also 'of great help to students in making clean copies of their rough drafts not only in Romance but also in

¹ Casimiro Diaz: *Conquistas*, Manila, 1890, in Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xlii, pp. 136-43.

² Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xl, p. 270.

³ Le Gentil: *Voyages dans les Mers de l'Inde*, 1781, in Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xxviii, p. 213.

⁴ Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. xiv, p. 159. Letter from the Fiscal to Philip III, July 1606.

Latin', many being now competent in that language. Finally, they were the printers in the two printing houses which had been opened in Manila and they were 'entirely competent in that work'.¹ They assumed European airs and titles.

'The wretched Don', laments one friar, 'has filled both men and women with such vanity that every one of them that has a tolerably good opinion of himself must place this title before his name; accordingly there are more Dons amongst them than among our Spaniards.'²

The principal educational establishments in Manila which turned out these gifted individuals were, of course, under the religious orders. The College of St. Joseph, under the Jesuits, was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the middle of the seventeenth it provided courses for 'secular collegiates, theologians, artists, seminarists, rhetoricians and grammarians'. But its fees being 100 pesos a year the number of its students had fallen from forty to twenty. It recovered, however, in the eighteenth century and 'had a sufficient number of students and a continually brilliant record in the branches of learning' which it taught, until the Jesuits were expelled in 1768, when it was taken over by the Government. The College of St. Ignatius, also under the Jesuits, was opened at the end of the sixteenth century for the instruction of Spanish children in Latin and morals. The attendance being poor its scope was widened to include Filipinos, who could there learn reading, writing, arithmetic, the humanities, the arts, and theology. Its progress was uninterrupted and in 1653 it was raised to university status with two chairs of Canonical Law and of Institutes. It was taken over by the Government after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Pontifical and Royal University of St. Thomas was founded in 1611 and became a full university in 1645. It had chairs of Jurisprudence, Canonical Law, Institutes, and

¹ Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xl, p. 52, by Francisco Colin, a Jesuit.

² Chirino: *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, Roma, 1604, in Blair and Robertson: vol. xiii, p. 202.

Medicine. The Seminary of St. John de Letran dated from the middle of the seventeenth century, its founder being granted an encomienda for the purpose. On his death it was taken over by the Dominicans with the object of educating orphans to become soldiers or to occupy other posts in the community. Most of its pupils, however, studied philosophy and theology and became priests. Finally, Governor the Marquess de Ovando, 'seeing that no attention was paid to navigation in the Universities', founded a chair of Mathematics in 1750, which was the precursor of the Nautical School of 1820.¹

IV

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Christian Filipinos continued generally to be much attached to the missionaries and to treat them with great respect. Evidence, however, was beginning to accumulate that their hold over the people was diminishing. The expulsion of the Jesuits had resulted in a set-back to such agricultural development as had been achieved previously and their extensive convents in the middle of fertile areas were now more than half abandoned. The tide of conversion also was ebbing.

'We cannot expect', wrote Martinez de Zuñiga, 'such a rapid progress as our ancestors made, because the Indians are more enlightened. Even Christian converts persuade them not to be baptized in order that they may avoid the payment of tributes and other impositions.'²

Enlightenment took the form of a growing insistence on liberal reforms. The religious orders had been more anxious to make Christians than to train the Filipinos in citizenship. The latter were now increasingly realizing their capacity for the part and demanded more opportunities to prove it. The movement for the secularization, or as it was now the Filipinization, of the curacies was one of the evidences of these aspirations. There were in 1820 over 800 Filipino clergy.

¹ Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xxviii refers to these Colleges.

² J. M. de Zuñiga: *The Philippine Islands*, 1814, vol. ii, p. 129.

To at least one contemporary British observer the situation appeared to be exceedingly ominous:

'The disaffected', he declares, 'and those who have nothing to fear and everything to hope from a popular commotion are rapidly spreading doctrines gleaned from the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Tom Paine, &c. and stimulating the Filipinos with songs of liberty and equality as unfit for them as they were for the Creoles and slaves of San Domingo to whose fate the Philippines are fast verging and from which nothing but some extraordinary fate can save them.'¹

But this alarmist view was not justified. Although the declaration of the independence of the Spanish American colonies in 1821 was followed by disturbances in the Philippines in 1823, the liberal movement in the islands did not advocate a breach with the mother country but rather a closer assimilation with it, in the expectation that the latter would result in the Filipinos enjoying the same franchises and privileges as did Spaniards in Europe. Not until the end of the nineteenth century did the movement develop into one for independence.

The withdrawal of Mexico from the Spanish Empire, however, greatly strengthened the liberal forces in the Philippines. Hitherto, the islands had been a dependency of Mexico and tied to it commercially and financially. They now came into direct relations with the mother country. Their ports were gradually and grudgingly opened to foreign trade. British and American capitalists began to interest themselves in their sugar and hemp products. The opening of direct steamship communication with Barcelona via the Suez Canal brought the islands much nearer to European political developments and facilitated the inflow of liberal and anti-clerical ideas.² It also led to an increase in the Spanish population, which had shrunk materially after the incorporation of the *encomiendas* in the Crown in 1791. Spaniards who had played active parts in the political turmoils of the

¹ *Remarks on the Philippine Islands*, by an Englishman, in Blair and Robertson: op. cit., vol. li, p. 179.

² The first steamer arrived from Barcelona in 1870.

mother country now began to come out, bringing their disturbing opinions with them. At the same time the contemporary democratic reforms in Spain introduced the principle that the Philippine officials should be appointed in accordance with changes of government in Spain. The periodical influx of new officials which this principle implied aroused the jealousy and discontent of the Filipinos, who felt that although they were paying the piper they were in no sense calling the tune.

Meanwhile the more progressive of them had begun to send their sons to Madrid and to Paris for education, and in these capitals and in Japan little colonies of Filipinos became centres of political agitation for reform. Rizal studied medicine in the University of Madrid and afterwards travelled in Europe and in the United States of America. The home University of St. Thomas also produced its liberal leaders, including Father Pelaez (1812-61), Father Burgos (1816-96), and Joaquin Pardo de Tavera (1829-83). A significant sign was the large proportion of students of Jurisprudence in Manila. In the year 1883-4 they numbered 232, while those taking theology and canon law amounted to only 68. Well might a friar complain that the local advocates were as great a calamity from the point of view of the religious orders and of the conservative interests as were the Filipino secular clergy, for they dreamed only of republics in which they could 'figure and strut'.¹

The schools to some extent shared in these progressive movements. In 1855 a commission was appointed to draft regulations to make their teaching more uniform, to encourage the introduction of Spanish into the curricula, to estimate the number of teachers they required, and to advise upon the establishment of a Normal School. The question of the introduction of Spanish was the chief point of debate at the Commission's sittings. Its leading opponent was the Vice-Rector of the University of St. Thomas, who argued that its adoption as a common language would only facilitate the spread of Protestant

¹ Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xlv, pp. 192-3.

heresies. He was, however, outvoted by the rest, amongst whom was a Dominican Father, and the commission recommended in 1861 that a Normal School should be opened under the control of the Jesuits, who had returned to the Philippines in 1859, and that a knowledge of Spanish should be essential for the earning of its certificates.

In 1863 the Government assumed control over the schools of the religious orders and promulgated an Educational Code.¹ Each village was required to have at least one school for boys and another for girls. As an American writer subsequently observed, 'the free and trusted association of boys with girls was not allowed and was not practised in the Philippines until American ideas and practices rapidly modified these customs'.² Instruction was made free and compulsory for all children between the years of seven and thirteen. The boys' schools were divided into three classes—the 'Entrada', the 'Ascenso', and the 'Termino'. The last was again subdivided into second-class and first-class; the teachers of the latter being selected by competitive examination from among the others. All teachers were exempted from personal services. The school curriculum included Christian doctrine, morals and sacred history, reading and writing the vernacular, Spanish, arithmetic, geography, and Spanish history. Some elementary agriculture was also included and a Manila school of Agriculture was founded by royal decree of 1887.³ An inspecting Commission, composed of the Governor, the Archbishop of Manila, and seven others, was created; and the influence of the Church was maintained by the parish priests becoming *ex-officio* school inspectors with the exclusive direction of the teaching of Christian doctrine and morals. The Normal School was opened by the Jesuits in 1865 in accordance with the recommendation of the Commission of 1855. Important provisions were included in the code covering the gradual

¹ Decree of 20th Dec. 1863. Particulars are given in Blair and Robertson: *op. cit.*, vol. xlv.

² Forbes: *The Philippine Islands*, 1928, vol. i, pp. 17-18.

³ Decree of 29th Nov. 1887.

introduction of Spanish. After a school had been established in a village for fifteen years no Filipino could be a member of the *Principalia* unless he could talk, read, and write it. After thirty years no one who could not do so could be exempt from personal service, except in cases of sickness. After five years only those who knew Spanish could be appointed to any salaried post.

The results following on these reforms did not come up to their ambitious expectations. The failure has been attributed to various causes. The absence of any responsibility of the local authorities—a defect which a decree of 1893 attempted unsuccessfully to remedy by charging the municipalities with the supervision of local schools; the exiguous salaries paid to teachers, which the 1863 Code endeavoured in some measure to overcome by allowing schoolmasters to serve also as Secretaries of the *Gobernadorcillos*; the distance of many of the villages from the school sites. Nevertheless, the amount accomplished was not inconsiderable, as the following table shows:

<i>No. of Schools</i>		
<i>Year</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
1866	841	833
1886	1,052	1,091

The attendance appears to have averaged about forty per school; and the Americans found that an ability to read and write a little of the local language was comparatively common.

The results of the trusteeship of the Spaniards in the Philippines were moral and social rather than material. They introduced order, abolished human sacrifice, and suppressed war and head-hunting. They preached Christianity throughout the archipelago and, with the exception of the more remote districts where paganism still prevails and of the Mahomedan south, they converted the people to it. Their Colleges were the most advanced schools of occidental thought in the Far East, and their efforts to instruct the peasantry do not suffer by comparison with those of other contemporary colonial powers.

CHAPTER XI

THE PHILIPPINES

WHEN the Americans took over the Philippines they had little experience of the administration of a tropical dependency. Their main equipment was goodwill towards the Filipinos, unwavering belief in the universal applicability of Western institutions, and enthusiasm for the reorganization of the islands on lines of Western efficiency. The Filipinos appeared to them to be only awaiting an opportunity to develop into a modern self-governing state and to have been restrained from doing so in the past by the reactionary influences of the Church and of Spanish Imperialism. If these were replaced by democratic institutions, and by the free play of individual liberty and equality, the problem would solve itself. In his letter of instructions to the Hon. W. H. Taft, the chairman of the Philippine Commission and the first Civil Governor, who took over the Government from the military in September 1900, President McKinley declared that:

‘The people of the Islands should be made plainly to understand that there are certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system, which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom, and of which they have, unfortunately, been denied the experience possessed by us; that there are also certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation of these great principles of liberty and law, and that these principles and these rules of government must be established and maintained in their islands for the sake of their liberty and happiness, however much they may conflict with the customs or laws of procedure with which they are familiar. It is evident that the most enlightened thought of the Philippine Islands fully appreciates the importance of these principles and rules, and they will inevitably in a short time command universal assent.’

The Americans began at once to bring these forces into play and they pursued this objective with characteristic energy and conviction until 1913. Thereafter the pace

of advance was greatly accelerated, as a result of the return of the Democratic candidate in the Presidential election of 1912, until 1921, when the victory of the Republicans ushered in a period of reaction under the governorship of Major-General Leonard Wood. It lasted until 1928, when Mr. Stimson became Governor-General and revived the former policy.

I

The first step in the political enfranchisement of the people was taken by the military authorities. The appointment of the Capitan Municipal of Baliwag was due in May 1899, and the machinery of the Maura Law was followed in choosing him, except that the three candidates, instead of being submitted to the Government, were voted on by the inhabitants grouping themselves in three corners of the market-place in accordance with their choice. The candidate with the largest body of supporters was then declared to be 'President of the Town'. In the following year a plan of Municipal Government 'as liberal in character as existing conditions permit' was promulgated; and in January 1901 the Philippine Commission enacted the Municipal Code. It instituted municipal councils directly elected by popular vote, the franchise being conferred on any male person twenty-three years of age, not being a citizen of a foreign power, who was resident in the municipality for six months previous to the election and with at least one of the following qualifications: (1) having filled certain municipal offices; (2) owning property of the value of \$250, or paying annually \$15 or more in taxes, and (3) being able to speak, read, or write Spanish or English. Ecclesiastics were made ineligible for office. Another departure from the Spanish system has been a change in the relations between the municipalities and the barrios or villages under them. After the election of a council its members are allotted to the various barrios, each being regarded as the representative of those assigned to him and each appointing a 'teniente del barrio' to be his lieutenant and agent in them. The *teniente*, therefore,

has displaced the 'cabeza de barangay' and has taken over his functions except that of tax collecting. The villages, in consequence, have to-day no specific form of government, although a *teniente* must enjoy the respect of the villagers as a man of experience and of knowledge of their interests if he is adequately to fulfil his duties. Naturally also the municipal towns tend to receive the councils' and the officials' principal attention, and although the majority of the *barrios* now have schools, they remain almost unchanged in other respects.

In February 1901, a month after the passing of the Municipal Code, the Philippine Commission enacted the Provincial Code which created Provincial Governors elected by the Municipal Councillors, and Provincial Boards of three members composed of the local governor together with a treasurer and a third member who were appointed by the central government. One of the Board's functions was to review ordinances passed by the municipal councils. In November 1906 the third member was made elective. Thus within eight years of the signing of the Treaty of Paris (10th December 1898) the Filipinos secured political control of local government subject, however, to the financial supervision of appointed treasurers both municipal and provincial and to the review of the provincial budgets by the Executive Bureau.¹ Their autonomy is also limited by the central Government appointing the provincial officers who administer the police, justice, public health, education, and public works, in addition to the treasurer. They are not provincial officers at all, but rather agents of the central Government in the provinces. The administration, therefore, is highly centralized and local autonomy is restricted.

The Philippine Commission, to which three Filipinos were added in 1901, continued to be the sole legislative and executive authority in the islands until 1907, when an elective Legislative Assembly was instituted and the Commission was transformed into a Second Chamber

¹ For the sake of clarity certain minor amendments of these arrangements are omitted.

in which the Filipinos were given a majority in 1913. In 1916 the so-called Jones Law came into force under the auspices of Mr. F. B. Harrison, whom President Wilson had appointed Governor-General in 1913. By converting the Philippine Commission into an elected Senate it handed over the control of the legislature to the Filipinos. It widened the franchise by reducing the property and tax-paying qualifications to 500 pesos and 30 pesos respectively and by including the ability to read and write a native language. At the same time it reserved to the Governor-General a power to veto any legislation and also items of appropriation bills. He also retained control of the Executive, subject to certain appointments being confirmed by the Senate. The principle of the separation of the executive and legislative functions, which is fundamental to the constitution of the United States, and which was thus applied to the Philippines, was seriously compromised during the Governorship of Mr. Harrison by the emergence of the 'Council of State', composed of the Governor as President, the Speaker of the Assembly, the President of the Senate, the Vice-Governor who had charge of education, and five other departmental heads. Although only advisory when created, it gained executive authority through subsequent legislation and played an increasingly important part. The control of the legislature over the executive was carried still further by the Reorganization Act of 1916, which enacted that Secretaries of Departments should be appointed after each general election and gave the legislature power to summon them before it, the implication being that they should represent the party returned. The attempt made by General Wood to restore the separation of the executive and legislative powers was not persisted in by his successor, Mr. Stimson, who based his policy on co-operation. He restored the Council of State in its advisory capacity and he revived the practice of the Secretaries having the right of the floor of the legislature and being obliged to appear before it when summoned.

While these developments were proceeding every

encouragement was offered to Filipinos to enter the Government service. In 1900 an act was passed to

'secure the selection and promotion of civil servants solely on the ground of merit and to permit any one by a successful competitive examination to enter the service at the lowest rank and, by efficient discharge of his duties and further examinations for promotion, to reach the head of any important department of the government.'

Considerations of economy as well as political reasons caused the Government to proceed as rapidly as possible with the Filipinization of its personnel. From a total of 3,307 in 1905, the number of Americans in the service was reduced to 506 in 1925. In 1927 there were 19,667 Filipinos and 491 Americans, of whom 295 were in the Bureau of Education. In 1931 all the provincial and municipal elective officials were natives, as were also the insular government officials stationed in the provinces with the exception of a few district engineers and two provincial treasurers.

II

From the point of view of material development the most important service was the encouragement of agriculture. The Filipinos have always been distinctively an agricultural community, and 57·8 per cent.¹ of the adult male wage-earners were thus occupied in 1903. The Bureau of Agriculture was at first attached to the Department of the Interior, but in 1910 it was transferred to the Department of Public Instruction in order to secure a closer co-operation with the public schools in the dissemination of information as to good agricultural practice.² School and home gardens have been established and school clubs for raising better poultry and pigs. Instruction and demonstration in seed selection, in the use of fertilizers, and in good field methods have been given, and for some years the Government demonstrated the benefits of modern agricultural machinery. In addition there are at present

¹ The next highest group was 21·4 per cent., in domestic and personal service.

² The Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources is now a separate department with a Minister of its own.

274 settlement farm schools with an enrolment of 19,000, 15 farm schools and 14 agricultural schools, with an enrolment of 7,000, and 1 agricultural college. Many of these are very fine institutions, particularly the Munoz school in Central Luzon. But the bulk of the pupils who pass through them do not pursue vocational careers. They go into non-manual occupations which are more attractive and more lucrative. Moreover, they have not the capital to start farming on their own. Nor has the modernization of land-tenure yet facilitated the expansion of settlement.

In 1902 the Philippine Commission introduced the Torrens system of land registration, without making it compulsory, and a special 'Court of Land Registration' was established to deal with the cases which were expected to arise. During the first seven years, however, less than 4,000 titles were registered, consisting mainly of large estates and government properties. The owners of the balance of 2,300,000 parcels of land, represented as being privately owned in 1902, were content to continue as they were, although few possessed title deeds which could be accepted as security in any transaction, and although their boundaries were vague and indefinite. In the meantime the number of separate holdings increased at an estimated rate of 20,000 a year. In 1910, therefore, a measure was introduced into the Legislative Assembly providing for a cadastral survey and for generous financial assistance for occupiers in putting it into operation. But the opposition to it prevented its becoming law before 1913. Even so, progress has been slow and at present there are cadastral surveys for only 15.5 per cent. of the total available agricultural land.

In the first organic Act which was passed by the Congress of the United States in 1902 and which established the government of the Philippines, the public domain was put under the Insular Government to be administered for the benefit of the Filipinos. Detailed provisions were included covering its disposal to individuals and to corporations. For the former a Homesteading scheme was enacted under conditions which practically

restrict the opportunity to Filipinos, the holdings being limited to 40 acres.¹ A considerable time elapsed before the Filipinos began to take advantage of it, and to-day land is being taken up at so slow a rate that it will take many years to bring it all under cultivation. In 1927 only 14,342 square miles, or 12.5 per cent. of the total land area, were under cultivation. In 1931 the cultivated area had increased by 265 square miles to 14,607; and although this latter figure represented an increase of 65 per cent. over that for 1901, it is obvious that President Coolidge was justified in declaring in 1927 that 'the land, however fertile, is idle'.²

Apart from the strong gregarious instincts of the Filipino peasants, which cause them to eschew a pioneering existence, their resources are inadequate to exploit the available land. Moreover, even 40 acres has proved to be an excessive holding for an ordinary Filipino family, who are usually satisfied to cultivate 10 and leave the remainder untouched. For Corporations holdings are limited to 2,500 acres,³ which is barely an economic unit for such enterprises. Recent attempts to secure an amendment of this restriction have failed to pass the Legislature. The Filipinos desire to reserve their land for themselves and distrust big corporations.

The opening of roads has had a greater influence. The very first act of the Philippine Commission in 1901, inspired by 'the fundamental necessity of promptly opening up lines of land communication', was to appropriate a million dollars for the construction and repair of highways and bridges. In the days of the Spanish administration, road construction and maintenance had depended upon the right of the State to call upon the labour of the natives for fifteen days in each year. One of the earliest acts of the Americans was to abolish this *corvée*, without making any substitute provision. The result was that the roads rapidly and seriously deteriorated. Measures enabling

¹ Consolidated Land Act: No. 2874 of 1919: Chapter iv.

² Forbes: op. cit., vol. ii, p. 562.

³ Act 2874 of 1919: paragraph 23.

provincial boards and municipal councils to require five days' labour each year from all able-bodied men were ineffective, and it became evident that a general campaign of education amongst the people must be undertaken. That it was successful was proved by the Government being inundated with petitions from the people for the construction of roads and bridges. The difficulty then was financing undertakings, but by means of a poll tax a sufficiently large fund was accumulated and the work progressed and contributed to agricultural development. The railways, the financing of which was made possible by an Act of Congress in 1905, have also helped.

III

The Americans lost no time in beginning their crusade in education. No time could be lost if it were to bring social conditions up to the standard required for their programme. The batteries in Manila were hardly silent when the American soldier turned schoolmaster. Within three weeks of the occupation of Manila seven schools were reopened and a teacher of English was installed in each under the supervision of the Chaplain of the First California Volunteer Infantry. Towards the end of 1899 the Nautical School in Manila was restarted by order of the Military Governor with an officer of the United States Navy as superintendent; while in 1900 an artillery officer was detailed to take charge of the department of public instruction. In that same year the War Department reported that the Manila schools had steadily increased in numbers of pupils attending, who at the time of reporting approximated 6,000. The rate of extension of public schools was coincident with the extension of military occupation and Army chaplains, and other officers were detailed as local superintendents of schools.

In January 1901 the Philippine Commission passed an Act creating a Department of Public Instruction and providing that all primary instruction should be free. The Act also enabled the Civil Government to take over all the schools established under the military, to open

them in every municipality, and to partition the islands into school divisions. Authority was obtained for one thousand trained teachers from the United States, and in the meantime soldiers were appointed as instructors until the trained personnel was available. In the same year a system of secondary and high schools was organized on the principle of the primary schools being under the municipal authorities, the secondary schools under the provincial authorities, and higher education under the Insular Government. The full primary course was at first seven years; but later it was divided into two, the first four grades being 'primary' and the last three 'intermediate'. Intermediate schools have been established in all the more important centres and act as feeders for the secondary schools in the provinces. The general aim of the whole system was described in 1914 as being

'to give the great mass of the people elementary instruction in reading and writing, in arithmetic sufficient for the simple business transactions which they will have to carry on, in home and world geography, in the simple rules of sanitation which in practice will keep the death-rate to the lowest possible figures and improve the general efficiency of the people, in good manners and right conduct, in physical training, in notions of the rights and duties of citizens, and in a certain amount of industrial work to promote industry and to teach respect for labour'.

The first problem in connexion with the carrying out of this programme was the medium in which it should be operated. The Act of 1901 required that 'the English language shall as soon as practicable be made the basis of all public school instruction'. This was a radical departure from the policy of the Spanish friars. But the objective of the Americans differed widely from that of the friars, and a multiplicity of dialects is a hindrance to the smooth working of large centralized democracies. The 43 linguistic groups and the 87 dialects into which philologists divide the inhabitants of the islands, even when reduced to the 6 major groups recognized by the 1918 Census, were not a satisfactory basis for either a state education system or a congressional form of govern-

ment. As President McKinley pointed out in his instructions, a common language was necessary and it was obviously desirable that it should be English. English was, as Mr. Taft in defending its adoption remarked, 'the business language of the Orient, the language of free institutions . . . of the Government which had put its arm under the Filipino and was helping him to better things'. Such a common language was not expected to take the place of the native dialects as the daily medium of communication between the people; it was for the wider purposes of business, professional, intellectual, political, and cultural affairs.¹

It is necessary to bear in mind this restricted role which English was expected to play. It has at times been forgotten or overlooked—by Professor Henry James Ford, for example, who was sent to the Philippines by President Wilson in 1913 to investigate. On the language problem he reported that 'the government has spent millions to promote the use of English without perceptible result in effecting the substitution of English for either Spanish or dialect in ordinary use'. It was not the intention to do so. Nevertheless, in spite of every stage of a child's education being conducted in English even the restricted purpose with which it was introduced is not being attained and its use as a common language is still (again to quote President Coolidge) 'a hope rather than an existing fact'.²

Although English is the official language, the use of Spanish has been extended from time to time. The latter is employed in the legislature, in the Courts, and by most of the provincial boards and municipal councils. In practice English is confined to the civil service, the school, and to some extent to commerce. Until a child goes to school his language is the vernacular of the family; English being spoken in about 2 per cent. of the homes.³ Unless,

¹ Forbes: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 444, 501; Monroe: *Survey of the Educational System of the Philippines*, 1925, p. 26. ² Forbes: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 562.

³ See record of paper by Mr. Ifor Powell and of a discussion at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, available in the library. Also paper by Lt.-Col. F. Hodsoll, D.S.O.

therefore, a child's education in English is efficient the surrounding circumstances are inimical to his becoming at all proficient in it.

The 7,815 schools provide an education for about 37 per cent. of the school population. Of this proportion 76.8 per cent. are in the primary stages, 16.58 per cent. in the intermediate, and 6.62 per cent. in the secondary. In other words, 28.4 per cent. of the school population are at present confined to a primary education, 6.14 per cent. go as far as an intermediate, and 2.44 per cent. get a secondary education. Many of the pupils, however, in the primary stages have not the opportunity of completing the full four years, as 26.3 per cent. of the schools go no higher than the second stage. These statistics are necessary for an understanding of the reasons why the spread of English as a common language has not been as rapid as was at first anticipated. The Philippine Islands, alone amongst the dependencies with which we are concerned, supply no vernacular public education. At no time in the school career of a Filipino child does he encounter a single task of studying in his mother tongue. Nevertheless, the 1925 Survey of the Education system of the Philippine Islands found that adults who had had only three years of such schooling retained almost nothing after a lapse of five years; those of four years schooling showed definitely more reading ability; and those of five years had a very real command of reading skill. The same conclusion emerged from an analysis of the records of the Bureau of the Civil Service Commission which required candidates to be able to express themselves adequately in written English. In ten years 190,191 candidates were examined and only 23 per cent. passed. Of the total number in various years only 1 to 3 per cent. passed the English composition examination. Out of 1,134 candidates in 1921 98 per cent. failed. In 1918 out of 292 candidates for the position of messenger not one passed; of 160 candidates for first-class patrolmen not one passed. The 1925 results of examinations for junior teachers were no better—out of 561 candidates 87 per cent. failed.

The task of introducing English as the common language is rendered all the more difficult by its being a foreign language to those who have to teach in it. As the 1925 Survey pointed out:

‘Not only must the Filipino child learn to read, write and speak this difficult second language, but he must accomplish it under untrained and partially educated teachers who themselves have never developed an adequate command of the language.’¹

In 1930 28,519 Filipino teachers were employed by the Bureau of Education and only 263 Americans.² In 1902 they numbered 926. Moreover, in addition to the difficulty of the alien language, the text-books employed have been American in origin and American in outlook, although adjusted to suit local circumstances.

A more than ordinarily high standard of training in teachers would appear to be necessary to overcome these impedimenta to an easy understanding of the lessons by the children. But at no time during the first twenty-five years of the existence of the American educational system in the Philippines had more than 5 per cent. of the elementary school teachers undergone a complete normal course. In the beginning this was due to no trained teachers being available. The opening of schools was considered to be more important than the professional qualifications of their staffs. And this policy having been adopted was continued. At no time was there any pause to allow the trained teacher supply to overtake the demand. The Filipinos themselves were opposed to any slackening of the pace. By 1908 the schools throughout the islands were beginning to receive the support of the whole people who showed their enthusiasm by freely voting taxes for educational purposes, by contributing from their personal funds for the support of schools, and by furnishing labour and materials whenever they were required.³ In 1918 a sum

¹ Monroe: *op. cit.*, pp. 39 and 43.

² The following are also Americans: The Director of Education, 5 specialists, 33 division superintendents, and 6 division superintendents on special duty.

³ *Report of the Director of Education, 1914.*

of 30 million pesos was made available in annual instalments over a period of years 'for the purpose of extending the facilities of free elemental instruction to all the children of school age of the Archipelago'. But none of it was earmarked for establishing and enlarging Normal schools; and during the six years 1917-23 the proportion of elementary school teachers who were graduates of Normal schools or Colleges remained constant between 4 and 5 per cent.

Up to 1925, therefore, while the schools increased in numbers the proportion of trained teachers in them did not show a corresponding growth. But since then there has been a steady improvement, and in 1930 the percentage of elementary teachers who were College of Education or Normal School graduates had risen to 24.3. The position is somewhat better than this figure suggests in that an increasing number of teachers who have not Normal qualifications are receiving in-service training. In 1928, 3,644 attended Vacation Normal Schools, in 1929, 4,683, and in 1930, 6,642. In other words, more than a fourth of the 26,522 elementary principals, supervisors, and teachers in 1930 attended these courses. The most popular were those in English, psychology, and the principles of teaching. In 1930 six Vacation Normal Schools were in operation. Moreover, Correspondence Courses, Teachers' Institutes, Teachers' Meetings and Training Centres have been organized. In 1930 these agencies were directed to pay special attention to the following matters:

1. Make the instruction in health carry over into actual health practices.
2. Make the seatwork period in reading, language, and arithmetic function effectively in primary schools through training the pupils to develop specific skill in these subjects.
3. Train pupils to read a variety of materials that are in keeping with the many purposes for which they will need to read in adult life.
4. Improve the teaching of reading in Grade I.

5. Improve the instruction in arithmetic by thorough teaching of the new ideas pertaining to all types of problems in the fundamental operations; by consistent and scientific distribution of drill; and by diagnosis to determine the individual difficulties of pupils, such diagnosis to be followed by appropriate remedial teaching.¹

The prominence given to health in the above elucidations is worth noting. From the beginning it has been a special feature of the American system in the Philippines. School instruction in the elements of hygiene and sanitation has been a most important part in the general health campaign in the islands; the idea being to reach the parents by way of the children. It is directed by means of the publication of a 'tentative guide for health education in Elementary Schools' which provides standards of attainment for each grade. No specific period is set aside for its teaching; it is considered more effective to integrate it with the instruction of subjects such as language, conversational English, physical training, arithmetic, sewing, and gardening, and to give attention to the actual health practices in the school with regard to such matters as the proper use of the toilet, the correct method of washing hands, guarding against impure drinking water, preparing the school luncheon, the physical examination of the children, and their dental treatment, with its formidable record in 1930 of 327,994 stoppings, 296,682 extractions, and 372,616 cleanings. During the cholera epidemic of 1930 the value of the schools as centres for the dissemination of information on its control was apparent.²

Although the health campaign extended far beyond the schools and affected the whole adult population, it was essentially an educative process. At the time of the American occupation the Islands were riddled with disease. Cholera, bubonic plague, tropical dysentery, and small-pox ravaged the whole area, while most prevalent of all were intestinal parasites causing reduction of efficiency

¹ *Report of the Director of Education, 1930, p. 53.*

² *Report of the Director of Education, 1930, pp. 22-6.*

and an inability for sustained effort. A Health Bureau under a Commissioner of Public Health was created by the Philippine Commission in July 1901. Its work was largely educational. Prejudice against health measures and against hospitals had to be overcome. The people had to be taught the basic principles of hygiene and such matters as pre-natal care for expectant mothers and the correct feeding of children. The prominence given to health in the Director of Education's annual reports is in contrast with the space allotted to the same subject in the reports of other countries with which we are concerned.

In the early days of the American administration there was an acute shortage of trained personnel, and in 1907 the Philippine Medical School was established. In order to ensure a fairly even distribution of doctors throughout the Islands it was arranged that there should be as many medical scholarships as there were regularly organized provinces; and it was stipulated that upon graduation the student should return to the people of his province for a number of years equal to those during which his education was paid for by the Government. Special training courses were also established for sanitary inspectors and training classes for nurses.

The early administration was also alive to the need of industrial and, particularly, agricultural training. The Act which created the Department of Education authorized an industrial school for instruction in the useful trades in Manila. Particular emphasis was laid on the teaching of practical subjects. Provision was made for courses in agriculture, wood and iron working, and other mechanical trades in both primary and secondary schools; while courses in the care of the home, in embroidery, and in lace making were organized for the girls. Appropriate courses of practical study were gradually worked out for all grades, beginning with the primary, with the aim of accomplishing a transition from the literary education of the Spanish régime to a system of instruction which included a due measure of physical, industrial, and academic training.

The scheme of industrial education has followed four main lines:

1. Household industries, including such occupations as basket making and embroidery.
2. Housekeeping, including general domestic science, cookery, and garment making.
3. Mechanical trades. By 1914 there were 19 authorized trade schools, 13 provincial schoolshops, and 267 municipal schoolshops with a total attendance of 7,774 pupils.
4. Agriculture in the form of school vegetable gardens and farm schools. The number of pupils attending them in 1925 has already been given.¹

In addition secondary schools give a four years' Commercial Course.²

These promising beginnings were not maintained. The 1925 survey found evidences of a relapse. The following table of percentage enrolments in the secondary schools show how matters have developed since then:

Percentage of Enrolment—Secondary Schools

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
General . . .	74.70	72.40	70.35	69.83	68.43
Commercial . .	0.92	0.80	0.80	0.74	0.78
Trade	4.08	5.74	7.03	8.22	9.33
Farming . . .	4.01	4.92	5.44	4.94	5.16
Home Economy .	4.97	5.73	6.51	7.42	8.12

From the above it would appear that the academic side of the secondary school system appeals most to the Philippine youth, and that a larger class of academically trained young men and women than the country in its present economic state can absorb is being created. In 1930 nearly 87 per cent. of Filipino labour was employed agriculturally and of the balance 10 per cent. was devoted to public works of various kinds.³

¹ See above, p. 119.

² Also a Normal Course.

³ Department of Overseas Trade: *Economic Conditions in the Philippine Islands*, 1927-30.

It is clear enough that the Americans in the course of the thirty odd years of their occupation have conferred substantial benefits on the Islands—both material and cultural. A state of law and order has replaced the chaos of war and brigandage; impartial courts of justice have been set up; a comprehensive system of public instruction has been organized; an efficient health service has cleared the Islands of widespread disease; and the economic growth of the country has been strengthened by the development of roads, railways, and harbours. The United States have conferred upon the Filipinos advantages and immunities that could only accrue to the protégés of a powerful and wealthy State. Their debased and fluctuating currency has been replaced by a stable monetary system based on gold; their public loans for development purposes have been floated in America at minimum interest rates; and all revenues collected in the Islands have been devoted exclusively to the use and benefit of the Philippine people. Filipinos of all classes have free and unrestricted access to the United States, and since 1909 the Philippine products have enjoyed free entry into United States markets. Political freedom in the fullest Anglo-Saxon sense has been granted to them, and their personal and property rights are safeguarded by the whole authority of the United States. By the Four Power Treaty of the Washington Conference the Islands are assured protection from foreign aggression or from interference in their internal affairs so long as they remain an insular possession of the United States.

Critics point out, however, that amongst the Filipinos themselves the advance made has been lacking in uniformity; that, although political progress has been carried forward very far, it still remains to be seen whether the people have been adequately equipped for the proper use of the Western representative institutions which have been conferred on them; and that it is at least uncertain whether they are in a position to take advantage of the full measure of independence which may await them in the near future.

CHAPTER XII

FORMOSA (I)

The Dutch (1624-1662)

THE importance of Formosa was strategic. It commanded the trade routes between China and Japan and the Philippines. The Dutch used it as an entrepôt of their Chinese and Japanese trade and as a competitor of the Portuguese port of Macao. Its trade was already largely in the hands of Chinese, and the Dutch were not in the island long enough to develop its productive capacity for export as they did that of Java, although they made a beginning in that direction. They had effective control over the centre of the western half from the neighbourhood of the modern Tainan to Kagi; and, after they had ejected the Spaniards, of Tamsui and Kilung, from which latter place they extended their rule over the Kapsulan plain in the north-east. They also exercised some authority in the south and in the Plain of Pilau in the south-east. On the other hand the absence of any combative and militant native religion left the door open, as did the same condition in the Philippines, to missionary activities which were deemed inadvisable in Java, and led to persecution in Indo-China. The history of the Dutch occupation of Formosa from 1624 until 1662 is largely a story of missionary enterprise; and more attention was paid to the Formosans' cultural than to their economic welfare. In this too their history under Holland resembled that of the Filipinos under Spain.

The first missionary to arrive was the Rev. G. Candi-
dius. When he started work in 1627 the Dutch had formed connexions with seven village communities all lying within a day's journey of the Fort of Zeelandia. He set about at once to learn the vernacular and to persuade the inhabitants of the village of Sinkan to adopt the Christian religion and morals. The two principal difficulties with which he had to contend were the natives' obstinate

adherence to their customs and the absence of a ruling authority to whom he could speak in the name of the people. The remedies he proposed were the immediate introduction of the Dutch law if necessary by force and the intermarriage of the missionaries and of reliable Dutch settlers with native women. He himself was willing to act up to the latter recommendation. Neither proposal found favour with the Governor-General of the Indies at Batavia. Candidius was reminded that in all things a 'certain degree of moderation and temperance should be shown' and that any precipitate marriage with a native woman was inadvisable.

His prospects of success with the people of Sinkan improved, however, after the Governor, Hans Putnams, had paid a visit to the village and had threatened the people with his wrath if they failed to pay attention to their missionary. At the same time he tactfully forbore to interfere with 'certain unlawful customs of the place or to punish the offenders'. After this compromise Candidius was able to claim that 110 persons 'could repeat the prayers and could answer with facility the principal questions which man must know for his salvation'. This sentence indicates the type of missionary teaching which the Dutch practised in the seventeenth century. It was of necessity entirely oral. It depended for its success on the naturally retentive memories of the natives.

The next step was the opening of the first Sinkan schools in May 1636—one school for boys and another for girls. The Rev. Robertus Junius was now in charge. He was an energetic and capable missionary who stayed in the country for 14 years and wrote a collection of prayers, a shorter catechism of 80 questions and a longer one of 353 questions, a short formulary of Christianity, several sermons which were read in the villages on Sundays, a liturgy which included forms of baptismal and marriage services with some prayers, a primer and an extensive vocabulary all in the vernacular. His book of prayers including the Lord's Prayer, the articles of faith and the Ten Commandments, prayers before and after meals,

morning and evening prayers, and a few short hymns, was printed in Holland under the title of *A.B.C. Book for the instruction of Christian children in the villages*. His methods were the same as his predecessor's. The subjects taught were 'the first principles of our religion' and reading and writing. The first two hours of each school day were devoted to either learning the catechism or the prayers by heart. Every Sunday the people assembled for church (summoned by the firing of a musket three times), listened to a sermon, and sang a hymn to the tune of the hundredth psalm. Two years later the boys' curriculum had grown to be 'the doctrine of God', the morning and evening prayers, singing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed to the same tune, and reading, while daily instruction in the Catechism was given to the girls. The teaching of 'more extensive subjects' was hindered by the absence of school books.

Other schools were opened in neighbouring villages and the attendance grew so large that it became necessary in the villages of Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan to divide the classes into three. The first was for boys but also contained a few men. They were taught spelling, reading, writing, the prayers, and a portion of the Catechism. At Sinkan out of an attendance of 110 all but the 47 youngest could soon read and spell fairly well. Their writing, however, was bad. On the other hand their knowledge of the Catechism was satisfactory, the best boy having reached the 18th question. At Tavakan the same class was attended by 78 scholars of whom the best could read, write, and spell but very indifferently; but they knew the prayers fairly well and the most advanced had reached the 16th question of the Catechism. At Bakloan the spelling and reading of the 103 pupils were bad; but they wrote and prayed sufficiently well and their progress in the Catechism was extraordinary, one having reached the 75th question and others the 50th and 60th.

The second class was composed of men between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. The numbers attending were about half those of the boys' classes and their

progress was approximately the same. The third class was for women of the same age as the men. They were the more numerous in attendance and their learning was the same as the men's.

The school hours under Junius were only one hour a day for the men, one hour for the women at four o'clock in the afternoon, and two hours for the children after daybreak. In order to increase the time available for instruction a new system was introduced in 1647 by which each village was divided into companies—Sinkan, Bakloan, Tavorang, and Tavakan each into five, Soulang into ten, and Mattau into seven.¹ Each company had a whole week allotted to it in turn for instruction, the men of the company in the morning before cock-crow for two hours and the women for two hours in the evening. The results, however, were not satisfactory, for in the intervals between their weeks of instruction the pupils forgot what they had learnt. The children were treated more drastically and their parents were ordered to send them to school from morning till noon and every afternoon from two till four 'in accordance with the Dutch custom'.

At this time also instruction in the elements of the Dutch language was introduced. The problem of the medium of education had presented difficulties from the beginning. Each village community spoke a dialect of its own which in some cases was incomprehensible to its neighbours. Candidius and Junius learned and taught in the Sinkan vernacular. They reduced it also to writing in Latin characters. But this did not help with villagers who were ignorant of Sinkan. Nevertheless, nearly all the missionaries who came out learned it and it was sometimes used for teaching natives who were unfamiliar with it. As late as 1657 the school books prepared by Junius were still in use in the south of the island because no others were available, although the language in which they were written was unintelligible to the natives. This state of affairs drew forth a rebuke from Batavia; but it was only

¹ Cf. Mackay: *From Far Formosa*, 1896, p. 242-3. All men are divided into ranks on the principle of seniority. There are nine such companies.

one of the many examples of the language difficulty in educating backward peoples. The question of solving it by introducing Dutch as a medium was not seriously considered until 1643, nineteen years after the Dutch had first landed. A trial was then made with some of the younger children. The results were apparently successful, for five years later the teaching of Dutch was being continued 'with much earnestness' and 'very serviceable' little Dutch school books were available for the purpose. Indeed the Tainan Church Consistory announced its intention of attempting to execute 'the glorious plan' of making instruction in the elements of Dutch available to every pupil.

This Europeanizing policy was contrary to the policy of the Dutch East India Company. It had its opponents also in Formosa. François Caron, who was Governor of the island from 1644 to 1645, had grave doubts of its practicability and wisdom and put forward the suggestion, which has recently been adopted by African educationists, that two or three of the best-known dialects should be developed. The Sinkan dialect had already in practice been applied to this purpose. Moreover, missionary opinion was divided on the subject. The pro-vernacular party was so active in its opposition that the Governor in 1656 requested each clergyman to give his opinion in writing on what he thought was the best medium to employ. Nearly all favoured teaching the youngest children only the elements of Dutch and continuing to instruct the elder ones in the vernacular. The Governor proposed to act in conformity with this recommendation but the Council at Batavia peremptorily forbade him to do so.

Another difficulty was the provision of a suitable catechism. After the dominating personality of Junius had been removed from Formosa his educational work was seriously criticized. The effect on the natives of learning even his shorter Catechism was disappointing. In only three places did it allude to matters with which they were naturally familiar. The question 'would the flesh of swine, pinang, stewed rice, and other things not be

acceptable to Him?' had reference to their own articles of food. The form given to the sixth Commandment—'Do not kill other men and do not commit abortion'—forbade one of their most objectionable customs. The seventh—'Do not commit adultery and do not visit women in secret'—referred to one of their marriage customs.¹ Not for this reason, however, was the Catechism eventually condemned, but on the ground that both it and the *Short Formulary of Christianity* were inadequate expressions of the faith. The Church Consistory of Formosa, therefore, decided in 1647 that a larger combined catechism and formulary should be prepared together with an abridgement of it for the use of aged people whose memories were unduly taxed by the full text. Catechisms meeting these requirements were thereupon compiled and were published in Amsterdam in Dutch and Malay. From the native point of view they suffered from the same defects as did Junius's except that they were shorter—the larger contained only 169 questions and the smaller only 39. They had to be laboriously memorized by oral repetition. They were equally foreign to any native preconceptions. Nevertheless, they remained in use for ten years, when the Governor-General and the Church Consistory at Batavia tried to compose others in their place.

Hitherto the Church in Formosa had acted independently in the matter. It had prepared its own school books and catechisms and had evolved its own methods. Now the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Batavia intervened and forwarded to Formosa the two Catechisms which were being used in Batavia with a request that their introduction into Formosa should be considered. The Formosan missionaries agreed with Baldaeus that changes of the Catechism were harmful, and in opposing the suggestion pointed out that it would seriously delay the completion

¹ It was a disgrace for a woman to give birth to a child before her thirty-seventh year. A married man did not reside permanently with his wife until he was fifty years old. Before that he visited her secretly. Lobscheid: *Formosa. Its Products. Its Inhabitants on the West Coast*, 1860, p. 6.

of the education of the natives who were 'most anxious to see the end of their task and to be freed from the burden of daily attending the schools'. On the other hand, in order to avoid any deviations in educational practice in future they undertook that unless with the express consent of the proper authorities the following regulations should be strictly adhered to:

1. In the schools for adults and young people one of the two Formosan Catechisms should be learnt by heart together with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the prayers to be used before and after meals, and the morning and evening prayers.
2. That no scholar should be burdened with any explanations or expositions in connexion with either of the larger or the lesser Catechism except it be out of school hours.
3. That all clergymen, catechists, and schoolmasters should 'do what they can to promote the knowledge of saving truth by giving proper instruction from the Catechism both to old and young not only in the churches and schools but also in the dwellings of the natives'.

They also asked that the larger Catechism might be printed with explanations and notes which would serve as guides for all schoolmasters and catechists in giving instruction out of school. Thus the school hours which the natives found so irksome were to be devoted to mechanical memorization, while exposition was to be confined to casual opportunities at other times. Governor Verburg (1650-3), who was a hostile critic of missionaries and of their methods, was no doubt justified in saying that the natives 'learn some doctrines by heart like parrots, but do not really understand what they repeat or the truth of things they learn by rote'.

The adequate staffing of schools and of missionary work naturally presented many difficulties. The climate took its toll of European workers and few were willing to remain the full ten years which were recognized as the

minimum period in which a man could achieve full usefulness.¹ A certain number of schoolmasters, in accordance with the practice followed at the Cape of Good Hope and elsewhere, were recruited from the garrison or from the ships which called, and a few were imported; but in the end the natives had to be the main source of supply, and by 1647 they were being used in every village where education was being given. Candidius had been obliged, after the Governor's rating had aroused the villagers of Sinkan, 'to make some of the more intelligent islanders assist him, as well as his servant who had received a little instruction'. Junius was not slow in taking steps in the same direction. He picked out fifty pupils who, as soon as they were 'thoroughly instructed in the principles of the Christian religion' and could 'nearly all read and write', were paid 1 real a month for their maintenance and 'to encourage their zeal', and were distributed amongst the six principal villages.²

The experiment, however, was not at first successful. One real was not a living wage and the teachers instead of attending to their business set about earning their living by other means. Their number, therefore, was reduced to seventeen and their allowance increased to 4 reals a month. But this system of payment did not survive and in its place each village in which native schoolmasters were established was required to supply them with the yearly quantity of rice necessary for their support at the time when the taxes were levied.

The missionaries had early expressed the view that the proper training of native teachers was impracticable if they were not segregated from village life. For this reason they particularly favoured selecting several of the more intelligent natives and sending them to Holland under the supervision of one or two Europeans. The experiment had been tried at Amboina with unfortunate results; but the mistake of treating them too well, which was made in

¹ Only two out of twenty-nine remained ten years or more. The average length of stay was four and a half.

² Soulang 12, Mattau 10, Sinkan 7, Bakloan 12, Tavakan 5, Tevorang 4.

that case, could be avoided by educating them 'in the simplest and plainest way up to university standard and including some knowledge of Dutch, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages'—a process which would, it was admitted, take at least ten years. The Council of Formosa was not prepared to commit itself on the proposal until the Governor-General had been consulted, and nothing came of it. The missionaries were therefore reduced to proposing the establishment of a seminary in Formosa for training thirty young natives for the ministry. They were to be taken from as many villages as possible because of the divergence of dialects. They were to be of good character and possessed of retentive memories and of quickness of perception. They were expected to know the prayers and the catechisms by heart, to be adepts at learning Dutch, and to be able to read and write before they entered the seminary. They were to be between the ages of ten and fourteen. The staff was to consist of a Dutch director, a sub-director and, if necessary, a steward. Until such time as the pupils were well-acquainted with Dutch the morning lesson from 6 until 8 was to be devoted to vernacular instruction in the Catechism by the sub-director, and the same subject was to be pursued from 10 till 11 by the director. From 9 till 10 was to be given up to reading and writing except on Thursday when the time was to be available for recreation. Every afternoon was to be devoted to the teaching of Dutch and Comenius's *The Door or Portal to Language* in a Dutch-Formosan edition was to be employed as a primer. Every morning before sunrise the sub-director was to see that the students were properly dressed, washed, and combed, and that morning prayers were said. Before and after every lesson prayers were to be recited and a blessing asked before and after meals. During dinner and supper a chapter of the Bible was to be read by a pupil. The sub-director was not to be allowed to administer more than one blow with a ferule as a punishment¹ and every day two monitors were to be

¹ The natives resented corporal punishment. Thus Junius 'if we were to scourge a boy here, even if he quite deserved it, our school would soon

appointed to report those who spoke any other language than Dutch during college time or who did not behave properly. A certain number of slaves were to do the household work. In view of this programme it is not surprising that the Consistory favoured locating the seminary at Mattau because it was 'situated like Mesopotamia in the midst of rivers so that many a would-be deserter or runaway would be deterred from his wicked purpose of escaping'.

Compulsion was implicit in the Dutch native educational system. Individuals were fined a deerskin if they failed to attend school regularly and the inhabitants of a village might be moved to another in order to be instructed. On the other hand the Dutch native administration was indirect and was based on the native village councils which they found in existence and which were composed of elders chosen every two years. Candidius had advocated their suppression. He argued that as no republic could exist without rules and laws, and as the natives had neither, they should be made to submit to the Dutch law by force if necessary. Governor Putnams overruled him and maintained that until the people became more civilized and more accustomed to European manners the native councils should be preserved. They therefore became a recognized part of the Dutch administration. Official staffs and black robes were issued to their leading members. They administered justice in petty cases, the punishment of criminals being attended to at the capital. They settled all minor questions, only important matters being referred to the Governor. A meeting of delegates from them, called a 'land-dag', was convened at the capital every two or three years 'in order to acquaint them with matters relating to the maintenance of peace and other things affecting the common weal'.

They were, of course, subject to administrative control

be emptied of its scholars, whereas it seems to us impossible that these youths, or any youth whatever, can become acquainted with arts and sciences, or study theology, without castigation'. The Annamese were of the same opinion as Junius. (See below, p. 164-5).

which had to be exercised by the missionaries. Candidius agreed to undertake this function and so to combine the duties of Resident Commissioner and missionary. His successors were perforce obliged to do the same. No other course was possible, for they alone had some knowledge of the native languages and the Dutch East India Company could not afford to pay special officers to do the work. Nevertheless, the missionaries protested against being compelled to do work which they declared was out of keeping with their clerical vocation. An effort was made to meet their objection by appointing special officers to attend to the judicial duties. But the results were not satisfactory, for a conflict of authority arose between them and the Church over the control of the schoolmasters who had to act as Court interpreters. The judicial officers claimed the right to call on them at any time without regard to their educational duties. No regular system had been established by the time the Dutch were driven out by Koxinga.

The Dutch were in Formosa for only thirty-eight years. They had hardly time to make any permanent impression on the natives. The usual examples of imitativeness were manifest. The natives began to assume Dutch names, to wear European clothes, and to speak Dutch in preference to their own tongue. But they never broke away from their unchristian customs and manners. Critics of the missionaries were for this reason inclined to disparage the results they achieved on the ground that converts were only Christians repeating mystical formularies in complete ignorance of their meaning and continuing their pagan ways unaltered. In 1658 the Council of Formosa was so exasperated by their persistence 'in committing the sins of idolatry, adultery, fornication, and even of incest' in spite of 'repeatedly expressed serious admonitions' that it proposed to declare that idolatry should be punished by public whipping and banishment, that those guilty of incest should be flogged and wear chains for six years, and that less heinous sins should be judged according to circumstances. But the Committee of Seventeen in

Amsterdam to whom this proposal was referred replied that:

‘We can in no wise believe that these are the appropriate means to lead these poor benighted people to forsake idolatry and to bring them to the saving knowledge of truth. We are quite averse to their being employed; it being our conviction that, if they are used, the people will show more and more aversion to our rule . . . and that if we cannot influence the inhabitants by our precepts and instructions, they will be much less influenced by such severe punishments.’

The justification of the moderate attitude and the confounding of the critics lie in the fact that when Father de Mailla visited Formosa in 1715, more than fifty years after the Dutch had left it, he met several natives who were able to speak the Dutch language, who had Dutch books, who could write, and who retained remnants of the Christian knowledge which they and their fathers had so assiduously learnt by heart. He recommended the better informed amongst them to hand on their knowledge to their fellows and above all things to baptize their children. He gave them a formula of baptism. He could do no more.¹

¹ Most of the material of this chapter is taken from the Rev. W. A. Campbell's *Formosa under the Dutch*, 1903.

CHAPTER XIII

FORMOSA (2)

The Chinese (1662-1895), The Japanese (after 1895)

THE capture of Formosa by Koxinga in 1662 opened the period of its assimilation to Chinese culture, which was far more effectively and deliberately propagated than was the Dutch. It was reinforced by an active immigration and settlement policy which drove those natives who were not prepared to submit to it into the mountainous east. In the Taiwan district, in which were situated all the villages with which the Dutch had come into closest contact, there were in 1833 twenty-one Chinese villages, and only three native which had adopted the Chinese culture. Thirty years later Sinkan, which had been the principal Dutch Mission Station, still contained descendants of its aboriginal inhabitants, but they were dressed like Chinese, had adopted all the Chinese religious customs, and had forgotten their own language. The village chief was a Sinkanese who had become a military Mandarin as a reward for his services in the Taiping rebellion. The majority of the tribe had long since migrated into the interior and were scattered as far as the east coast, their places having been taken by Chinese immigrants.¹

Koxinga initiated this policy and attracted immigrants by most liberal terms of settlement. Land was allotted free of all taxation for three years subject only to the holder undergoing military training and being liable to be called up when required. Special terms were made for parties who established combined settlements. Soldiers were ordered to till the fields when not employed on their

¹ Other districts showed the same development, the extent of it diminishing in proportion to the distance from the capital: Fung-shan, 65 Chinese villages, 8 native villages; Choo-lo, 4 Chinese, 8 civilized, and 25 uncivilized native villages; Chang-hwa, 16 Chinese villages, 132 Chinese settlements, and 51 uncivilized native villages; Tan-shwuy, 132 Chinese farms, and 71 native villages. *Chinese Repository*: 1832, vol. ii, p. 418.

ordinary duties. Everything was done to advance agricultural development. Koxinga's son and successor followed in the same course establishing schools in every district and introducing the examination system. The Chinese on the mainland eagerly took advantage of these favourable terms and of the comparative security which they hoped to find under them. The disturbances which accompanied the Manchu invasion of China had caused a large number, estimated at 25,000, to take refuge in Formosa before the Dutch took it. After it became Chinese and with the encouragements offered they were soon in overwhelming preponderance in the western half. Before the middle of the eighteenth century they had penetrated into the north-eastern parts, and by the middle of the nineteenth were rapidly ousting the natives from the rich Kap-tsu-lan plain and driving them southward. Coming as they did from the lower strata of Chinese society education amongst them was at a very low level. As in China it was mainly dependent upon private schools and had for its primary object to prepare candidates for the Imperial examinations, and secondly to teach as much reading and writing of Chinese characters as was required for daily use. Nevertheless, 90 per cent. of the Chinese-Formosans were illiterate. The literati class was almost non-existent and the erudition of the traders was limited to their business requirements. The Rev. G. L. Mackay, who for twenty-one years conducted single-handed the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in north Formosa, found that the Chinese civilization in direct contact with the natives was represented only by the trader and the soldier in whose footsteps followed 'carnal passion and lust'.

Moreover, in their attitude towards the natives the Chinese displayed their normal contempt for all 'outer barbarians'. They classified them according to the degree in which they had assimilated Chinese culture. Those who had done so more or less were called 'Sek-hoans' or 'ripe barbarians', and 'Pe-po-hoans' or 'barbarians of the plain'. Those who had migrated into the mountains or who lived in the east, were 'Chi-hoans' or 'raw barbarians'.

They carried on incessant and not unsuccessful head-hunting operations against their celestial neighbours, who were obliged in the middle of the eighteenth century to organize a system of frontier guards against them and to prohibit trading with them except through special merchants and linguists appointed for the purpose. Like natives elsewhere in similar circumstances they acquired a supply of firearms from the superior race.

‘Although these people have men’s forms,’ observes a Chinese writer,¹ ‘they have not men’s natures. To govern them is impossible; to exterminate them not to be thought of; and so nothing can be done with them. The only thing left is to establish troops with cannon at all the passes through which they issue on their raids, and so overawe them by military display.’

No attempt was made to educate them until after Formosa became a separate province in 1886, when the first Governor established a school for the children of headmen as part of a plan to spread Chinese culture more widely. The pupils were required to wear Chinese dress and to eat Chinese food which, with the necessary books, was supplied gratis in order to encourage them to attend. The curriculum consisted of reading and writing Chinese characters.

The aboriginal Formosans were not responsible for the many insurrections which occurred during the Chinese occupation. The Chinese immigrants were an unruly and turbulent lot. Formosa became a resort for the criminals and the bandits of the mainland. The Imperial passport regulations were incapable of controlling their migration and only afforded Mandarins opportunities of squeezing emigrants who were respectable. Moreover, the Chinese were divided into two antagonistic factions—the Hok-los who came from Fukien, Kwantung, and Chekian and who were in a large majority, and the Hak-kas (strangers) who spoke a different language and did not conform to the Chinese customs.

Rebellions originated in protests against Mandarin

¹ Quoted by S. W. Williams: *The Middle Kingdom*, 1883, vol. i, p. 139.

exactions and in faction fights between the Chinese. They had little effect on the position. Each passed through a regular routine leaving matters in the end in the same state as they were before.

This was the state of Formosa when the Dominicans and the English and Canadian Presbyterian Churches started missions in it. The English mission, which began in the west of the island in 1865, drew three-fourths of its converts¹ from the Sek-hoans and the Pe-po-hoans, the balance being Chinese. Its principal educational aim was the training of native teachers, for which purpose it established a theological college at Tainan in 1877. It is interesting to compare its curriculum with that of the seminary opened by the Dutch with the same object 250 years before.² At the latter the morning hours of 6 to 8 had been devoted to vernacular instruction in the Catechism; 9 to 10 to reading and writing, and 10 to 11 again to the Catechism. In the modern college the 'Chinese character Bible' was expounded by a native tutor from 9 to 10 every morning, 'beginning with Genesis and continuing right through'. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays he superintended studies in 'Romanized Colloquial' and on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays he read 'such books as were prescribed, commencing with Williams's *Life of Christ*. Each European missionary also had a time allotted to him for teaching and, if he could not be present, the tutor taught again from the prescribed books beginning with the *Catechism on Astronomy*. Great emphasis was laid on the introduction of 'Romanized Colloquial'. Experience showed that even dull people could be taught to read it in a few months, whereas the learning of the Chinese characters was an infinitely laborious process.³

The concentration of the mission on training preachers and supplying stations for them interfered with its development of elementary education. Some schools were opened, but they could not be properly organized owing to the

¹ In 1890 there were 1,208.

² See above, p. 139.

³ Campbell: *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in Formosa*, 1910.

absence of schoolmasters; and students of the college had to be sent out to teach for a year, returning to their studies after it. There were, however, some regular teachers, and to encourage them they were granted a dollar for each child who passed an examination in scripture knowledge, in reading and writing Romanized Colloquial, and in the first four rules of arithmetic.

In the north the Rev. G. L. Mackay conducted his mission on the principle of recognizing whatever truth and beauty there were in the customs to which he found the people were attached, and utilizing them as 'an open sesame to their hearts'. Like Father Alexandre de Rhodes he learnt the language within six months.¹

'Many times,' he writes, 'standing on the steps of a temple, after singing a hymn, have I repeated the Fifth Commandment and the words 'Honour thy father and thy mother' have never failed to secure respectful attention.'

Nevertheless, he was convinced that the worship of ancestors was the most stubborn obstacle which Christianity had to face. The multiplicity of dialects was another. Like his colleagues in the west his success was greater among the true Formosans than among the immigrant Chinese² and this no doubt was due to the obstacle of family worship. His methods can be judged by a charming description which he gives of his work among the Pe-po-hoans of a fishing village in the Kap-tsu-lan plain. He assembled them by the blowing of a conch, a more peaceful means than the musket firing of the seventeenth century.

'After labouring there day and night for six or eight weeks I came to be much impressed by the three different classes who attended our services. There were the poor old toothless women, who had wrought hard in the constant struggle for existence, squatted on the bare earth weaving, and as they threw the thread they crooned in a low voice:

"There is a happy land,
Far, far away."

¹ See below, p. 160.

² In 1891 he had 784 Chinese and 1,821 native Church members. The proportion, therefore, was the same as in the west.

That land was very real to them—just as real as to their sisters in Christendom. . . . Then there were the boys with their bright young faces into whose lives our songs brought something of hope, and all day long they sang in their own tongue our children's hymn:

“Jesus loves me, this I know
For the Bible tells me so.”

And not the least attractive were the hardy, bold, brave fishermen going out in the morning through the surf, standing not sitting in their boats and, as they pushed their long oars, kept time to the stroke, singing the old Scotch paraphrase:

“I'm not ashamed to own my Lord
Or to defend His cause.”

It was grand, standing away yonder on the sandy beach, looking at them and listening to their voices.'

Being single-handed he was entirely dependent upon native preachers for his assistants and he founded the Oxford Theological College at Tamsui to train fifty at a time. The Bible was its text-book. History and geography were taught 'with special reference to Egypt, Persia, Greece, Syria, Arabia, Jerusalem, Rome, Babylon, Nineveh, Corinth, and Ephesus'. Courses of study in the Old and New Testament were held and 'the zoology, botany, and mineralogy of Bible times' were included. Nor was modern science neglected, and 'due prominence was given to all the important subjects in the curriculum of a Western college.'¹

II

One of the first actions of the Japanese, who acquired Formosa in 1895, was to reform the land-owning system which had grown up out of a combination of local conditions and Chinese customs. In order to obtain land and to secure themselves against the attacks of head-hunting Formosans the immigrant Chinese of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had become the dependants of earlier and more powerful settlers, and a Kansheu, or 'Chief Land Opener', and a Yeh-hu, or 'Employer', might own several

¹ Mackay: *From Far Formosa*, 1896, pp. 133, 218.

hundred thousand acres and have under his control two or three hundred thousand cultivators. But as the country became more occupied and as the aboriginal Formosans were assimilated or driven back into the mountains the tenants' rights grew at the expense of the landlords', and the system developed into a joint ownership between them similar to the Fokien custom on the mainland, the landlord having the right to collect the 'Taiso' or chief rent but being precluded from selling the land or leasing it to any one else. On the other hand, the cultivator could dispose of his right to any one without giving notice to the landlord. As a result, quite apart from the great diversity in the manner of calculating the rents,¹ confusion arose owing to the landlords being often uncertain who were the occupiers and from whom the rents were due. In order to clear the matter up the Japanese repeated the land reform which they had accomplished in Japan after 1874. They established a Bureau of Land Surveys to revise the land tax, to revalue and remeasure all holdings, to estimate their productive capacity, and to discover what modifications were necessary in the local land laws. On the work which the Bureau accomplished the ownership, the amount of the tax, and the rental value of each holding have been determined; and under an Ordinance of 1903 the landlord's rights have been expropriated by the Government.

The cultivators having thus acquired the Government as their landlord were able to reap the full advantage of its encouragement of agriculture. Formosa, like Cochin-China, benefited by being an exporter of rice; but other crops have been developed and the Chinese-Formosan peasants have enjoyed a prosperity of which their forefathers never dreamed. They are still an overwhelming preponderance of the population. The completion of the

¹ The rent might be 10, 15, or 30 per cent. of the crop, or 40 bushels of unhulled rice per Ko ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) or 10 per cent. for the first three years and thereafter a fixed quantity with sometimes a charge for delivery arising out of the departure from the old practice of the landlord himself collecting his share. Takekoshi: *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 1907, Chapter V. For a similar change in Ceylon under the Portuguese, see above, p. 15.

land survey in 1905 proved that 1,790,000 acres of good land were still available for development apart from the territory occupied by the aboriginal Formosans. The Japanese have not been able to take advantage of this opportunity for settlement, and the natural increase of the Chinese-Formosans, assisted by the decrease in the death-rate owing to the improved Japanese administration, has provided the peasantry for the purpose. The immigration of unskilled Chinese labour from the mainland has helped in the same direction. In the census taken on 31st December 1904 the Chinese-Formosans numbered 2,915,984 and the Japanese 53,365. The latest figures are 4,313,923 and 232,299 respectively. The Japanese are employed in more advanced occupations and control the trade of the island. In 1930, 90 per cent. of its exports went to Japan, which in return supplied 73 per cent. of its imports.

Compared with the Chinese the aboriginal Formosans are numerically but a small factor in the situation. In 1904 they numbered 104,334 and in 1930, 85,154. On the other hand, being less amenable to the pacifying influence of prosperity they have been a greater source of anxiety and have required a special treatment. The problem of education, therefore, falls under three heads—the Japanese, the Chinese-Formosans, and the aboriginal Formosans. We are here concerned with the two latter.

The Chinese-Formosans gave trouble at first. They were attached to their language and to their traditional education. They did not welcome the schools which the Japanese opened in suitable localities, and generally in the Temple Buildings, to instruct them in the Japanese language which they were inclined to despise and in Japanese history which they had no desire to learn. They suspected that the curriculum was designed to serve Japanese interests rather than their own. They attacked and destroyed many of the schools and murdered some of the teachers; and education had to be placed under the protection of the military. Nevertheless, the Japanese persisted. They reopened the schools as language institutes with volunteer teachers from Japan who were given

a three months' intensive course in the vernacular. This pioneer or preparatory period closed in 1898 and produced a number of interpreters and others who were useful to the Government in various capacities.

A new system, which is still in force, was then inaugurated, based on the opening of public schools, the cost of the upkeep of which is divided between the central government and the local authorities. The method of partition is the same as in Ceylon and in Java, the central government paying the teachers' salaries and expenses and the Prefectures (of which there are five) and the villages the other costs. The division worked out in 1931: Central Government, 31.79 per cent.; Prefectures, 45.15 per cent.; the villages or towns, 23.06 per cent. In 1898, 73 schools were brought under this arrangement. In 1904 they had increased to 153 with 23,178 pupils, including 2,655 girls.

These figures show that the Chinese-Formosans were overcoming their prejudice against the education which was being offered to them before the Russo-Japanese war. Thereafter, while their respect for Japanese culture and achievements increased, they developed a wider conception of the possibilities latent in themselves and started movements to attain political and economic equality and to safeguard their own culture. The Bunkwa Kyokai, a cultural society, the Taiwan Association for the establishment of a House of Representatives, the formation of embryo political parties, the appearance of a monthly magazine called *Tainan Mimpo* or *The Voice of the People* with a democratic policy and a large circulation were indications of a growing national consciousness and of desires for enlarged opportunities on the part of the Chinese-Formosans. The reasonableness of such aspirations has been recognized by the Japanese and steps have been taken to meet them; but always subject to Japanese being the national language and to Formosa being merged in the Empire.

In 1919 the first civilian Governor-General, Baron Kenjiro Dan, was appointed, and Formosa was given a

form of local government composed of four departments of which the Interior has a special section for education. In his first public address Baron Dan emphasized that the island was more 'an intrinsic part of the territory which makes up the Empire of Japan' than were the British and French colonies parts of their respective Empires. He declared that policy should aim at guiding the native peoples to become worthy subjects of the Imperial throne and at teaching them the same ideas of duty to Japan as are possessed by every Japanese. He recognized the importance of education as a means to these ends. It must lead the people to see that the Imperial throne stands for fairness and impartiality, and that their welfare lies in co-operation with and in attaining the same political level as the Japanese.

The language difficulty is the chief obstacle to a uniform system of education for both peoples. It necessitates parallel schools at any rate in the primary stage; and the 1919 Education Ordinance of Baron Dan maintained the separation while it increased the facilities of the Formosans. The revised ordinance, which was adopted three years later, although accepting the principle of unification was equally obliged to retain the dualism because, as Baron Dan explained, 'the native peoples are generally handicapped by an insufficient knowledge of the national language'. When they have made good the defect complete unification will be possible. In the meantime under the 1922 Ordinance 'common education for those who customarily use the national language' is given in primary schools and for 'those who do not customarily use the national language' it is given in public elementary schools.¹ The demarcation is not, however, absolute and at the present time 1,894 pupils are enjoying the advantages of co-education in primary schools and 37 pupils in public elementary schools. Above the primary stage co-education is in full operation.

The aims of public elementary education, as defined in Article 4 of the 1922 Education Ordinance, are to give

¹ Articles 2, 3, and 21 of the 1922 Ordinance.

children a moral and physical training to fit them to become good citizens, to instruct them in the literary and technical subjects which are required for everyday life, and to teach them the national language. The same assimilative purpose is apparent in education in all its stages. The comment made by Governor-General Asachi on the 1919 Ordinance that the essential principle of all education must be the fostering of morality and of the national characteristics remains as true now as it was then. The course in public elementary schools is for six, four, or three years, according to local conditions. The first three are devoted to moral instruction, the Japanese language, arithmetic, drawing, singing, manual work, and sewing for girls. During the second three, Japanese history, geography, and elementary science are added, and agriculture, commerce, and English may be included. Chinese also is an optional subject. Those public elementary schools which give the full six years' course may add a higher course of two years to which only those who have passed through the full elementary course are admitted. Their standard in all subjects is, however, lower than the primary schools, and consequently Chinese-Formosans are to that extent handicapped in their chances of passing into middle and high schools. On the other hand, as the administrative posts in the island are reserved almost exclusively for Japanese officials it seems undesirable to train Formosans for a career which is not open to them.

Four normal schools, which are financed on the same principle as are the public elementary schools, have been established for training teachers. They have separate departments for the two types of schools. The course is for six years, including one devoted to practical training, and five years for women. The qualification for entry is the completion of the primary schools course, no mention being made of the public elementary schools. On the other hand, the Ordinance allows for the admission of those whose standard of scholarship is equal to or higher than that laid down by the Governor-General. The door, therefore, is open to Formosans. The following tables

show the numbers of those who were being trained in 1929 and of those who were teaching in 1931:

Pupils in Normal Schools

	<i>Applicants</i>	<i>Enrolments</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Japanese	1,551	255	16.31
Chinese-Formosans . .	2,075	89	4.29
Aborigines	10	4	40.00

Teachers in Public Elementary Schools

Japanese	2,258
Chinese-Formosans . .	3,244
Aborigines	53

Having regard to the purpose which underlies education the comparative preponderance of Japanese is understandable. The increase of schools has been particularly marked since the passing of the 1922 Ordinance; and the public elementary schools in 1931 totalled 761, with 281,990 pupils. At the same time the growth of Government elementary education has been followed by the closing of the missionary elementary schools.

A similar enlargement of secondary education has taken place. In 1921 there were three middle schools, as they are called, for boys; in 1931 there were ten, and thirteen high schools for girls. The attendance at them in the latter year was:

	<i>Middle Schools</i>	<i>Girls High Schools</i>
Japanese	3,204	3,839
Chinese-Formosans . .	2,088	1,467
Aborigines	3	3

Here again the disproportionate number of Japanese pupils is natural. No English child is uneducated in Ceylon, nor Dutch child in Java, nor French child in Indo-China. All colonial powers make the education of the children of their colonial nationals a first consideration and afterwards do all that the colony's finances will permit for the education of the natives. To allow the descendants of the

former to degenerate through lack of education would be both a retrograde step and a negation of the trusteeship which is the justification of empire building.

The middle schools carry on the moral and national education of the public elementary schools, the pupils of both races being now educated together—the Chinese-Formosans having overcome their language handicap by passing through the public elementary schools. The choice of subjects is wide. For boys—the Japanese and Chinese classics, either English, French, or German, mathematics, history, physics, chemistry, law, economics, drawing, singing, and gymnastics. For girls—Japanese, English, history, geography, mathematics, natural science, sewing, music, and gymnastics. Japanese pupils may also take Formosan as an optional subject. The course is five years for boys and only students who have completed a primary or a public elementary course are admitted at the age of twelve or older. The course for girls is four years and may be less according to circumstances.

Higher education in Formosa is available in one high school. It has a seven years' course of which the first four are the same as in the middle schools, while the last three, which can be taken in either literature or science, are a preparation for the university. In 1931 the students at the school included 471 Japanese and 139 Chinese-Formosans. The Taihoku Imperial University, founded in 1929, provides courses in literature, science, politics, and agriculture; but the tendency has been to encourage Chinese-Formosans to seek a university education in Japan. Of the Japanese applicants for admission in 1929, 18.45 per cent. were accepted and of the Chinese-Formosans 11.63 per cent.

Technical education has been still more developed. There are six schools giving it, of which three supply a training in agriculture, one is an industrial school, and two are commercial schools. They are open to students who have passed through the primary or the public elementary schools, the course varying from three to five years. In addition to the special technical subjects which they teach their curricula include morals, Japanese, mathematics,

law, economics, and gymnastics. The applications for admission in 1929 were:

	<i>Applicants</i>	<i>Enrolments</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Japanese	883	281	31.82
Chinese-Formosans . .	2,111	374	17.72
Aborigines	6	2	33.33

The following table gives the number of pupils in them in 1931. It shows the relative interest of the three peoples in the economic affairs of the island:

	<i>Agriculture, 3 schools</i>	<i>Industry, 1 school</i>	<i>Commerce, 2 schools</i>
Japanese	256	514	789
Chinese-Formosans . .	1,243	177	347
Aborigines	9	7	..

In addition Supplementary, Technical, or Continuation Schools have been established by, and are supported out of, provincial and district funds with the object of giving a two-year vocational training course to boys who have passed through primary and public elementary schools. There are now 31 of them with 203 Japanese and 1,663 Chinese-Formosan students. Advanced professional training is available in a Medical College at Taihoku, two Commercial Colleges at Taihoku and Tainan, and the section of Forestry and Agriculture at the Taihoku University. The number of admissions to the Medical and Agricultural Colleges in 1929 was:

*Medical College*¹

	<i>Applicants</i>	<i>Enrolments</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Japanese	229	44	19.2
Chinese-Formosans . .	219	31	14.8

*Agricultural College*¹

	<i>Applicants</i>	<i>Enrolments</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Japanese	216	38	17.59
Chinese-Formosans . .	35	1	2.86

¹ Figures for the two Commercial Colleges are not available.

The number of pupils attending each in 1931 was:

	<i>Medical</i>	<i>Commercial</i>	<i>Industrial</i>	<i>Agricultural</i>
Japanese	145	209	91	132
Chinese-Formosans	154	22	65	136

The education of the aboriginal Formosans has required special treatment, the preliminary stage involved bringing them under effective administrative control. The Japanese found the Taiyals of the north as difficult to deal with as had the Chinese. They were obliged to revive and to modernize the system of the frontier-guard against them and to wage a difficult four years' campaign (1899-1902). Since then the frontier has been gradually extended and simultaneously schools have been opened since 1904 in combination with police stations (an obvious convenience under the circumstances); and police officers are appointed who already have some experience of educational work. The children are assimilated as far as possible to Japanese ways during the four years' course, which includes moral instruction, Japanese, arithmetic, singing, drawing, and physical training. The southern tribes, especially those in the plains of Taito and Koshun, having been in closer contact with Chinese-Formosans, have made more progress towards civilization; and as early as 1898 two schools were set aside for the purpose of teaching them the Japanese language and manners. Progress has been slow. Nevertheless, the schools have produced teachers and recruits for the auxiliary police force and they have contributed to the pacification of the country. The number of aboriginal Formosans attending school in 1931 was 6,792. The figures quoted in the various tables given in the previous pages show the extent to which they have climbed the ladder above the elementary stage.¹

¹ We are indebted to Professor Arundell del Re of the Taihoku Imperial University for most of the information on Japanese education in Formosa given in this section.

CHAPTER XIV

INDO-CHINA (1)

The Chinese Rites Controversy

THE beginnings of the missionary crusade in Indo-China coincided with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Japan. The persecuted missionaries transferred their activities to the continent and attempted to commend the Faith to the Chinese by emphasizing its points of resemblance to their beliefs and by showing its conformity with a natural law, the principles of which were embodied in the works of their philosophers. They did not rely on the destruction and discredit of Chinese culture, but on preserving and adapting as much of it as could be fitted into Christianity without violating any principles. Father Matteo Ricci, who initiated the movement, attained to high rank in Peking as a Chinese scholar and was even prepared to go so far as to express the pious hope that many of the ancient Chinese had been saved through the natural law assisted by that 'special help which God never denies to anyone who fulfils it to the best of his ability'.

Unfortunately, this interesting experiment in the adjustment of Eastern and Western cultures was shipwrecked in the 'Chinese Rites' controversy. The principal points at issue were the use of the word 'Tien' for God and the Chinese ceremonies connected with the dead and with the memory of Confucius. The Jesuits argued that these ceremonies had only a political and not a religious significance and that therefore Christian Chinese could be present at them. The Vatican seemed at one time prepared to acknowledge the justice of this contention. In 1656 it issued a ruling drawing a distinction between political and religious rites and giving permission to Chinese converts to perform the ceremonies due to the dead even in the company of the unconverted, superstitious objects alone being prohibited, and to take part even in super-

stitious rites, after they had protested their faith and 'when otherwise they could not avoid hatreds and enmities'.

One result of this liberal attitude was that a wide variety of practice developed among the missionaries. In some cases it grew into an almost unlimited licence, as it did also in southern India. This was seized on by the opponents of the policy and in 1693 provoked the issue of a repressive edict by the Vicar-General of the province of Fo-kien, in which he asserted that the supposed permissions granted in 1656 had been based on unreliable information and that they were open to question. He forbade converts to take part in such ceremonies; he directed that the true doctrine of the Church in regard to the honour due to the departed should be inscribed on the tablets to the dead in private houses; he condemned the propositions that Chinese philosophy properly understood had nothing in it contrary to the Christian law and that the worship which Confucius assigned to spirits was a civil rather than a religious rite; he warned missionaries against allowing Chinese books to be read in their schools inasmuch as they contained atheistic and superstitious matter; he ruled that 'Tien Chu' should be used to denote 'God' and that the use of the word 'Tien' alone should be prohibited. He sent these rulings to Rome for confirmation.

It was on the last point that the controversy came to a head. 'Tien' meant heaven. Those who opposed its use as denoting God argued that its meaning was material and not spiritual, and that 'Tien Chu', the Lord of Heaven, could alone express the Deity. The Chinese replied with some force that they were more capable of deciding the true meaning of the word than was a European bishop who was ignorant of the language. The Vicar-General's rulings were, however, upheld by the Vatican; although the final decision was not given until 1742¹ and after two Papal Legates had visited the Far East to report.

The controversy had its repercussions in Annam. The Annamese had during the first millennium of the Christian era become thoroughly assimilated to the Chinese culture

¹ Bull of Benedict XIV: *Ex quo singulari*.

which they had maintained uncontaminated by Mongol and Tartar invasions.¹ They spoke, or rather as it appeared to the early missionaries, they chanted a monosyllabic language similar to the Chinese. In the ears of Father Alexandre de Rhodes it sounded like the twittering of birds, and he despaired of ever being able to preach in it—a feat which he accomplished, however, within six months of his arrival. Their social organization resembled that of the Chinese in its absence of any official aristocracy of birth between the sovereign and the people. Accession to the order of nobility, which was divided into five grades, was the reward of public service. It was transferable from father to son only in a diminishing scale, each generation moving down a step (unless personal promotion was earned) until the sixth descendant of a holder of the highest grade found himself bereft of all his ancestor's privileges, which moreover were only social, carrying with them precedence at public ceremonies and some immunity from taxation.² They had no connexion with the nine grades of the mandarin.

An individual could enter the state service only through the medium of examinations which were the culminating point of the educational system.

The family was centred in the cult of its ancestors. Each household had an altar and a sanctuary devoted to them where their tablets were kept. On the eve of any anniversary the whole family collected round the altar, candles were lit, and sacrificial offerings for the reception of the ancestors were made by its head in his capacity of priest. Early the next morning further offerings were due and were followed in the evening or early the next morning with offerings for the departure of the ancestors. The rich made provision for this cult by setting aside a portion of their wealth to endow it; the poor looked to the educa-

¹ e.g. The decree of 1703 forbidding the new customs introduced into China, such as wearing a pigtail; and the welcome accorded to the 7,000 Chinese refugees who remained faithful to the Ming dynasty.

² They were exempt from the personal taxes as also were the eldest sons of those belonging to the highest grade.

tion of their children to inculcate the traditional sense of filial piety which would ensure the same honours for them.

It was this family worship which the early missionaries attempted to adjust to Christian practice. They were struck by the Annamese' apparent love of prayer. The hours for it were fixed and nothing was allowed to interfere with them. The family assembled at its oratory both morning and evening. Here, if they were Christians, they kept the Holy Water, their sacred images, and the penitential instruments with which they mortified their bodies. Here also they hung the tablets inscribed with the names of their ancestors. The decision of Rome came as a crushing blow to this combination of family and Christian worship, and consequently to the spread of the latter. In the words of Father Bouillevaux, who wrote a hundred years later, 'le prédication de l'Évangile en fut entravé peut-être pour des siècles'. Christianity became known as 'Tien-chu-Keao' or 'the worship of the Lord of Heaven', and Christians were regarded as the introducers of a new and strange god, a sort of idol of their own. Christian converts found themselves excluded from all public office, which meant that the missionaries could make no impression on the Mandarins and the literati to whom the people looked for leadership, nor on the native education system. To become converted was equivalent to being denationalized. Those who renounced the cult of their ancestors were regarded as being men of no affection or filial piety. An impassable barrier separated them from the society into which they had been born. The whole social and moral force of an ancient and highly-organized civilization was ranged against Christianity.¹ Nor was the strength of the opposition undermined by the gradual penetration of Western material civilization. The Annamese like the Chinese showed no anxiety to buy European goods. Munitions of war were most in demand and at the end of the eighteenth century almost monopolized the imports.

¹ Louvet: *La Cochinchine religieuse*, 1885, pp. 147-51.

Missionary zeal and European commerce having failed to make any noticeable impression on the social and religious traditions of Annam, Mgr. Pigneau de Behaine, Bishop of Adran and Vicar-General of Cochin-China, attempted a policy of political intervention towards the end of the eighteenth century.

After the emancipation of the country from Chinese domination early in the fifteenth century it underwent a series of internal disturbances which culminated in its division. Tonkin fell under the control of the family of Trinh; Annam, which by that time had spread as far south as the province of Khanh-hoa, under the family of Nguyen, both being under the nominal sovereignty of the second dynasty of Le. One result of this division was that Annamese influence spread southwards until, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the remainder of the Cham coastal territory was absorbed as far as Cambodia, which at that time included the present territory of Cochin-China and which was reduced to the position of a vassal state. A century later Cochin-China was also absorbed; and the disappearance of the kingdom of Cambodia seemed imminent when civil war broke out in Annam. Nguyen Anh (Gia Long), a son of the dispossessed heir to the throne, was obliged to flee into Siam. His restoration with the assistance of French arms seemed to the Bishop of Adran an opportunity of increasing the influence both of the Church and of France. With this object he negotiated a treaty between Gia Long and the Government of Louis XVI.¹ It was a purely political and commercial instrument. It contained no reference to missions. They would benefit as a matter of course from an expansion of French influence; and the failure of France to take advantage of the opportunity left the missionaries at the mercy of a persecution which was only terminated by the joint operation of French and Spanish forces sixty years later. The annexation in 1861 of the three eastern, and in 1867 of the three western, provinces of Cochin-

¹ Text in Cordier: *Histoire des Relations de la Chine*, 1902, vol. ii, pp. 246-50.

China, and a declaration of a Protectorate over the kingdom of Cambodia followed.

The ancient administrative system, which was still in existence in Annam, in Tonkin, and in Cochin-China in the middle of the nineteenth century, divided the country into provinces, districts, subdistricts, cantons, and villages or communes. The first three were governed by Mandarins appointed by the central authority, the heads of the last two were appointed locally. The Governor of each province was assisted by an officer in charge of the administration, a judicial officer, and a military commander, the responsibilities of the first being subdivided between five departments¹ one of which, the department of rites, had control over public education. Cochin-China and Tonkin were each under the additional supervision of a Viceroy or Visitor. Annam came directly under the Emperor. At the head of each canton was a local notable elected annually at a meeting of delegates from the villages of which it was composed. The head of a village might be either its original founder or nominated by its Council of Notables, the members of which were elected by the villagers whose names were inscribed on the direct-tax register.²

The education system fitted into this political framework. It was divided into three stages of which the lowest, the village schools, was not under the State. They were either controlled by the village councils or by private enterprise. The State, however, intervened in the secondary education of the more promising pupils by appointing education officers in each district and sub-district who prepared candidates for examinations which were held annually under the supervision of a provincial education officer. Those who were successful were enabled to proceed, still under his supervision, to the next stage, a qualifying examination, held every three years, which was preliminary to the final grand triennial examination held at Nam dinh in Tonkin and at Binh

¹ 1. Personal; 2. Finance; 3. Rites; 4. War; 5. Public Works.

² See below, p. 170.

dinh, Hué, Ninh, and Khan-hoa in Annam. Only one in five candidates usually succeeded in qualifying and not more than 200 out of 10,000 passed the final. Of these the first 50 received the degree of Licentiate and the remainder that of Bachelor. Their enrolment in the Mandarinate, which followed as a matter of course, was the ultimate object of the State's intervention and interest in education. The best of the licentiates could go even higher by entering for the Emperor's Examination every three years in the royal palace. Those who were successful earned the degree of Doctor. At Hué also was the Academy responsible for supervising and maintaining the level of all literary studies. It was the arcanum of the national culture.

The peculiar features of the system were that it was democratic and entirely formal. Through it the lowest-born subject might rise to the highest office in the State; although in practice this seldom happened. It fulfilled its purpose of securing government officials adequately equipped for their work, and it kept alive the moral and social traditions on which the family and the State rested. On the other hand, apart from the moral element in it, it was purely literary and formal. The subjects of examination remained the same at each step, and a candidate as he climbed the ladder had only to show an increasing facility in them. The medium was classical Chinese, which bore the same relation to the vernacular as did Latin in Europe in the Middle Ages. The Annamese language was ignored.

The process of learning, especially in the elementary village schools, was a mechanical repetition of Chinese ideograms and the maxims of Confucian morality. Grouped round the schoolmaster, who seldom had any professional qualifications, each child held in his hand a little stick with which he traced the characters on a board covered with damp clay, the master at the same time giving the meaning of each and the moral which it implied, both of which the child repeated at the top of his voice. The noise was deafening and was increased by the

frequent application of the cane on those who made mistakes in exact repetition. The pupils were afterwards taught to trace the characters with a brush. The result was that, although few Annamese were educated, few were wholly illiterate. They had been trained in a common traditional culture and faith which were the foundations of their national fabric. The communes governed and educated their inhabitants on lines that had been established for centuries. They were minute vassal states under certain obligations to a central power rather than administrative subdivisions. The channel of communication between them and the Government was the headman or mayor who with the Council of Notables was also responsible for carrying out the Government's orders. He was generally chosen for diplomatic, insinuating, and argumentative gifts which would qualify him to make the best terms possible for those whom he represented. A venerable tradition of submission to, and respect for, the notables was the foundation on which the Government rested. To attempt to govern without it was, as the French were to discover, to build castles in the air.¹ It was the same with the hierarchy of Mandarins who formed the link between the communes and the central authority. The fact that through the examinations any child in any commune could aspire to the highest office gave to the humblest a sense of personal connexion with the Government.

¹ See the speech of M. Rodier, Lieutenant-Governor of Cochin-China, reported in *L'Asie Française*, Aug. 1905.

CHAPTER XV

COCHIN-CHINA (1862-1897)

WHEN the French began to govern in Cochin-China in 1861 they found the native administration disorganized owing to the withdrawal of the officials by order of Tu-Duc, the Emperor of Annam. The village communes were in confusion. Their notables had fled and most of the records had been destroyed. The fields were uncultivated and piracy and brigandage were rampant.

At this time official opinion in Paris was temporarily veering away from assimilation as the ideal colonial policy. The government of the people by their chiefs under European supervision, as it was practised by the Residents in Java and by the Alcaldes in Luzon, and the simultaneous economic development of the country by Western methods, as in Java, seemed in every way suited to the circumstances of Cochin-China. Although they were ignorant of the Annamese system of government the first French Governors realized that it was worth preserving. Unfortunately for them there were no native officials available for the purpose. Admiral Charner, the first Governor, therefore appointed French naval and military officers to be heads of the districts and subdistricts with the title of Directors of Native Affairs, who found themselves in positions of responsibility with no real authority, while their dependence upon interpreters only added to their embarrassments.

The necessary adjustments to overcome these difficulties would naturally have taken some years; but Admiral Bonnard, who succeeded Charner in August 1861, arrived with his mind already made up to put its ultimate objective into operation at once. He dispensed with Charner's Directors of Native Affairs and replaced them by a smaller number of 'Inspectors of Native Affairs' who combined administrative and judicial functions, and he

appointed Annamese on whom he thought he could rely to take charge of the districts and subdistricts. The plan did not work because the new officers had none of the necessary literary and traditional qualifications for their posts and consequently no authority. Bonnard was therefore obliged to revert to a more direct form of administration. But he did so unwillingly, and shortly before his retirement issued a proclamation excusing himself to the people and explaining that if sometimes their old customs had not been wholly respected the reason was the ignorance of the French 'who were studying them every day in order not to offend against them'. Wherever the old system could be re-established the Annamese authorities had been, and would be, reinstated; the continued unrest was alone responsible for the schools not having yet regained their former position ('leurs splendeurs d'autrefois'); the French no less than the Annamese respected their ancestors and their cultivated men.¹

His successor, Admiral de la Grandière, was equally determined to maintain whatever was valuable in the native organization, and in his opinion the communes fell within the definition. With this object he increased the number of Inspectors of Native Affairs and reduced the heads of districts and subdistricts to subordinate positions under them to act as links between them and the elected heads of the cantons and of the communes, who by now had returned from their voluntary exile.

When, therefore, de la Grandière retired from the governorship the communal and cantonal organization was still intact. His successor, Admiral Ohier, attempted to introduce a revolutionary change by creating what he termed 'États Généraux' in each district, composed of one delegate from each commune elected by the notables. He did not stay long enough in the country to bring the scheme to fruition, but the representative principle on which it rested reappeared shortly afterwards in another form.

¹ Silvestre: 'La Politique française dans l'Indo-Chine' in *Annales de l'École libre des Sciences Politiques*, 1895, vol. x, pp. 199-200.

Thus four different systems were set on foot during the first eight years of the French occupation, all of which offended more or less against native custom. Under Charner the Directors of Native Affairs did the best they could in the prevailing disorganization. Bonnard tried indirectly to govern through the heads of the districts and subdistricts without troubling about the cantons and the communes. De la Grandière set out to magnify the latter and to ignore the former. Ohier advanced as rapidly in the direction of introducing representative institutions as Bonnard had moved towards the re-establishment of the native organization. The appointment of M. Le Myre de Vilers as the first civil governor, and his arrival in Cochin-China in 1879 with definite instructions that assimilation should inspire all his thoughts and all his actions, afforded a fitting opportunity to follow Ohier's lead.

In 1877 a Municipal Council had been established in Saigon composed of eight French members, two natives, one foreign Oriental, and one foreign European. The French were elected by the universal suffrage of their fellow citizens, the others were nominated. Its satisfactory working for two years was advanced as a proof that the people of Cochin-China were capable of managing their own affairs, not indeed in the way they had managed them during the preceding millennium, but through modern representative institutions. The French Government recognized, however, that the immediate introduction of the equality of franchise rights on which the *Conseils Généraux* of other colonies had been founded was not possible in Indo-China. On the other hand, an electorate confined to French citizens and excluding the natives would not serve the goal of full assimilation which was the objective. A mixed system resembling that in force in the Saigon Municipality was the solution—the Annamese members being chosen so far as was possible 'in conformity with their customs'. Accordingly a Colonial Council was established in 1880 composed of six French members elected by universal suffrage and six natives chosen by an

electoral college consisting of one delegate designated by the notables of each commune.¹ In addition two members represented the Chamber of Commerce and two members the Governor's Privy Council. The native members were permitted to use their own language for six years. Thereafter a knowledge of French became an essential qualification for membership. Later a Council was set up in each district—the notables of each canton electing one member. At the same time the foreign members of the Municipal Council of Saigon were excluded from it, the native members were increased to four and they were made elective by universal suffrage, their roll and that of the French being prepared as far as possible on the same basis. The next step was to give Cochin-China the last and crowning privilege of assimilation, that of sending a Deputy to the Chamber in Paris.

The important point about these reforms was that they made the native members of the Municipal Council (three years after its establishment) elective on a franchise equal to the French, while accepting the village notables as the electorate in the country. The urban natives were already desocialized, and nothing stood in the way of their assimilation. On the other hand, the rural natives who still retained their communal associations exercised their franchise rights in accordance with them.

Another important change was an alteration in the character of the land and personal taxes. The efficient collection of the former had depended upon the original survey of the land (which in Cochin-China was as old as 1758) being kept up to date, a duty which devolved upon the communal authorities. The French continued a similar system with the initial disadvantage, however, that many of the records had been destroyed. They required each commune to keep its roll up to date, to supply the Inspector of Native Affairs with a copy, and to verify it annually with him. But his supervision was necessarily very summary and the statements of the communal officials were generally accepted without cavil. So

¹ Cultru: *Histoire de la Cochinchine des origines à 1883*, 1910, p. 325.

long as the Government regularly received the amount it expected from each community it was satisfied, and did not concern itself with the details of how the tax was apportioned amongst the villagers. It took up much the same attitude as did the Dutch Government in Java towards Raffles's land-tax,¹ with the result that the communal authorities increasingly became its agents, and the tax was assessed empirically with little regard to the facts.

The personal tax underwent a similar transformation. Under the Annamese dispensation those who were inscribed on the personal tax register were divided into three classes, each of which was liable in a different degree. The tax roll was made up quinquennially in each commune and was confirmed at a public Court held by a royal envoy and a representative of the Minister. Nothing of this survived the French annexation, and the tax became a capitation fee collected communally in the same wholesale manner as was the land tax.

At the same time a new economic era was opened. The ground under cultivation doubled and trebled and rice became an export crop supplying the markets of Singapore, Hong Kong, and Java. The same causes led to an appreciation in the value of land and to the development of a free market in it. Formerly transfers had seldom taken place except by inheritance. Now sales became frequent. They were facilitated by the introduction of the Torrens system of the registration of titles by the simple expedient of converting the land-tax rolls into registers. They became 'ces utiles registres au moyen desquels était constatée en Cochinchine la propriété avant la conquête, et qui sont encore à l'heure actuelle la seule base de la système foncière'. Thus what had formerly been no more than a native administrative record was transformed by a government circular, afterwards backed by decisions of the Courts, into a Western legal instrument.² It has since

¹ See above, p. 73.

² Boudillon: *Le Régime de la propriété foncière en Indo-Chine*, 1915, pp. 40-58.

developed into a fully organized system of registration out of which, however, French or assimilated native owners may contract if they desire their properties to be governed by the French Civil Code.

The absorption of the communal officials by the Central Government, which these changes made inevitable, was in due course recognized by their ceasing to be elective and becoming its appointees, as did also the heads of the cantons in conformity with the French principle of the centralization of authority. The result was that the leading notables of the communes refused to undertake the duties, which fell into the hands of the same type of men as Bonnard had appointed. To sum up, after twenty-five years of French rule, at a time when France was undertaking increased responsibilities in Tonkin, the position in Cochin-China was that the communes were still in existence and were still the basis of native society. They had, however, been affected by economic changes and their electoral rights had been diverted from the appointment of local officials to the recruiting of representative assemblies which were quite foreign to the Annamese system. The local officials were now appointed by the Central Government.

The above account of political developments in Cochin-China is a necessary preliminary to an appreciation of French educational policy which naturally conformed to them. Only Bonnard made any attempt to restore the old examinations in order to recruit his native officials through them. He arranged to appoint an education officer in each province whose duties were to organize and control education in the districts, subdistricts, and the villages, to reopen the biennial and the triennial examinations, to watch over and to maintain the privileges of the literati, to propose the names of examinees who were suitable for government employment, and to encourage the use of Quoc-Ngu¹ in the place of classical Chinese as the medium of literary eminence. He even established an examination

¹ A method devised by the Portuguese and French missionaries of the seventeenth century to write Annamese in the Roman alphabet.

board for literati composed of one of his Inspectors of Native Affairs and the two French missionaries who were his interpreters.

None of these proposals was workable. The village schoolmasters objected to the use of Quoc-Ngu of which they were ignorant. The lettered personnel was not available to man the higher grades of teaching, and Bonnard found that the educational system was as dependent upon the Mandarins who had withdrawn as was the administrative.

The first difficulty which faced the early Governors was the lack of interpreters, and students had to be fetched from St. Xavier's College at Penang,¹ who had been taught no other European language than Latin. Some better provision was essential and the first steps in education were concentrated on meeting it, and schools were started in the capitals of the province to begin introducing French amongst the town natives. Soon afterwards a native corps of interpreters was recruited by examination, but as one of the subjects was Latin only mission-educated natives were able to qualify. A year later, in 1862, the École d'Adran was established under missionary control, a grant being made to it in proportion to the number of pupils learning French, and bursaries were given in order to encourage natives to equip themselves to become servants of the new Government. It was not easy at first to secure pupils. They had to be recruited, and education came to be looked upon as a form of *corvée*, the villagers whose sons were not taken indemnifying those parents who agreed to let theirs go. After the demand for interpreters had been met the École d'Adran became a secondary school under the control of 'Les Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes', whom de la Grandière brought out to take it over. They taught the catechism, arithmetic, geography, reading and writing in French and Quoc-Ngu, the elements of land surveying and drawing.

Bonnard's policy had been based on reducing the contacts between the French and the natives, and his

¹ See below, p. 200.

primary object in developing education was to train capable natives to become Government employees. Admiral de la Grandière on the other hand increased the number of contacts, and his educational policy was therefore broader and more assimilative. It required also a larger supply of native teachers to take over the schools which he opened in the provinces. He therefore created two classes of teachers who were paid respectively 50 and 30 francs a month. The first class had to pass an examination conducted by a European Commission in Quoc-Ngu, the four rules of arithmetic, the elements of surveying, and the interpretation of French into colloquial Annamese. Those who qualified received a certificate. The second class were required to know only Quoc-Ngu and the four rules. By these means 56 schools with 1,300 pupils were open in 1867, and increased to 70 schools with 2,550 pupils in 1868. Admiral Ohier was still more assimilative and opened six schools with the special object of teaching French.

With the appointment of Le Myre de Vilers a still clearer lead was given in educational policy. The Minister of Marine and of the Colonies, who had bidden him to have assimilation always in his thoughts, was equally emphatic that 'no sacrifices could be more useful and fruitful than those which the Colony should make to familiarize the Annamese with French ideas, morality, industry, science, and economics'. An increase in expenditure on education from 460,000 to 523,000 francs had already been decided upon, and he welcomed this as affording an opportunity of spreading primary education more widely in order that a greater number of youths should have a chance of proving that their intellects merited further attention. He favoured sending the best to France, whence they would return to their native land 'impregnated in some degree by the French national genius and informed on the foundations and the superstructure of French civilization'.¹

The years that followed did not entirely belie this

¹ Le Myre de Vilers: *Les Institutions Civiles de la Cochinchine*, 1908, p. 6 et seq.

grandiose picture. In 1879 the principle was adopted that, while the education in the communal schools should be in the vernacular, French should be introduced in the cantonal and provincial schools; and de Vilers was able to announce shortly before he retired from the governorship that more than 500 'French character' schools had been opened by the natives, that the pupils attending them no longer belonged only to the poorest families who had to be paid to allow them to attend, but that the sons of notables were now coming forward, and that the use of 'French characters' would from 1st January 1882 be made compulsory. The last would have an immense influence, for it would 'bring the French and the Annamese together and would allow of printing and literature, the two great vehicles of civilization, penetrating to the remotest village'. He claimed that the reforms the French had introduced were founded on 'the eternal principles of Liberty', and that he could not, therefore, doubt their ultimate success; provided always that the principle of the separation of powers was upheld at every stage of the administration.¹

Thus the position in Cochin-China at the end of 1882, when free compulsory education was installed in France, was that communal schools gave a vernacular education in Quoc-Ngu, while cantonal and provincial schools were teaching French. Some provision had been made for higher education in Saigon. A college and normal school had been established which gave 'Higher Primary' or 'Complementary' education. A body of native teachers had been formed, French teachers had been imported, and the only relic of the higher traditional Chinese education was a number of Professors of Chinese characters who gave lessons in morality in the Chinese schools.

During the next decade, and until Paul Doumer became Governor-General in 1897, the centre of interest shifts to Tonkin which must now be dealt with.

¹ Le Myre de Vilers: *op. cit.*, p. 54.

CHAPTER XVI

TONKIN (1874-97)

UNTIL 1891, when J. L. de Lanessan became Governor, the French accepted as axiomatic that Tonkin and Annam were separate countries inhabited by two peoples who had not alone been estranged by dynastic wars, but who also differed in their languages and customs. Some diversity of language existed, but it was no more than that which is common between local dialects elsewhere. A Tonkinese interpreter, for example, experienced difficulty in making himself understood in Saigon owing, amongst other peculiarities, to his inability to pronounce the letter R, which the Annamese of Cochin-China did with facility, having learnt it from the Khmers 'who rolled their Rs like Parisians'.¹ He only required a few weeks, however, to learn to do so also. More importance was attached, and with still less justification, to the supposed disparity in social organization. It rested on the theory that the Mandarins in Tonkin were an official aristocracy imposed on a down-trodden people by the alien court at Hué.

The theory of their unpopularity was not supported by experts like de Lanessan and Silvestre; but its convenience as a justification of French separatist policy in Tonkin was obvious: for a more direct control of Tonkin than of Annam was essential from the point of view of the French owing to (1) their anxiety to develop a trade with China by means of the Red River, (2) the disturbed conditions on the northern frontier, and (3) Tu-Duc's obstinate revival of his country's vassalage to China after he had agreed in the Treaty of 1874² to be independent of all foreign powers and to conform his foreign policy to that of France. On the other hand French interests in Annam were limited to preventing any other European power

¹ Pallegoix: *Description de la Siam*, 1854, vol. ii, p. 32.

² Text in Cordier: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 270.

controlling it, to opening it up to French trade, and to looking after the welfare of the missionaries and their congregations. The last was the most troublesome.

Although the influence of Christianity was confined almost entirely to the two southernmost provinces of Khanh-hoa and Binh-thuan, and although the converts were recruited mainly from the poorer and less stable elements of the community and from the remnants of the dispossessed Chams, they gave the Mandarins a foretaste of their capacity to disturb the traditional Annamese society. There was no trouble so long as they kept to themselves. The principles on which the missionaries acted had been laid down in the instructions issued by Alexander VII to François Pallu and Pierre de la Motte-Lambert, Bishop of Berytus, when appointing them Vicars-Apostolic of Tonkin and Cochinchina respectively in 1658. Their primary objects were to be conversion and the formation of native ministries. The former required the teaching of Christian doctrines in the vernacular, and the latter the teaching of Latin. All politics were to be left to the civil authorities to whom the missionaries should submit, avoiding asking for privileges, exemptions or judgements contrary to custom and law, in order not to stir up jealousy. In Indo-China, therefore, the missionaries organized their converts into villages, appointed their mayors and notables, managed their lands and even administered justice to them. Their isolation and independence had the advantage of avoiding the friction which the Vatican was anxious to prevent and which was generated where conversion penetrated into the Buddhist villages. The Christians there found themselves harried and maltreated. Hence village quarrels, disputes between missionaries and Mandarins, and sometimes bloodshed.

For these reasons the protection of Christian interests plays a prominent part in the treaties by which France acquired her interests in Indo-China. In the treaty of 1862¹ no more was exacted than freedom for every one to become a Christian if he desired. The Treaty of 1874 was

¹ Text in Cordier: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 258.

more explicit and recited a number of grievances from which Christian converts were to be relieved; provisions which were confirmed in the Treaty of 1884.

The protection thus afforded by the French to the Christians added to the Mandarins' consciousness of the probable effects of French action on their position and privileges. They were above all things conservative and could imagine no benefit for themselves from contact with Westernism. It had already caused them to lose lucrative and influential posts in Cochín-China and would obviously reduce their opportunities elsewhere.

Nevertheless, the French attempted to use the Mandarins whom they found in office in Tonkin. They had no desire to annex it nor to be obliged to organize a new administration as they had had to do in Cochín-China. Commandant Rivière, after the capture of the citadel of Hanoi, wrote to the Minister of Marine and Colonies:

'Je pense que nous pourrons laisser l'administration civile aux Mandarins. J'ai négocié et négocié pour cela. Il y aura tout profit pour nous et aucune peine.'¹

The Minister agreed and instructed him to 'administer the province of Hanoi provisionally in the name of Tu-Duc only reserving the control over the police and the customs'. The treaty of 25th August 1883, negotiated after the bombardment of Hué,² and after the death of Tu-Duc, embodied the same principle.

The Treaty of 1874 had dealt with Tonkin and Annam as one. The Treaty of 1883 was based on a different form of protectorate for each. By the former a French Resident was posted at Hué with the rank of Minister, while Consular agents could be appointed at the ports open to trade. By the latter Residents were located at Hanoi, at Haiphong, at the treaty ports, and wherever the French might consider them to be necessary in the interior. They were not, however, to interfere in the details of native administration,

¹ Cordier: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 351-2.

² Text in Cordier: *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 387. This treaty was never ratified, being replaced by that of 6th June 1884. Text in de Lanessan: *L'Indo-chine française*, 1889, p. 679.

apart from the collection of the revenue and its expenditure which they were to handle with the co-operation of the Tonkinese officials, and the Customs which were to be taken over entirely. Their control of the police was limited to urban areas, but military posts could be established along the Red River to assure the freedom of its navigation, and fortifications could be erected anywhere. The Treaty of 6th June 1884 repeated these provisions but also set up a joint Franco-Tonkinese Commission to decide how the revenue was to be allocated between the different branches of the administration and the technical services which were under French control, any balance being remitted to Hué. At the same time Annam was to be subjected to a much milder form of protectorate, under which the Resident at Hué was debarred from interfering at all in the administration except in the customs, the public works, and any other technical services employing Frenchmen.

After the regrettable incidents of Bac Le and of Langson, the destruction of the citadel of Hanoi, the flight of the young King Am-Nghi, and the elevation by the French of Dong-Khan, stricter conditions were imposed on Annam by instructions from Paris. The Convention of 13th August 1885¹ laid down that the French Resident General was to have the right to summon and to preside at meetings of the Comat or Council of State, to approve of all appointments, and to apply the Tonkinese system of protectorate government in whole or in part at his discretion.

France was, therefore, committed to the policy of separate treatment of the two countries when Paul Bert came out as the first Resident-General in them. He was already a firm upholder of the policy of separation, and carried it farther than the treaties provided by securing the delegation of the Emperor's legislative and administrative authority to the Viceroy of Tonkin.

Like Bonnard he was committed to preserving the native customs and traditions. One of his first acts was to address a proclamation to the Tonkinese assuring them

¹ Text in de Lanessan: *op. cit.*, p. 691.

that the French had no desire to turn them out of official positions which would be conferred only on worthy Tonkinese as rewards for their knowledge and public services; the old laws and regulations would remain in force and improper exactions of taxes and *corvées* would be prevented; the cantons and the villages would be administered as before; the communal system would not be altered; the election of the notables would be continued; and they would be guaranteed the free exercise of their functions.

The undertaking to appoint only Tonkinese to posts in their own country conveyed a clear message to the existing Mandarins who owed their positions to Hué and whose downfall was expected to reap a rich reward of gratitude for France. Nevertheless, they possessed all the qualifications which tradition and national sentiment required for the exercise of authority over the people. In order adequately to replace them their superseders must be endowed with some equivalent prestige independently of the Emperor of Annam. Bert had no intention of repeating Bonnard's mistakes; and taking the Academy at Hué¹ as his example he proceeded to found a Tonkinese Academy, the real purpose of which, though it was not so stated in the Government Notice constituting it, was to provide a forum of judges ready for the creation of an examination system for Tonkin. The Academy was open only to 'the élite of the Tonkinese nation', full membership being a high honour conferred by the Resident-General personally on no more than forty Doctors and Licentiates. Its declared functions were those of a Society for the preservation of ancient monuments and inscriptions, of an Institute to spread the knowledge of Western science, literature, and civilization in the Annamese language and of the Annamese records in French, to open libraries in the principal towns, and to publish a monthly bulletin. At the same time Bert went behind the backs of the Mandarins by instituting a 'Consultative Commission' composed of notables elected by the heads and sub-heads of the cantons—a more restricted electorate than that of Cochin-China.

¹ See above, p. 164.

The interpreter problem governed Bert's first steps in developing education as it had governed those of the first governors of Cochin-China. He designed to spread French so widely and rapidly that no Frenchman travelling anywhere should fail to find some one to whom he could convey his meaning. The polished French of the highly educated town-dwelling native of Cochin-China was not necessary, but something more humble like—'Moi aller avec vous, parler Français, tenir cheval' for an obliging native desiring to be engaged as guide, interpreter, and groom. An unforeseen difficulty was the opposition of the parents who failed to appreciate the value of such instruction and who preferred their children to be taught Classical Chinese. To overcome it Bert secured the co-operation of the schoolmasters of the Annamese elementary schools by promising them a premium for learning all the French that was required. The premium was the attraction, for their living was precarious, and upwards of 125 in Hanoi qualified for it during the first year. Their training consisted in first learning to write Quoc-Ngu, which took about two months and which conveyed to them the use of the Roman letters by hearing and seeing a Chinese character repeated and written in them. On this foundation of Classical Chinese characters transcribed into Quoc-Ngu they memorized, parrot-like, a number of French words which could be strung together sufficiently well to make sense. The repetition of the lesson to the children in the schools taught them Chinese characters, Quoc-Ngu, and French simultaneously, and thus a knowledge of French was spread without seriously interfering with other studies. In October 1886 more than 60 schools were giving instruction of this kind to about 2,000 pupils; and the results encouraged the French to hope that by this facile means they could gain 'de nombreux auxiliaires, dévoués à nous et non suspects à leurs compatriotes'¹.

Paul Bert's untimely death prevented his policy being worked out, and the five years which followed were years of indecision, financial crisis, and revolt. The French at-

¹ Chailley-Bert: *Paul Bert au Tonkin*, 1887, p. 146.

tempted to deal with the unrest by direct action, ignoring the Mandarins, who remained either indifferent to or active supporters of the prevailing disorder. The position improved, however, under de Lanessan who was appointed Governor-General in 1891 with unusually wide powers. His policy was to replace the Mandarins in their former positions and to recognize the authority of the Court at Hué over Tonkin in return for its instructions to the Mandarins, including the Viceroy, to obey him. By these means and by his skilful handling of the finances he effected an improvement. But his recall before he could make it permanent revived the state of uncertainty which continued until Paul Doumer organized the French Government of Indo-China on an intelligible footing.

CHAPTER XVII

INDO-CHINA AFTER 1897

DOUMER found his powers as Governor-General curtailed by two circumstances. In the first place, Cochin-China was almost independent of his control, being dominated by its small French electorate and by its representative in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris, who was able to influence the Minister for the Colonies behind the back of the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governor. Secondly, in Tonkin the Governor-General was also Resident-Superior,¹ an office which in itself was enough to occupy his whole attention. At the same time while Cochin-China was a fully fledged assimilated colony, Tonkin and Annam were protectorates. The status of a colony, however unsuited to the population of Cochin-China, was at any rate clearly definable. The nature of a protectorate could vary between a loose control over foreign relations with the sole object of excluding other powers and an indirect administration of the country through its native Government. Tonkin in Doumer's opinion was already far advanced in the latter position and had almost reached the stage of being a colony. Annam was in a much more elementary stage with the result that its economic and political progress was delayed.

Doumer, therefore, aimed at making the control of the Governor-General more effective both by limiting the independence of Cochin-China and by increasing his influence over Tonkin and Annam. He established a central government with a Superior Council and a budget, which took over common services such as Customs, Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs, Agriculture and Commerce, and Justice. He left the government of Cochin-China unaltered except in so far as it was brought under the Governor-General. In Tonkin the Mandarins were placed directly

¹ The post had been abolished and the duties attached to the Governor-General in February 1895. Doumer revived it in June 1897.

under the French Residents, their salaries were increased, and they were warned to abandon 'squeeze'. The communes were fostered as being worthy of preservation. In Annam the coming-of-age of the young King Thanh-Thai was taken as an opportunity for transforming the 'Comat' into a Ministerial Council presided over by the French Resident-General with French officials attached to each of the departments. The French Residents were gradually increased in number. They became the tax-collectors, and the consequent net increase in the revenue returns enabled a local budget to be established out of the balance which remained, after the amount received in previous years through the Mandarins had been handed over to the Court to cover its expenses and the cost of the native side of the administration.

The control of education was not centralized. In Doumer's opinion it was fantastic to expect French ideas of 'humanity, patriotism, and the unity of mankind' to be understood so long as they had to be taught by Annamese who themselves were incapable of appreciating them; while to sweep away the village schools in the manner of Cochin-China was to rob Annamese society of its moral basis without putting anything in its place. He favoured, therefore, confining French education to the few who, while remaining morally attached to their own people through their upbringing in the village schools, could subsequently acquire a knowledge of the French language and culture by attending French schools, and who would act as 'auxiliaries of French civilization' and as intermediaries between the two peoples. In Tonkin, therefore, where the old education system still survived (as it did not in Cochin-China) a separate Franco-native education was established with these objects in view. It consisted of a Primary Franco-native course, followed by a Secondary or complementary course.¹

Paul Beau, who was Doumer's successor, shared his opinions; but he came to the conclusion that the Franco-native schools, though worthy of preservation and of

¹ *L'Asie Française*, April 1902.

development, were too restricted in their influence. In Cochin-China they were educating only 6,526 pupils and in Tonkin only 1,637. He saw in the old examination system, which still held the field in Tonkin and in Annam, the best vehicle for spreading French speech and French ideas, and he proceeded to adjust it to this purpose. At the same time he advocated the opening of technical schools where Annamese assistants of the French Government in public works, land-surveying, the Post Office, and so forth could be specially trained. Already two such schools existed in the college and normal school in Cochin-China and the recently founded school of medicine in Hanoi. They should cater for individuals who did not look to join the Mandarinate or to become leaders. For example, the school of medicine should not attempt to produce full-fledged doctors but the largest number possible of vaccinators, orderlies, and doctors' assistants.

His aspirations in these directions received a welcome stimulus from the Annamese themselves. The victories of Japan awakened them to the possibilities latent in Western material civilization. It had appeared less delectable so long as it was applied apparently only by and for the benefit of alien Europeans. But after an Oriental people had assimilated it with such conspicuous success it became more desirable; and Annamese who were resident in Japan began publishing pamphlets accusing the French of deliberately keeping their countrymen in a state of ignorance and tutelage. This unrest received an added impetus from certain features of Doumer's financial policy. He had subordinated native interests to the balancing of the six budgets with which Indo-China was now blest. His chief sources of revenue were state monopolies of opium, salt, and alcohol, the two last involving inquisitorial interference with native daily life. The consumption of salt was enormous. It was produced locally in large quantities. Its control to be effective had to be meticulous. Alcohol played an important and respectable part in the ritual of family ancestor worship and of marriage ceremonies. It was manufactured in small quantities all over

the country. The grant of a monopoly of it to a French Company, whose product was distasteful to the Annamese, gave a further impetus to the national movement, which did not support a reversion to Confucianism or an uncompromising Europeanization. It favoured an adjustment of the two based on the development of an Annamese culture with Quoc-Ngu as its script and French as its medium of communication with the outer world. Politically it was inspired by the Japanese example, but also by the United States policy in the Philippines which, it claimed, if applied by France would lead to French and Annamese interests becoming united 'in the sacred cause of our country'. It found expression in an active vernacular press and in a number of educational and literary movements. A group of writers set to work to develop the Annamese language and to create a literature in Quoc-Ngu. In 1909 'l'Association de l'étude pour la fixation et la vulgarisation de Quoc-Ngu' was formed with a vision of 'an Annam renovated by France, but an Annam always Annamite and with a civilization suited to its customs and to its language'. 'La Société de l'Enseignement mutuel de Tonkin', which had been founded in 1892 and which had 10 branches in 1896, had 86 in 1906. It established them all over Indo-China. It kept a library of European books translated into Chinese characters, and of a large number of French books.¹ It organized day and evening classes in French, the metric system, geometry, natural history, and accountancy. It provided scholarships to enable promising pupils to go to France, and it looked after their morals while they were there. It opened a hostel for students who were being educated in Hanoi and who were qualifying to be traders, industrialists, and agriculturalists. It encouraged the study of Annamese by the French. On the

¹ The statistics of the fiction taken out of the Hanoi Public Library by Tonkinese between 1st Nov. 1927 and 30th March 1928 were as follows: Dumas 693, Conan Doyle 417, Gyp 381, Anatole France 336, Leroux 311, Bordeaux 288, Bourget 283, Balzac 272, Benoit 260, Wells 259, Leblanc 254, Victor Hugo 247, Prévost 245, de Maupassant 238, Victor Marguerite 223, &c. There was a great demand for the books of Madame Vassal. See Bibliography, p. 249.

other hand 'la Société du Patriotisme sincère Tonkinois' leaned towards Japan and opened courses in Chinese characters.¹

All this activity was not unwelcome to the French. It coincided with recent developments in their colonial policy. The period of extreme assimilation, which reached its climax in the Colonial Conference of 1889, and the deleterious effects of which had for some time been apparent in Cochin-China, had closed. A new theory of 'Association' had taken its place. Its significance is well illustrated by the change in opinion of a writer like Leroy Beaulieu. In the earlier editions of his monumental work *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, he advocated assimilation, or 'fusionnement' as he called it, by which he meant that European and native populations living together in the same colony would do so under the same economic régime and obeying the same laws. In later editions he throws this over as no more than a dream 'highly attractive to philanthropists and even to politicians'. In its place he is compelled to adopt 'co-operation'.

'All that can be expected is the mutual tolerance in economic development. . . . The two communities must be brought together and as far as possible reconciled without being merged and must unite their efforts for progress.'²

The problem was simplified in Indo-China by the failure of the French agricultural settlements in the deltas of the Mekong and Red Rivers. It was not, therefore, as complicated as it was, for example, in Algeria; except in the towns. Nevertheless, it was sufficiently baffling and on the principle of Association must be solved without sacrificing the essential elements of the two civilizations; and education was the most potent means to this end.

One of Beau's first actions was to appoint a 'Conseil de Perfectionnement de l'Enseignement Indigène' to advise him on the subject. Its first session produced a large crop

¹ *L'Asie Française*, Feb. 1910 and March 1929.

² *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 1926, vol. iv, p. 180.

of proposals which he put into operation. The cantonal and communal schools were left under local control but were made subject to State inspection and their teachers to State approval. Each commune was expected to have a school and to maintain one teacher for every sixty pupils. Quoc-Ngu was added to the curriculum, the time being divided equally between it and Chinese, which was not taught according to the old traditional methods, but through a Chinese-character manual containing the principles of Confucian morality and the essentials of the history, geography, and the administration of Indo-China. The Annamese part was also served by a manual on Indo-China, its traditions, administration, and other subjects. Parents had the option of making their children follow either one or other of the two sides, or both. No teacher could be appointed who was ignorant of Quoc-Ngu. A new examination which had not existed before was instituted, and any first-stage pupil desiring to proceed further with his education was required to pass it. The old district and subdistrict education officers remained, as formerly, responsible for local second-degree education in which both Chinese and Quoc-Ngu were obligatory. Another annual examination completed this stage and had to be passed before a candidate could enter the provincial schools or compete in the grand triennial examinations. In this third stage French became compulsory. The education ladder, therefore, remained the same. Chinese studies retained a prominent place; but Quoc-Ngu, the history and geography of Indo-China, elementary science, and French were progressively added to them.

Compulsory Quoc-Ngu had been a feature of education in Cochin-China since 1882. It had entirely displaced Chinese. French had been introduced as early as the cantonal schools, but the results had not been satisfactory. A few hundred natives could speak French adequately. A few thousand could gabble it sufficiently well to earn their livings as servants, cooks, coolies, and so forth. The remainder were more illiterate than their fathers had been before the French occupation. Hardly any one could read

Chinese characters, and title-deeds of properties written in them were illegible to their owners. Vagabondage and crime were increasing. M. Rodier, the Lieutenant-Governor, attributed this to the disappearance of the traditional teaching. He upheld that the morality on which Annamese society rested could be effectively taught only through the Chinese characters; and their teaching became a part of French educational policy.

The Conseil de Perfectionnement also dealt with the triennial examinations, bringing them into line with the new school curricula and adjusting them to modern conditions. They were divided into four parts. The first included Chinese morality, literature, and philosophy, and the history and geography of China and of Indo-China. The minutiae of classical lore were excluded, and style and composition were to be subject to no formal rules. Candidates were expected to show reflection, simplicity, naturalness, and precision in handling the Chinese language. In the second part they were examined in Quoc-Ngu to prove that they could use their own language with ease. The third part consisted of translating a Chinese text into French and a French text into Annamese. Only those who were successful in the first three could enter for the fourth, which entailed compositions in Chinese and in Annamese from a French text. In order not to prejudice the chances of candidates whose age prevented them taking up new subjects, the examination of 1906 was held on the old lines, except that in Tonkin a special test in Quoc-Ngu and French was included. In 1912, however, the transitional period was regarded as more or less past and 'the elements of science' were added to the new subjects which had already been included in 1909. In 1915 the last of the triennial examinations was held in Tonkin. In Annam they lingered on until 1919 and then disappeared there also.

The results of Beau's other reforms were less marked. In Tonkin, apart from the inevitable shortage of money, there was an equally embarrassing absence of capable teachers and suitable text-books. In order to overcome the

former, courses in Quoc-Ngu were arranged for teachers and a medal was instituted to reward the deserving. A competition was started for the production of text-books, but it was a failure and the matter had to be referred to a Commission. In Annam the results were still more meagre. The Emperor issued a Royal Ordinance in 1906 purporting to start the reforms; but it was still-born. In 1910, however, a few schools were opened to teach Quoc-Ngu. Four years later, and again in 1917, the curriculum of village schools was by degrees modified. But not until the old examination system was abolished did the new era begin in Annam.

While these reforms were being discussed fears were expressed that they would tend to divide the population into two groups, the one containing the Secretaries, the government employees, the traders, and the industrialists, the creations of the Franco-native education and of the technical schools, and the other consisting of those who were content with the more classical education. The latter's opportunities were greater amongst their own people than were the former's, who soon began to complain that they were confined to junior posts with no prospects of advancement and that they were socially inferior to the lowest literatus. The reformers refused to be put out by these fears and complaints. They relied upon the gap between the two being lessened by the solid grounding in Chinese which every one would receive in the primary schools, and by the simultaneous modernization of the Mandarin examinations. They expected the establishment of a university would have a similar influence; as would also the teaching of Annamese in the French schools which had been recommended by a Commission in 1903. They further pointed out that if both classical and modern educations existed side by side the Annamese would be able to choose between them for themselves. The responsibility should be theirs.

Moreover, Beau initiated a plan of sending Mandarins from Tonkin and Annam to France in order that they might visit the principal centres of activity. He hoped by

this means to wean them from their prejudice against everything that was unconnected with the Mandarinate. They would meet in Paris industrialists and merchants who, they would observe, occupied positions in society in comparison with which the prestige attaching to most official posts was insignificant. Similarly, Annamese who aspired to be admitted to the École Coloniale were given a two years' preliminary course in France in each week of which 'une promenade instructive' through Paris was included, and expeditions into the country during August and September. At the same time the number of Annamese returning from France after studying there began to cause anxiety owing to their inability to find suitable employment.¹

We have seen that Beau's reforms allowed for the retention of Chinese in the communal schools of Tonkin and of Annam, leaving the parents to decide whether their children were also to learn Quoc-Ngu. In the district and sub-district schools pupils were obliged to learn Quoc-Ngu as well as Chinese, and could at their parents' option begin French. In the provincial schools all three became compulsory. This progressive introduction of modern languages was reflected in the triennial examinations which remained, as formerly, the top rung of the educational ladder. Beau also maintained the distinction between native and Franco-native education which Doumer had introduced.

The reforms for which Sarraut was responsible merged the former into the latter, leaving a dualism only between the Franco-native education and the purely European schooling given to French children. The two were, however, to aim at 'une somme commune d'instruction générale et à un même idéal de culture réalisant l'identité quantitative et qualitative des deux disciplines'. In the place of the old communal schools a Rural Vernacular Elementary Education was designed to spread out 'horizontally', and to assure 'l'invasion féconde de l'instruction dans les profondeurs du pays'. On it as a foundation a

¹ *L'Asie Française*, June 1907, May 1910, and Sept. 1911.

'vertical' structure was erected with the object, as Sarraut described it, of forming '*une élite indigène moderne*'. In theory it advanced parallel to the education given to the French children, but it was based on Far Eastern and not on Western 'humanities'.

The new 'Rural Elementary Schools', which replaced the communal schools, were placed under a Director of Primary Education and were removed from local control.¹ They educated children between the ages of seven and ten; and their three years' course, which was composed of three stages—Infant, Preparatory, and Elementary, and the curriculum of which was reading and writing Quoc-Ngu, Chinese characters, object lessons, and elementary arithmetic and geography, was all the education the great majority of the Annamese were expected to receive. Sarraut also adopted the principle that French must be the medium of instruction in all primary schools but that it need not be compulsory in the rural elementary schools. Unfortunately this proviso was neglected and French was introduced as the medium into many schools which should have used the vernacular only.

To those who believed in assimilation, this departure from Sarraut's intentions was welcome. In their view the dissocialization of Annamese, who became more or less Westernized, arose only from their isolation. The way to overcome it was to place all on an equality as soon as possible by introducing French into all the elementary schools. On the other hand, the Annamese Nationalists regarded the increasing preponderance of French with disfavour. They could not countenance the importance of Quoc-Ngu being diminished. The abolition of the triennial examination had set the literati to work translating the Chinese Classics into Quoc-Ngu in order to save them for the Annamese. If Quoc-Ngu were now to be neglected in the elementary schools the national foundations would be still further menaced.

¹ The change was made in Tonkin in May 1918: in Annam in July 1919. It made little difference in Cochinchina. The localities continued to contribute to the upkeep of the schools.

From the point of view of education the arguments in favour of its retention were overwhelming. Few parents could keep their children at school for more than the three years' elementary course, and to spend most of these in acquiring a foreign tongue before any other education could be given was a pure waste of time. The Annamese schoolmasters were generally quite incompetent to teach French, and the pupils forgot what they had learnt as soon as they left school. The pernicious results were reflected in the large percentage of failures in the examinations for the Primary Certificate. A movement was therefore started to reinstate Quoc-Ngu. An inquiry was held, with the result that the vernacular was made the compulsory medium in all rural elementary schools in 1924, although French could be included as an optional subject. A new 'Elementary Certificate' was at the same time instituted which children could secure after completing the three years' course.

Still the development of elementary schools remained unsatisfactory, owing to shortage of teachers and of money; and the difficulty was only overcome by recreating the communal school as it had existed before Sarraut's reforms. Tonkin gave the lead in 1926 and began opening 'Communal Schools' in places where it had not yet been possible to found official elementary schools. Each commune was responsible for the cost of its school, and it selected the teacher and settled his remuneration, subject to the approval and the supervision of the administration. The example was followed in Annam, where they were termed 'Preparatory Schools', and in Cochin-China, where they were termed 'Auxiliary Preparatory Courses'. The principle was the same in each case.

The advantages which were expected to accrue from them were that they would prevent children drifting away from the villages and from family life, and that being under the direction of the notables they would not become centres of subversive ideas. In other words, they would help to preserve native society. They also cost less. There could

be no objection to a communal school being housed in a wooden shed and to its being content with an auxiliary teacher, with no other qualification than a 'Certificate of Franco-Annamite Primary Studies',¹ or even with one of the old-fashioned schoolmasters who had learnt Quoc-Ngu. Savings thus effected freed the Government's resources to develop Franco-native primary education. Nevertheless, these communal schools were and still are no more than expedients to fill in the period until the official elementary schools can cover the whole country. They are now the last disappearing relics of the old Annamese system. Wherever an official 'Rural Elementary School' opens, the communal school closes, and gradually the centralized control of all the stages of education, which is characteristic of the French Indo-China, which eschews all local school committees such as are found in Ceylon, will spread over the whole country. The returns for 1930 show the extent to which the official schools have now penetrated, and they are also an indication of the relative progress in education which has been made in the three Annamese States. In Cochin-China only 4 per cent. of the school-going children attended communal schools; in Tonkin 27 per cent., and in Annam 61 per cent.

For those who desired to continue their education beyond the elementary stage, to start climbing the ladder which was based on it, and to become members of the native *élite*, Sarraut provided as a first step a 'Franco-Native Primary education' given in the schools in the more important centres and followed by a 'Higher Elementary Course'. For the majority of those who earn their certificate and diploma they lead to lower administrative appointments or to employment in the commercial and industrial enterprises which Western contact has brought into being. For others they open the way to a secondary course which in turn leads to the university. They take the place of the old district and sub-district schools. The primary stage ends with a 'Certificate of Franco-Annamite Primary Studies' which qualifies a holder to fill a number of minor

¹ See below.

posts including that of auxiliary teacher. In 1930, 40,367 competed for this certificate and 4,399 were successful. French is compulsory as the medium of instruction, because, as Sarraut observed, '*le nouveau véhicule de l'instruction doit venir jusqu'au milieu des campagnes solliciter les jeunes intelligences*'—an inspiration very reminiscent of that advanced by le Myre de Vilers for Cochin-China forty years before and which had admittedly had disappointing results.¹ The course was originally for two years, but in 1927 it was increased to three in order to allow pupils coming from the rural elementary schools to have one year in which to acquire an adequate knowledge of French. The first year is, therefore, a revision course with a great deal of French. It is a bridge between the vernacular and the French education. At the end of it a pupil has to pass a test before he can embark on the next two years' course based on 'Far Eastern Humanities', which are represented in the curriculum by elementary classical Chinese and the history and the geography of the Far East. Other subjects are French, the vernacular, elementary science, manual work, and physical exercises.

The higher elementary course, which is for four years, is given in two categories of schools—the higher primary and the normal. Its curriculum, which leads up to a 'Diploma of Franco-Native Primary Studies', and for teachers to a 'Brevet d'Aptitude Pédagogique', is a continuation of that of the higher elementary schools. Sixteen hours are devoted to French, the vernacular, the history and geography of Indo-China, and morals; seven hours to mathematics, physics, and chemistry, and five hours to drawing, manual work, and physical exercises. In the normal schools applied psychology, agriculture, and practical teaching are added. In 1930 out of 4,615 pupils for the whole of Indo-China 648 obtained the diploma.

In the secondary course the two vertically parallel French and the Franco-native educations converge. At present there are only two native secondary schools at Saigon and at Hanoi, but natives are admitted as vacancies

¹ See above, p. 173.

permit in the three French Lycées at Saigon, Hanoi, and Dalat, where they are about 50 per cent. of the scholars. The curriculum is based on Asiatic culture and stresses the historic continuity of language and of ideas. It comprises French language and literature, the philosophical systems of the East and the West, the history of Indo-China and of India, China, and Japan, the geography of Indo-China and of the neighbouring States from an economic and ethnic point of view, Indo-Chinese art, languages and literature, classical Chinese, elementary psychology, and logic and mathematics, physics, chemistry, and natural history. It is a genuine attempt to realize Sarraut's ideal of 'une somme commune d'instruction' by synthesizing the best of Eastern and Western knowledge. The course, which originally was for two years but which was increased to three in 1927, terminates in a 'brevet' which is equal in law and is supposed to be equal in fact to a French Baccalaureate.

The unification of the educational systems of Indo-China which is thus being gradually effected has not been accompanied by a similarity in the economic development of Cochinchina and Tonkin. The former has always been agricultural and will remain so. Rice which is its staple product finds an inexhaustible market overseas. European colonization has been tried and has failed. The country is safe for the Cochinese who under French influence are developing into a peasant proprietary which no longer holds its land according to the old Communal customs. Tonkin is not the equal of Cochinchina agriculturally, and the new land law has not yet been applied to it. On the other hand it is making more rapid advances industrially, as is proved by its technical schools. There are two in each territory; but the pupils in Cochinchina numbered only 250 in 1930 against 477 in Tonkin. Moreover, while the figure for Cochinchina shows a decline from 298 in 1925, that for Tonkin shows an increase from 393 in 1925. Furthermore, the University of Hanoi with its schools of medicine, veterinary science, law and administration, pedagogy, agriculture, public works, commerce and fine

arts, in 1930 drew 298 of its students from Tonkin and only 84 from Cochin-China. The 'École Professionnelle' at Hué in Annam had 206 pupils and there were 98 students from Annam at the University of Hanoi.¹

¹ The pamphlets issued by the Direction Générale d'Instruction Publique in Indo-China for the Paris Colonial Exhibition of 1931 give an admirable account of the existing educational system; and much of the material included in this chapter has been taken from them.

CHAPTER XVIII

BRITISH MALAYA

I

BEFORE the end of the eighteenth century European connexion with the Malay Peninsula was confined to Malacca with which the Chinese also had been accustomed to trade in the past. Both the Portuguese and the Dutch had occupied it; but their influence had been confined to the port and its immediate neighbourhood. Its value to them was strategic and commercial. It was even less of a centre for the spread of European civilization than was Colombo. The British East India Company took up the same position. It was insistent that its responsibilities should be limited, and for fifty years Penang, Malacca, and Singapore were kept as ports of exchange which depended upon their geographical positions and their system of free trade. This abstentionist attitude could not be maintained indefinitely; the reputation of the interior for wealth was too high. It was justly reported to be 'a great magazine of tin, incomparably the greatest on the globe', and its other potential resources were equally inviting. A desire to profit by them was one of the reasons which impelled the commercial communities of the Settlements to petition the Home Government to constitute them a separate colony; which was done in 1867.

Meanwhile the Chinese were already taking advantage of the opportunities which the growing prosperity of the Settlements afforded and were immigrating in increasing numbers. They soon became the predominant element in the population of Singapore. They had long been settled at Malacca. They acquired a commanding position in Penang. They penetrated into the interior in order to mine and trade. And it was the unrest caused by their faction fights on the tin fields of Larut, which they had discovered, coupled with a dispute over the succession to the Sultanate of Perak, which induced the British Government

for the first time to undertake administrative responsibilities in a Malay State. By the Treaty of Pangkor two Residents were appointed to Perak and to Larut whose advice 'had to be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay religions and customs'. We need not describe the circumstances in which similar arrangements were made with Selangor, Pahang, and Negri Sembilan, which with Perak were united by a Treaty of Federation in 1895 and now form the Federated Malay States, nor those in which Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu accepted British Residents and became the Unfederated Malay States. They brought the whole of the Peninsula south of Siam within the British sphere and thus facilitated its rapid development.

The Malays played a very minor part in these proceedings. They had never been forced to become producers for the export trade as had the Javanese. The rapid development of their Peninsula, therefore, projected them suddenly from a condition of economic stagnation into the middle of activities of bewildering magnitude. Naturally they were unable at once to adjust themselves to the changed circumstances or to take advantage of the opportunities they offered; and the Chinese and Indians did so. It is difficult to overstate the contribution of the Chinese. The prosperity of British Malaya has been based on their labour; and no one welcomed the extension of British rule over the whole of the Peninsula more than they, for it increased their opportunities of making money in safety.

In the importance of their Chinese populations the Straits Settlements resemble Formosa. On the other hand the Chinese in them are more migratory. Although permanent communities established themselves before the British occupation, particularly in Malacca where they became the ancestors of the Straits 'Babas' whose home language was Malay, and although under British protection Straits-born Chinese have become the richest and most respected members of the population, they have always formed a minority. As a general rule the Chinese

immigrant left his wife at home with the intention of returning to her as soon as he conveniently could. He arrived as a 'Sinkeh' or 'new-comer'. He returned home and perhaps came back again as a 'Laukeh' or 'old hand'. But he ended his days in China. And although the proportion of Straits-born Chinese has steadily risen, it stood in 1921 at no more than 25 per cent. in Singapore, 38 per cent. in Penang, and 29 per cent. in Malacca.

While mining in the Federated States and the growth of the trade of Singapore attracted the Chinese immigration of the second half of the nineteenth century, rubber planting was responsible for the stream of south Indian labour in the twentieth. There was already an Indian population in the Straits Settlements fed by a trickle of immigration. It now poured like a flood into the Federated States. Between 1901 and 1927 the number of Indians in them rose from 58,000 to 400,000. They also invaded the Unfederated States, which contained 62,000 in 1921. Another but smaller stream of immigration came from Java. But the Javanese are themselves Malays, and entering by the east coast of the Peninsula settled down to follow the agricultural pursuits to which they are accustomed.

From the above it will be clear that the Malay Peninsula has been one of the greatest centres of migration in the world, and this fact has naturally influenced its educational problem.

II

So long as the Straits Settlements were attached to the Government of India not much attention was paid to education in them. The Government controlled neither English nor vernacular education and contented itself with subsidizing a few schools. The Institute which Raffles founded in Singapore 'to educate the sons of the higher orders and others', to instruct the East India Company's servants in the vernacular, and to collect the scattered literature and traditions of the country, never fulfilled these objects.¹ Its endowments were diverted to other

¹ It is now a Government school giving higher elementary and secondary education. The college which bears the name of Raffles owes its origin to

purposes. They were employed to open elementary classes for Malays who, however, showed an invincible apathy and prejudice against any form of education other than that given in their own Muslim schools, where they were taught to write the Malay and Arabic alphabet on a 'pipe-clayed board of putai wood with a pen made of the dark spike of the Ijou tree'. They were also applied to financing an English school which gave instruction in the history of Greece, Rome, England, and India, chronology, natural history and philosophy, geometry, mensuration, trigonometry, the use of the globes, writing, and drawing. Its existence, however, was ephemeral, as was also that of other schools which were started. The American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions and the London Missionary Society at first used the Straits Settlements as a means of access to China and removed their men to the latter country on the publication of the Emperor Tao Kuang's edict authorizing the preaching of the Gospel in his territories; and for thirteen years there was but one Protestant Missionary in Singapore. The American Mission returned in 1886. 'Les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes', who received a small subsidy from the French Government, opened St. Xavier's Institution in Penang in 1851, from which the French were able to draw Latin-speaking interpreters for Cochin-China,¹ St. Joseph's Institution in Singapore, and a couple of convent schools for girls. The Free English schools at Penang and Malacca, which were subsidized by the Government, were also more permanent. But on the whole, when the Straits Settlements were taken over by the Colonial Office in 1867 little had been done in them for education.

This was the verdict of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council which the new Government appointed to inquire into the state of education in 1870. It found that its progress had been slow and uncertain. It attributed this partly to want of encouragement by the Government and partly to the lack of co-ordination in the methods

the fund raised in connexion with the Singapore centenary and is not connected with the Institute.

¹ See above, p. 172.

followed by the several schools which were unchecked by any government supervision and which led to much wasted effort. As a remedy an Inspector of Schools was appointed in 1872 and the Department of Education was born. At this time there were 19 English schools giving education to 2,641 pupils and 28 mixed schools and vernacular schools with 818 pupils. The 1870 Committee recommended that, such as they were, they should be maintained, which implied adhering to the grant-in-aid system on which some of them depended. It also followed the 1867 Ceylon Committee by urging that the backwardness of the vernacular education of the Malays should be remedied and that the Government should undertake the task. Thus the schools became divided into English medium schools managed and financed by the Government, grant-in-aid English medium schools controlled by private bodies and receiving from the Government grants calculated on individual passes, and Malay vernacular schools for which the Government was mainly responsible. In 1899 a new system of calculating grants was adopted by which they were assessed on the number of children in average attendance at a school, on the number presented for inspection, and on the standard of efficiency shown by them. The following table shows the schools as they were in 1906.

	<i>Singapore</i>	<i>Malacca</i>	<i>Penang</i>
Government English schools . . .	5	1	—
Aided English schools	12	4	13
Government Malay schools	18	74	79
Aided vernacular schools	—	—	3

In the meantime the Federated States had begun to develop their education. The office of Inspector of Schools was created in Perak in 1870, and Selangor and Negri Sembilan followed the example.¹ Seven years later all four States were brought under an officer of the newly constituted federation who confined himself to inspecting and interfered as little as possible with the local

¹ An Inspector was not appointed in Pahang until 1913.

administrations. Centralization was carried farther in 1906 when the Federal Inspector was abolished and the supervision of education in both the Straits Settlements and in the Federated States was vested in a Director of Education. Each State in the Federation employs its own officer in charge of its Education Department. But the fact that these officers are drawn from the Straits Settlements cadre, and work under the general control of the Director of Education, secures a due measure of uniformity in administration and educational aims. The Unfederated States have also been brought more or less into line. Johore and Kedah have their own Superintendents of Education who are borrowed from the Straits Settlements. But they have to take their orders from their respective Governments.

The problem of the medium of instruction was more complicated in the Straits Settlements than it was in Ceylon, where it was limited to a choice between English and Sinhalese or between English and Tamil. In the Straits Settlements a curiously mixed population arising out of the waves of immigration had to be provided for. Malays, Chinese speaking five dialects, Tamils, Eurasians speaking a degenerate Portuguese, and Europeans might all be discovered in the same class. Under the circumstances there seemed no possible alternative to making English the medium and to devoting the greater part of the school hours to teaching it. This principle having been adopted it was applied consistently. Even in the lowest standard the use of the vernacular was discouraged. The practice which had been followed at the Raffles Institute of teaching Malay and Indian children to read and write their own language as well as English was abandoned, and all children were made to frame English sentences conversationally from their earliest days at school. The education Code of 1899 which reformed the basis on which grants-in-aid were calculated kept the same object in view. It was specially designed to encourage schoolmasters to pay attention to imparting English to those pupils whose home language it was not but who nevertheless had to be

educated in it. For example, although pupils could be presented for examination in geography and arithmetic in a higher standard than their standard in English subjects, the grant was assessed on the latter. No pupil could be presented for examination in an extra subject outside the standard curriculum, unless he had obtained a full pass in English. Moreover, schools which gave instruction in vernacular languages as well as in English could not earn a separate grant for the former, although the work involved in their teaching could be taken into account in deciding the grade¹ in which the school should be placed.

The Government acted in accordance with public opinion in thus encouraging the spread of English. The rapid development of the Settlements created an overwhelming demand for it on the part of all except the great majority of the Malays and the transient migratory elements of the population. There was a marked difference in the wage-earning capacity of an English and a vernacular educated boy. The demand for clerks was so great and the anxiety of the young to qualify for the work was so insistent that their training for it became the most important function of the English schools. The only object for which nine-tenths of the boys remained at school at all was to acquire sufficient English to become a clerk. Thus the very urgency of the demand for an English education contributed to its inefficiency; and in 1902 a Commission was appointed to report on the subject.

It found that no more than 15 per cent. of the pupils completed the full seven years' elementary course. They secured employment without difficulty after passing through Standard IV. Employers frequently advertised for boys with this limited qualification instead of requiring them to have passed Standard VII;² or they frankly stated they were indifferent to the standard of education to which their clerks had attained. This also reacted adversely on the supply of teachers. Those who were imported were usually engaged in teaching the upper standards, and except

¹ There are three grades depending upon the grant earned.

² Previous to 1891 there were only six standards.

in the schools of the Christian Brothers reliance had to be placed on local teachers for the lower. Moreover, recently arrived Europeans were actually inferior to good local teachers in the lowest standards owing to their ignorance of the vernaculars—indeed for the work of the elementary course locally trained men would do admirably. Apart from the absence of any establishment for training them and of any other provision beyond a pupil teacher system, which had already proved ineffective before 1902, the \$10 to \$20 a month and the other prospects held out to them after they had completed their education could not compete with the \$20 a month which a clerk could earn after passing through Standard IV or V. The local teachers had in consequence to be recruited from among men who could get nothing better to do; and their English and general education were of the poorest quality. In order to overcome this difficulty the Government opened a training school at Singapore in 1904 to which the Federated States were invited to send students and contributions towards the cost. But no candidates for admission came forward. A class for female teachers at the Raffles girls' school¹ was more successful. There was a demand for female teachers for the lower classes of boys' schools. Not being subject to the same material temptations to shorten their schooling they were on an average better educated in English than were their brothers, and they were well qualified to teach small boys.

After the failure of the training school the Straits Settlements and the Federated States embarked upon a system of normal classes for men and women teachers which proved successful and which are still in operation. They provide a three years' course open to teachers selected from applicants who have obtained a Cambridge Local School Certificate with passes in written and oral English; the subjects being English language and literature, the theory and practice of teaching, hygiene, and physical training. In his report for the year 1930 the Director of Education remarks that there can be little doubt that these

¹ Founded in 1844.

classes are more and more successful as time passes. In addition to them selected student teachers or students are given three years' scholarships at Raffles College to undergo a course, which is almost equivalent to university standard, to fit them to teach subjects in secondary classes of the English schools. It includes education as a subject, with a certain amount of practical work as well as theoretical pedagogy. In 1930 there were 62 of these Raffles College students, 28 from Singapore, 26 from Penang, and 8 from Malacca.

The ease with which English school pupils received employment led also to a limitation in the number who continued the course beyond the elementary stage. Secondary education was provided for in special classes—the Junior Certificate class and the School Certificate class—which covered two years. In 1902 no more than a hundred boys in Singapore, about the same number in Penang, and only two or three in Malacca took advantage of it. In 1930 the total for all had risen to 1,814. It was with the object of encouraging secondary education that the Cambridge Local Examinations were introduced into the Straits Settlements in 1891 and that five annual Queen's Scholarships were established in 1886—the latter in order to provide opportunities for those who were worthy of them to proceed to an English university. These arrangements were criticized on the grounds that they encouraged the cramming of pupils with an unnecessarily large number of special subjects and that the money would be better spent in teaching a few things well. 'It cannot be too strongly impressed on head masters', observes an Inspector in 1900, 'that there is more virtue in a good seventh standard than in one or even two Queen's Scholarships.'¹

The 1902 Commission did not condemn the scholarships but recommended that their emoluments should be reduced in value and that the money thus saved should be made available for boys who intended studying technical and commercial subjects. Of the twenty-nine men who had been awarded scholarships during the

¹ *Education Report*, 1900, p. 5.

fifteen years from 1886 to 1900, five had become civil engineers, five lawyers, fifteen had taken up medicine, two who were still at Cambridge meant to adopt education as a career, one had died, and the occupation of one was unknown. The diversion of some of the money to the encouragement of commercial and technical training was intended to make up for the deficiency in these professions which the above statistics showed. With the same object in view the two years' secondary course was divided into two branches, one of which was designed for pupils wishing to enter for the Cambridge Local Examinations and for the Queen's Scholarships, while the other provided a commercial curriculum which included shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, and business training. The decision of the 1902 Commission to retain the scholarships was justified by subsequent experience. In 1907 they were reduced to one annually, and in 1911 they were abolished altogether and the money was devoted to the general improvement of education. But they had to be restored in 1923 for it was discovered that their absence discouraged pupils continuing their education after Standard VII. The critics, however, were not silenced and they still complain that the Cambridge examinations tend to become the dominating feature of the whole educational system.¹

Recently, considerations of economy have induced the Governments to make another move. In circulars issued in 1932² they declare that while it is generally admitted that it is their duty to provide a reasonably good primary education at a nominal cost, they are not similarly bound to provide secondary education on the same generous terms; and that it is not unreasonable that the full cost of the latter should eventually be borne by the parents. With this object in view the fees charged for education above Standard VI have been raised from \$6 to \$9 a

¹ See remarks by the Rt. Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore: *Report on his visit to Malaya, Ceylon, and Java, during the year 1928*. Cmd. 3235 of 1928.

² Straits Settlements Legislative Council Paper, No. 93; Federated Malay States Federal Council Paper, No. 34.

month depending on the result of an annual qualifying examination. The successful pupils, up to a percentage to be fixed from time to time, will be admitted at the lower fee, the remainder being charged the higher. At the same time the fees charged in the primary standards were altered. Previously they had been as follows:

	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	
Up to Standard IV . . .	\$2.50	\$2.00	a month
Above Standard IV . . .	\$4.00	\$3.00	„

They are now—up to and including Standard VI—\$3 a month for both boys and girls.

The use of English as the medium of instructing children whose home language it was not naturally had the same disadvantages as elsewhere. The acting Director of Public Instruction, in his report for the year 1905, makes this clear.

‘It has long been felt’, he remarks, ‘that to give a sound and practical knowledge of colloquial English to the boys and girls attending our English schools is at once the most difficult and most important task the school teacher has to deal with. This ground work of sound English is the necessary foundation for the successful study of other subjects and the necessary condition of success after leaving school. To acquire it is to non-English speaking children—and they constitute two-thirds of our school population—a work of enormous difficulty.’

He goes on to point out that two things are necessary—the pupils must be taken as young as possible and the teachers must be efficient. We have already dealt with the latter requisite; the former must now claim some attention.

Previous to 1905 no attempt was made to reserve the lowest standard of the elementary course for quite young children. You might still see in the infant class ‘a clumsy dunce of fifteen or sixteen struggling to keep pace with a brighter junior of nine or ten. No grant could be earned for a class limited to infants, thus strengthening the feeling, so hard to get rid of, so fatal to progress, that any teacher is good enough for the infant classes.’ The code adopted in 1905 remedied this defect, and by allowing grants to be earned for infant classes excluded the older

children from them and made it worth while to put such classes under a competent teacher. The result was that children began to come to school at an earlier age.

Another difficulty arising out of the emphasis which had to be put on the teaching of English was that other subjects had in consequence to be neglected. The obvious remedy of using the conversational method of teaching English to impart general knowledge in the lower standards was hampered by the incapacity of the teachers, and when more attention was paid to other subjects than English above Standard IV there were complaints about the lack of improvement in English in the upper classes. The solution of this dilemma took the form of giving the utmost latitude possible to managers of schools to follow the methods which appeared to them to promise the best results. This principle was first adopted in the 1908 Code which abolished the regular formal annual inspections, substituted in their place frequent surprise visits, and confined examinations by the inspectors to Standards IV and VII, the promotion of a pupil into the higher standards being dependent upon his passing the former. Managers were empowered to draw up their own course of instruction for the different standards, the Department of Education issuing a detailed scheme as a model which it can enforce where necessary.

A similar reform was applied in 1919 to the method of assessing government grants to aided schools. The method by which they had been calculated since 1899 did not take into account whether they sufficed to balance the school accounts or to maintain the efficiency of its staff. A Committee which was appointed in 1919 to inquire into the matter found that they were inadequate for these purposes, and it made the suggestion, which was adopted, that each school should submit annual estimates of its revenue and expenditure to the Government and that the latter should pay the difference between the approved expenditure and the revenue accruing from fees and other sources. It is on these principles that the English schools are at present operating.

The following table shows the number of English schools in the Straits Settlements in 1930 for comparison with those given on page 201 above for the year 1906.

	<i>Singapore</i>	<i>Malacca</i>	<i>Penang</i>
Government English schools . . .	11	3	7
Aided English schools . . .	11 ¹	5	13

While therefore government English medium schools in the Straits Settlements have increased, the number of aided schools has remained stationary. On the other hand, there are now twenty-five aided English schools in the Federated Malay States, in addition to twenty-three government English schools. Thus the missionary bodies have maintained the position which is theirs by right as the pioneers of Western education in British Malaya.

The time has come, however, when the supply of pupils from English schools is beginning to exceed the demand for clerks, and when a Cambridge or a Standard VII certificate will no longer assure a competency to its holder. In his report for the year 1930 the Director of Education declares that one of the gravest problems to-day is to devise for the coming generation types of instruction to fit the young of Malaya for such careers as the country offers. The bulk of the inhabitants must turn to agriculture and other industries, and their education must be designed to equip them to do so.

The necessity for this had not been overlooked. The 1902 Commission had inquired into the subject and had found that there was an insufficient demand for a technical school. In 1917 another Commission came to the conclusion that the attractions of a commercial career were so great that the large expenditure necessary to equip a school was not justified. In the following year an inquiry on the same subject in the Federated Malay States reported in favour of an agricultural school and urged the need of making hand and eye training compulsory in all the standards of English schools. Moreover, a minority

¹ Two are undenominational.

report insisted that there was no demand as yet for technical and industrial education proper. Nevertheless, a further investigation was undertaken in Singapore in 1925 in view of the unemployment and destitution which had accompanied the economic reaction after the War and into which a Committee had been appointed to inquire in 1923. The proposals which emerged from their deliberations took the form of preliminary steps to the development of a fuller system of technical education in the future. The framing of the English school curriculum so as to include subjects preliminary to an engineering training and thus ensuring that suitable pupils will be available when an engineering branch can be opened at the Raffles College, the provision of evening classes to meet the demand for intermediate technical education, the appointment of a chief instructor for manual work to organize and supervise classes in all English and vernacular schools, and the opening of one or more agricultural schools were suggested. In Singapore and Penang evening classes in commercial and technical subjects are now in operation, the attendance at the latter in Singapore averaging 224, and a trade school was opened in September 1930 to provide a three years' course in fitting and motor mechanics. A second trade school was opened in 1931 and also an agricultural school.

III

The Malays are now gradually adapting themselves to the changes which we have described; but not more quickly than the struggle for existence demands. Their occupations are still mainly agricultural and they prefer 'paddling all day on a river or working in the mire of the rice fields' to serving in a workshop or an office. The Malay vernacular schools, therefore, have had a different objective to the English schools. They were not meant to train government servants and clerks. Their aim was the

'bestowal of an elementary education such as would enable the villager to keep his simple records and so to protect himself against

the petty swindlers who, in the mixed population of the Peninsula, were ever ready to prey upon his ignorance, and also to teach him much needed lessons of discipline, order, and self-control.'

As regards the protection of the Malays' interests, more could be done by legislation than by qualifying them to meet the new individualist competition. Their land had acquired a marketable value outside the towns which it had not previously possessed, and the modernization of its customary tenure, which resembled that of Java and of Ceylon, became essential. An occupier could not be disturbed so long as he delivered over the percentage of the crop which was due to the ruler, performed the forced labour which the latter had the right to exact, and did not allow the holding to be uncultivated longer than a certain time. He now occupies a surveyed plot by a title which is registered according to the Torrens system, the payment of the percentage of the crop has been transformed into a fixed rent, his liability to be called out on forced labour has been abrogated, while the State still retains the right to resume possession if the conditions of occupation are not fulfilled. Certain areas have also been reserved exclusively for Malays. The construction of roads and railways and the general development of the country have multiplied the Malays' opportunities, but have not as yet materially altered their outlook. The Tamils have laboured on the rubber plantations. The Chinese have worked on the tin mines and have constructed the public works which the Tamils now maintain. The Malays have abstained from participating in these activities.

They were at first equally averse to taking advantage of the benevolent intentions of their would-be educators. Only by pressure exercised through their headmen could they be persuaded to come to school; and then they came only as a favour to the Government—an attitude which was not suitable to the reception of lessons in good order and discipline. Moreover, their attendance was irregular and of short duration and could be enforced only by compulsion. The difficulty in the way was that the necessary

legislation could apply to Malays alone, as education in the vernacular was available for them only. In spite of this it was proceeded with, and it became operative, except in the island of Singapore and in the town of Penang, after 1908, every child living within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of a school where education was given in his home language being required to attend.¹

About this time, however, the attitude of the Malays towards education began to change, especially in the neighbourhood of the towns which were the centres of British influence. The curriculum of the vernacular schools was also gradually improved. The very elementary education of four standards which they gave did not in any way fit their pupils to compete with the Chinese and other immigrants. There was a growing tendency² for those who lived near a town to go to an English school. In the early 'nineties, therefore, the curriculum was amended by the addition of the teaching of reading and writing in Malay in the Roman as well as in the Arabic characters. Ten years later the suggestion was made that the latter should be discontinued on the ground that the former was becoming more and more popular, being 'associated in the Malay mind with the vigour and intelligence of the white races', while Arabic was 'unsuitable for the practical purposes of life'. Moreover, a mastery of the English alphabet and of the first principles of English spelling would, it was claimed, be a step towards that universal study of English which was regarded by some as inevitable and for which all races were reported to be now showing 'a growing eagerness'. The proposal to eliminate Arabic was not, however, adopted. The 1908 Code added a fifth standard to the curriculum and provided for reading and writing in both the Arabic and the Roman alphabet through all the five standards of vernacular education, geography and composition being included after Standard II.

¹ Compulsory attendance was first introduced into Malacca in 1902 and into the province of Wellesley in 1904.

² This refers to the year 1889.

The acquisition of an English education by the Malays was hampered by the absence of Anglo-vernacular schools. This was pointed out by Mr. R. O. Winstedt, who in 1917 was sent by the Straits Settlements Government to report on vernacular and industrial education in the Netherlands East Indies and in the Philippines. A boy who had passed Standard V in a Malay school found himself in the same position as had a Sinhalese before the invention of Schedule A 1 in Ceylon in 1908. When he joined an English school he had to be put in the lowest standard in order to suit his knowledge of English, while his other attainments might qualify him for a higher place. The solution was either to start Anglo-vernacular schools or to organize special Malay classes in English schools for their benefit. The latter alternative was adopted, and Malay boys who join an English school after passing Standard IV in the vernacular school are placed, where possible, in special classes and given a two years' intensive training in speaking and writing English. At the end of it they are expected to be fit to be drafted into Standard IV. As a further inducement the privilege of free education in a government English school is accorded to them if they pass Standard IV in their vernacular school before their eleventh birthday. This has had the effect of inducing parents who desire their children to have the benefit of an English education to send them to the vernacular school at the age of five or six, so that they may pass Standard IV in time. In addition there are over 450 scholarships, each worth \$120 a year for seven years, which are generally awarded to boys after they have spent one year in an English school.

One of the objects of the vernacular schools is to provide a sound foundation in the vernacular on which an education in English can be superimposed when a boy goes to an English school. Moreover, experience suggested that when he got there he should still be encouraged to study Malay as an assistance to his acquisition of English. With this object in view Principals of grant-in-aid schools have been required, since 1927, to teach Malay in any school

which has a Malay member of the staff capable of teaching it and enough pupils to form a class. No language other than English and Malay can be taught in any class without the previous sanction of the Director of Education. Principals are also required to encourage Malays to take Malay in the Cambridge examinations 'in view of the resultant benefit to their English'.

The grading and inspection of Malay schools has been put on the same basis as that of the English schools. It does not depend solely on the results of the annual examination, but also on such points as the care of the buildings and the grounds, the cleanliness of the children, their discipline, their drill, and their efficiency in gardening and basket work. The inspectors are allowed a considerable latitude in carrying out their work. The growth of Malay education in the Straits Settlements is shown in the increase in the number of Malay vernacular schools since the year 1906. There were in 1930 25 such schools in Singapore, 88 in Malacca, and 103 in Penang.

But the greatest advance in Malay vernacular education has been the founding of the Sultan Idris Training College for teachers in the Federated Malay States. It owes its origin to the Winstedt Report to which we have already referred, and it was opened in 1922. Only those who undertake to become teachers in Malay schools are admitted, and they are drawn from all over the Peninsula. The course is for three years with free board and lodging at the Government's expense. The training given is so designed that when repeated in the elementary schools it will be of real and practical assistance to the population which is dependent for its livelihood on agriculture, fishing, handicrafts such as basket-making, and other village industries. It has already had a marked effect on the school garden movement, which is now no longer resented by teachers and ridiculed by parents; and it is changing the conservative attitude of mind of the village agriculturist.

In the Educational Department's report for the year 1900 the suggestion was made that the time had arrived

to try the experiment of starting Tamil vernacular schools in view of the increase of the Tamil population. Soon afterwards schools began to appear in Malacca and in the province of Wellesley where the estate population created the need. Then in 1922 the Labour Code empowered the Controller of Labour to call upon an employer to construct and to maintain a school if he had ten or more children between the ages of seven and fourteen on his estate who were dependent upon his labourers. There are now (1930) seventy-three¹ Tamil schools in the Peninsula, and in addition there are as many Indians as Malays in the English schools in the Straits Settlements.

The Chinese have also started their own vernacular schools under the inspiration of the Nationalist movement. Old-fashioned Chinese schools had existed in Malaya previously, but the new give a modern education through the Chinese medium, the Government assisting in some cases with grants.² In the curriculum the Chinese Classics are superseded by modern readers, and the art of penmanship, which formerly played so important a part in Chinese education, is neglected. The moral instruction of the Classics is replaced by text-books on ethics which inculcate habits of cleanliness, politeness, industry, and good citizenship. The difficulty of the variety of dialects has been overcome by the adoption of Kuo Yue or colloquial Mandarin as the language of instruction. The text-books are imported from Shanghai and a few have had to be suppressed as undesirable. At the end of 1930 there were 339 registered Chinese schools with 24,059 pupils. All but two are primary schools, the course lasting six years.

¹ Thirty-one receive grants from the Government.

² Since 1923.

CHAPTER XIX

A REVIEW

NO attempt is made in this last chapter to summarize those which have gone before. All we can do is to try to suggest some of the inferences which may be drawn from them in the hope that they will indicate lines of inquiry for students, not only of the problems of education, but of their interdependence with those of administration and of economic development in all dependencies.

The Portuguese were able to take advantage of native dissensions to secure a footing in Ceylon and they endeavoured to use them also as a lever to convert to Christianity the native king with whom they became allied. Buwanaika, however, preferred to remain faithful to the religion of his fathers and soon found by experience that the conversion of his subjects, to which he had no objection in principle, resulted in their estrangement from native society. This was not unwelcome to the Portuguese, and, when they acquired full sovereign rights through the will of Dharmapala, they attempted still further to accelerate the process by suggesting the immediate introduction of Portuguese law and social distinctions. But the Sinhalese were only prepared to serve the King of Portugal if their laws and customs were respected. The Portuguese, while formally complying with the condition, had no difficulty in circumventing it. The native forms were retained but they were applied to European institutions. Portuguese officials and supporters were allotted villages with the result that radical changes were introduced into their administration. Others were transferred to the Christian orders. Native Christians were given preference in the distribution of lands and offices and their taxes were diverted to Church purposes. The propagation of the faith worked to the same end, for it required adherence to certain dogmas and rules which were incompatible with many native customs. The Jesuits, who made attempts to adjust the two, were the most successful missionaries. The

spread of Portuguese as a *lingua franca* and the emergence of a Eurasian population had similar disintegrating effects. Nevertheless, the area subject to these Westernizing influences was restricted owing to the shallowness of the Portuguese occupation. They were not accompanied by a wide abrogation of native law and custom, nor by the general displacement of native chiefs by Europeans or Europeanized natives, nor by the break-up of native society. They tended rather to create a new element in addition to and apart from it, which was partly white and partly coloured, which professed Christianity more or less loosely and which habitually spoke a debased Portuguese.

Spanish policy in the Philippines was different. It was comparatively free from economic considerations. It penetrated more deeply into the island of Luzon than did the Portuguese into Ceylon. Moreover, it gave the missionaries the opportunity to allow for the character and the disposition of the natives, to 'mould' them without denationalizing them. It was conducted mainly in the vernacular.

For particulars of the Dutch we have been able to draw on Ceylon, Java, and Formosa. They divided the territory which they took over from the Portuguese in Ceylon into three provinces, and placed a European Dissawa over each who exercised his authority through the native officials. The latter filled the customary posts, but their appointment was in the hands of the Dutch East India Company and depended generally upon similar qualifications to those exacted by the Portuguese, namely loyalty to the governing power and conformity with its peculiar form of Christianity. Apart from this the Dutch maintained the land-owning and caste systems on which the native polity rested.

The same principle of ruling through the native chiefs was followed in Java. But here the chief qualification for native office, apart from acceptance of the sovereignty of the Dutch, was ability to meet economic demands; and missionary activity was discouraged for fear of disturbing the equanimity of the Muslims. In Formosa, on the other hand, Dutch policy approached nearer to Spanish policy in

Luzon. There was no overriding economic consideration nor any politic hindrance to conversion as in Java. The result was that missionary work became the dominant activity, the missionaries being the channel of communication between the Government and the natives, as they were in Luzon. Native political institutions were maintained and the importance of the village councils was enhanced by their being called upon to send delegates to meetings of the 'Land-dag' every two or three years. The Dutch occupation of Formosa was too shortlived to allow the native administration time to develop. Nevertheless, its thirty-eight years left a long-abiding impression.

Their education policy also had encouraging results. It was based on the principle that educators should be qualified to teach in the vernacular of the educated. Opinion was not united on the point, nor was the principle adhered to uninterruptedly. But, speaking generally, the Dutch in the East in this matter differed from the Portuguese and agreed with the Spaniards. Nevertheless, the success of the Portuguese in spreading their language encouraged some of the Dutch to advocate following their example. The movement was strong in Ceylon where missionaries, if they were to be efficient, had to learn Portuguese, Tamil, and Sinhalese. The Dutch had not the same facilities as had the Portuguese. They had nothing like the same number of workers in the field. They had no religious orders. They were dependent almost entirely upon native teachers. Their great educational fabric in Ceylon was built up on them and, therefore, on the vernacular. After their failure to eliminate Portuguese they did not hesitate to translate their missionary books into that language. They introduced Dutch into the curriculum of the Formosan schools, teaching it to the younger children while the elder were confined to the vernacular, and many Formosans learnt to speak it. But the policy was approved neither by the Council of Seventeen, nor by the Governor of Formosa who put forward the suggestion that the difficulty of the multitude of native dialects might be overcome by two or three of the most widely used being

developed as standard languages. The Sinkan dialect was in effect used in this way, although not with the approval of the Batavian authorities. The acquisition of Dutch was also expected of those who were trained as schoolmasters and preachers or who advanced to higher education.

The earliest Dutch education was confined to teaching the first principles of religion and to reading and writing. It was nearly all memory work. The primers were Junius's *A.B.C. Book for the Instruction of Christian Children in the Villages* and his longer or shorter Catechisms. The amendment of the latter had from time to time to be undertaken because they did not express the faith with enough precision. In order that nothing should interfere with learning them by heart, explanations and expositions were relegated to out-of-school hours. The employment of untrained native teachers, which was unavoidable, and the low standard of education of the European schoolmasters, necessitated education being mechanical. They passed on what they themselves had memorized.

In Ceylon Baldaeus, supported by Governor-General John Maatzuiker, favoured confining education to oral instruction and not burdening the pupils with the complications of reading and writing. But the results were not satisfactory, and at the end of the seventeenth century the Government had to intervene and appoint three semi-official Commissions to be responsible for the schools and to examine the pupils. The Commissioners were of the opposite opinion to Baldaeus and held that reading and writing were more effective than was oral instruction; and in their inspections of schools they were careful to ascertain whether the master had explained what the children had committed to memory. They also introduced the classification of pupils according to the certificate which they earned. At the same time another Commission proposed that regular meetings of schoolmasters should be held every two months as a check on their activities, and that the customs and the superstitions of the natives should be studied and treated with respect.

These facts show that, although by the end of the

eighteenth century Western contact had had comparatively little influence upon native institutions, except in Luzon where the Spanish missionaries were intent upon a long-term policy, and in Java where economic interference had more effect, a considerable amount of useful experience had been gained. The recognition that the vernacular should be used as the medium of instruction, the suggestion that three or four Formosan dialects should be developed as *lingua franca*, the introduction of the Dutch language in higher education (the experiment in Formosa of teaching it to the youngest children only was an exception), the modernist views of the Jesuits on the necessity of understanding the native point of view, the emphasis laid on the same point by the Synjeu-de Costa Commission in Ceylon, the establishment of three school Commissions in Ceylon early in the eighteenth century, their functions, their introduction of school certificates, their classification of pupils according to the certificate earned, their regular inspection of the schools, the efforts made from time to time to reduce the amount of memorizing work, the recognition of the indispensability of native officials and the first steps taken to train them for their posts, the employment of salaried Natives as agricultural demonstrators in the Philippines, the preservation and development of native institutions—all these are principles of Imperial trusteeship in education which are now regarded as almost axiomatic, but which were often neglected during the nineteenth century and which in some cases have only recently been revived.

When the British occupied Ceylon they threw over some of these methods which had been in operation under the Dutch. The East India Company started with a drastic introduction of an alien system. It thus attempted what Candidius had recommended to the Dutch East India Company in Formosa and which the latter refused to do. The response of the Sinhalese showed that a reasonable circumspection would have to be observed in future. Nevertheless, before the century was half over the kingdom of Kandy had been abolished, the authority of the Sinhalese

chiefs had been undermined, the village councils had been reduced to inactivity, and the economic basis of Sinhalese society had been revolutionized. The development of the new order was assisted by the opening up of the country by roads, by capital and labour being imported, and by the founding of the plantation system for which the interior was more suited than were the maritime provinces. During the same period education was given a threefold purpose: (1) To introduce English as the language of government and of trade; (2) to train Sinhalese for the government service; and (3) to combine education with proselytism.

These three objects were not at first welcomed by the Sinhalese, and British influence might well have been as restricted as was the Portuguese but for the other and more potent indirect and economic forces. As the latter grew in intensity they inspired a rapidly increasing number of Sinhalese 'to cultivate European attainments' which opened up for them new opportunities for advancement. At the same time the maintenance of the native social order was not entirely neglected any more than was the maintenance of the existing social order in England. Special arrangements were made for educating the sons of Moodeliars in order to qualify them to succeed their fathers, and to act as agents of progress. English was the government medium, and vernacular education was handed over to the missionary and Church authorities.

Sir Stamford Raffles shared these views on education. He believed that 'it must keep pace with commerce in order that its benefits may be assured and its evils avoided', that its 'progress must be slow and gradual' and its effects 'silent and unobtrusive' and that

'the present generation will probably pass away before they are fully felt and appreciated . . . but a single individual of rank raised into importance and energy . . . may abundantly repay our labour by the establishment of a better order of society in his neighbourhood, by the example he may set and by the resources of the country he may develop'.¹

¹ Minute of 1st Apr. 1823. In Makepeace: *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, 1921, vol. i, p. 427.

Raffles had not sufficient opportunity to put these precepts into practice in Java. The Van den Bosch Culture system contemplated no such improvement. It was a reversion to eighteenth-century practice. Nevertheless, it induced the Government to interest itself in the education of the Javanese for the first time, but only in order to train the assistants required for the management of the cultures.

The position, therefore, at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century was still not very different from what it had been at the beginning, except in Ceylon. Thereafter, a development began which acquired an ever-increasing momentum.

It started in Ceylon with a movement in favour of the vernacular. The Colebroke Commission had revived the Dutch system of placing education under a Commission. It began work in 1834 and was remodelled in 1841. It soon realized that English education had been pushed too far and that education in the vernacular was an essential preliminary to it. It accordingly resolved 'to give instruction in the native languages so as to afford the necessary preparation for English education'. The decision was not unanimous and it gave birth to a controversy resembling that in Formosa and in Ceylon in the seventeenth century. The Commission also classified schools into English, mixed, and vernacular, according to the medium used in them. The next step was the creation of a Department of Education which was followed by such a rapid growth of English and mixed schools that the expenditure on them became too burdensome; and their management was handed over wherever possible to municipal or missionary bodies in order that the Government should be able to concentrate on opening vernacular schools in the interior. It meant that the Government's primary concern became vernacular education whereas previously it had been English education. Another act of restoration had been performed in Ceylon ten years previously by the resuscitation of the Gansabhawa Councils, which became until 1907 the local education authority wherever they existed.

In the meantime France had embarked upon her enter-

prise in Indo-China. Le Myre de Vilers came out as the first civil Governor with clear and uncompromising instructions to concentrate on assimilation. Accordingly the early nineteenth-century experiment of the British in Ceylon was not only repeated but was carried farther by the development of European representative institutions. The rural life and administration of the Cochinese were revolutionized and their education was planned to inculcate French ideas, morality, industry, science, and economics. The policy in this crude form was not repeated elsewhere in Indo-China, and Tonkin had to await the arrival of Paul Doumer before its education was given an equally permanent trend. He evolved a scheme by which a section of the Tonkinese would acquire a sufficient knowledge of the French language and culture to act as 'auxiliaries of French civilization' while they remained morally attached to their own people through their upbringing in the old cantonal and communal schools which, therefore, retained their position as the first rung of the educational ladder. The next above it were Franco-native schools (primary and secondary or complementary) in which the *élite* secured their French training. In the opinion of Doumer's successor, Paul Beau, this arrangement was inadequate. The process of inculcating French culture would be too slow under it. The operation of the Franco-native schools was too restricted. He therefore assumed control over the cantonal and communal schools and over the examinations and, while retaining Chinese in the form of specially written manuals as part of their curriculum, added to it a progressive introduction of Quoc-Ngu and of French, each commune being expected to maintain one teacher for every sixty pupils. Thus both Ceylon and Indo-China during the course of the nineteenth century were subjected first to severe experiments in assimilation and afterwards, in the light of experience, to a more moderate treatment.

The histories of Formosa, Java, and Luzon during the nineteenth century are interesting contrasts to those of Ceylon and Indo-China. Nothing could exceed the

relentlessness and the success from their point of view of the assimilation applied to Formosa by the Chinese after they had expelled the Dutch. On the other hand, both in Java and in Luzon policy moved more slowly. The liberal revival, which brought about the abandonment of the cultures in the former, deprecated political or educational experiments which might undermine the paternalism which became the keynote of Dutch native administration. Until the twentieth century education was mainly confined to the sons of the hereditary rulers of the people and to those who aspired to secure government employment. Until the reforms of 1907 it was, except for a brief period, conducted entirely in the vernacular. Two of the obstacles to its expansion were (1) the anxiety of the Government to conduct it in all possible vernaculars, and (2) their refusal to subsidize missionary schools before 1895.

Progress was gradual and deliberate in Luzon, where the Spaniards impressed their civilization upon the island and assisted the natives to adjust themselves to European standards.

'They settled them in towns and villages, gave them a simple form of local government based on Native social conditions, made the Church a centre of local life, and transformed the old Native aristocracy into a class of landed gentry, fairly Westernized in culture and holding most of the local government offices.'¹

In 1863 the Government took over the schools and aspired to open at least one primary school for boys and one for girls in every *pueblo*. Attendance was compulsory and could be enforced under the religious conditions. At the end of the nineteenth century the United States of America found the population, with the exception of the remoter groups beyond the range of European control, already detribalized and to a large extent Europeanized, and the way appeared to be open for the introduction of a much wider range of Western culture, particularly on the material side.

The Americans entered upon the task in a spirit of

¹ Ifor Powell, *op. cit.*

assured confidence that 'two things were competent to solve practically all social problems, one being free political institutions and the other universal education'. They were as assimilative as the French had been in Cochin-China under Le Myre de Vilers. On the non-material side they concentrated on the inculcation of the whole Anglo-Saxon theory and practice of politics; particularly did they dwell upon the rights of the individual and upon the democratic form of government. In pursuance of this policy literacy in English was the essential means of progress, and, in spite of praiseworthy efforts to emphasize also the importance of technical education, it was inevitable that literacy in English should become the aim of the intelligent young Filipino. It was also the key to entry to the democratized civil service. The result has been the development of a gap between the articulate minority of Europeanized Filipinos and the inarticulate mass of the native agriculturists who form the bulk of the population; and the only appropriate method of closing it would appear to be the organizing of an effective system of elementary education that will reach every social unit in the islands.

This last sentence contains the kernel of the problem in all dependencies in modern times—'the emergence of an articulate minority of Europeanized natives from the inarticulate mass'. It has arisen to some extent out of the theory that education should percolate from the top of native society downwards. Sir Stamford Raffles's dictum on the possible influence of a single individual, the policy followed by the Dutch in Java before 1907, the custom of making the training of native government assistants a first consideration, Paul Doumer's 'auxiliaries of French civilization' are cases in point. It was due in still larger measure to the more intimate contact with Westernism which improved communications made possible, and which particularly affected town-dwelling natives. The remedy applied has been to bring elementary rural education more into line with the more advanced education of the towns, and at the same time to increase the opportunities of the countrymen by contriving an effective educational ladder

for all who are capable of taking advantage of it. At the same time there was a danger that the latter reform would only add more recruits to the articulate minority.

Paul Doumer relied on the early upbringing of his 'auxiliaries' in the cantonal and communal schools to preserve their roots in native society. But their children were less likely to enjoy this saving advantage. Paul Beau by taking control over the local schools and by introducing French and Quoc-Ngu into their curriculum tried to convert them into true elementary schools to Doumer's Franco-native schools—Chinese still remaining the link with the native culture. The next important step was taken by Sarraut after the Great War. He eliminated the communal schools and replaced them by a Western type of rural elementary school which was to promote 'L'invasion féconde de l'instruction dans les profondeurs du pays'. At the same time he planned to preserve the connexion of education with native culture by basing it on Far Eastern rather than Western humanities. Thus an 'élite indigène moderne' would be formed from 'une somme commune d'instruction général et un même idéal de culture réalisant l'identité quantitative et qualitative des deux disciplines'. One important qualification was that except in the rural elementary schools the medium of instruction must be French, because, as he observed, 'le nouveau véhicule de l'instruction doit venir jusqu'au milieu des campagnes solliciter les jeunes intelligences'. The results did not come up to expectations because the rural elementary schools failed to fulfil their part. As a supplement to them, the old communal form of school had to be revived. But only as a temporary expedient to meet the circumstances of the day. As they pass the communal school will again be superseded by rural elementary schools under central control.

While dealing with the actions of the British and Dutch Governments in grappling with the lop-sided extension of education to which the two previous paragraphs refer, we may at the same time note two differences between the French system and that in force in Ceylon and Java. In

the first place, in Indo-China the medium of instruction in all government schools except the rural elementary schools is French; whereas in Ceylon 'the differentiation between education in English and education in the Vernacular' is the dominant problem and has been for over ninety years. It appears first on the list of problems in the 1930 Report of the Director of Education of Ceylon. It has hardly any existence for the French beyond their recognition of the principle that rural elementary education must be in the vernacular. The complicated machinery of English schools, English schools on a vernacular basis, Anglo-vernacular schools, vernacular schools, infant departments, which has grown up in Ceylon, and its accompanying schedules of curricula, all of which are concerned primarily with the medium of education, are unknown in Indo-China. The schools there are 'Franco-native' not 'Franco-vernacular'. Anxious discussions about the deleterious effects upon a child of having to change from the vernacular to the French medium, or about the time which should be given to, or the method which should be adopted in, accomplishing it are relatively rare. The principle that French is the medium, with the proviso that it must not be used in rural elementary schools, is clear cut and above dispute. The same remark applies to the Americans in the Philippines. The Act instituting the Department of Instruction lays down that 'the English language shall, as soon as practicable, be made the basis of all public instruction'. The Japanese are working in Formosa to spread their language and culture. But progress is slow and English is the language of commerce. The only equivalent of the Ceylon system in the Annamese States of Indo-China is the additional year which was added to the Franco-native primary course in 1927 in order to allow pupils coming from rural elementary schools to have one year to acquire an adequate knowledge of French. Schedule A. 1 in Ceylon, which dates from 1908, allows two years for the same purpose. On the other hand, the policy followed in the Straits Settlements has resembled the French. No other course seemed possible owing to the

peculiar language position. Schools in which the vernacular is used to some extent as the medium of instruction have been discouraged and the problem has been met by allowing Managers of schools to follow the methods which appear to them to be best, while special classes in English schools have been organized for the benefit of Malays.

In Java the weight of European opinion has been against Dutch and in favour of the vernacular. Since 1907, however, the rigid medium demarcation between native and European education has been abandoned. The forces against it were too strong. The first-class, or Dutch-Indonesian, schools have been received into the European fold; and 'Liaison' schools, in which Dutch is taught for an average of six hours a week, provide means of access to higher education for the second-class school students.

In the second place the French system is more centralized. There are no local education committees nor is the management of the rural elementary schools in the hands of local authorities. This centralization is a departure from native traditional practice. The arrangements of the Dutch in Java and of the British in Ceylon are more in accordance with it.

After 1907 there was a rapid growth of rural elementary education in Java. The theory that education should be confined mainly to the upper classes was thrown overboard and the opening of village schools became one of the first considerations. Indeed the patience of the villagers has been sometimes exhausted by the efforts to persuade them to provide for the education of their children; for they are expected to shoulder some of the responsibility. Under native custom it was theirs entirely and the Government's scheme is a development of this principle. The village is required to organize the school, erect the building, and furnish it. The Communal Government Ordinance has supplied them with the constitutional machinery for the purpose. The Government appoints and pays the teachers. The plan did not work successfully until the schools were brought up to the level of the lower standards

of the second-class schools. They are now the equivalents of the rural elementary schools in Indo-China, except that their management is in the hands of local authorities. Finally, the complementary and the liaison schools supply a complete educational ladder for the humblest villager who is capable of mounting it.

Similar arrangements have been made in Ceylon, except that they are more centralized and the connexion between village councils and education has ceased. Special local Committees have been established which have a separate personnel and are more under the control of the Education Department.

This brief review has been confined mainly to questions concerning the use of the vernacular and the preservation or otherwise of native institutions, particularly in their relation to rural elementary education. They have been taken out of many others mentioned in the preceding chapters in order to try to elucidate through them the several attitudes of the governing powers towards the problem of trusteeship. From them we may elicit the following:

The use of French as the medium in all schools except the rural elementary schools is accepted in principle in the Annamese States of Indo-China. The control of education is centralized and the traditional connexion of the local authorities with it, recently temporarily revived, is rapidly passing. At the same time efforts are being made to evolve a synthesis of Annamese and French cultures in order to guard against harmful denationalization. For example, the curriculum of secondary Franco-native schools allows time for a study of French literature from the beginning of the eighteenth century by means of specially prepared text-books, and of the Chinese language with the object of giving pupils a sufficient knowledge of the characters to enable them to understand the easier classics and to read current literature. Annamese language, history, and literature are also included. The English in Ceylon have adopted bilingualism and its administration is the dominant problem of education. The educational functions of village councils have been transferred to special local committees

with a consequent increase of influence from the centre. The Dutch in Java have been the protagonists of the vernacular and have preserved the village councils as the local education authorities. The Americans in the Philippines set about to superimpose a new structure, the materials of which were their own language and institutions, on foundations laid by the Spaniards. Their object, however, unlike that of other governing powers, is to be quit of their trusteeship as soon as may be. The Japanese are intent upon a task similar to the Americans; but their object is to render the connexion between Japan and Formosa permanent and indissoluble.

The modernization of land tenure throws additional light on the tendencies in education which we have described above, the two running parallel with each other. The assimilative policy of the French in Cochinchina was reflected in their conversion of the land-tax rolls into registers of title deeds at a time when native education was being transformed into an instrument for spreading the French language and culture. The determination of the Japanese to approximate conditions in Formosa as closely as possible to their own is shown by their basing agrarian reform as well as education on the modernized systems in force in Japan. The Americans in their anxiety to develop individual rights in the Philippines in order to qualify the natives for representative self-government introduced the Torrens system of land registration three years after they took over the government and made English the medium of instruction. The Dutch moved much more slowly in Java. They threw over Raffles's scheme of individual tenure, and although it was reborn in another form at the time of the liberal revival it did not become operative until after the end of the nineteenth century when it spread rapidly, together with a remarkable increase in education. In Ceylon the development of vernacular education by the Government was accompanied by efforts to encourage the conversion of undivided tenures into individual freeholds, the two movements gaining momentum simultaneously. The same remark applies to the

modernization of land tenure in the Federated Malay States.

A vital question that emerges is whether the Westernization of land tenure and the penetration of Western education and ideas into the remotest villages will connect once again the inarticulate mass with the articulate minority and thus remedy the lop-sidedness which is the cause of much present discontent. All the powers exercising trusteeships over dependencies have this object in view. Are the differences in their methods merely the product of their several temperaments? The persistence of the British struggling with a language problem which after ninety years is still a primary embarrassment, the caution of the Dutch which found its best expression in their patriarchal government of Java during the last half of the nineteenth century, the faith of America in the efficacy of legislation and in the rapidity of developments, the insular concentration of the Japanese, the belief of the French in assimilation and their acceptance of association when the former appeared impracticable—will they all lead to much the same synthesis of East and West? It is hoped that the material which we have collected and set forth in this book will assist the student to answer these and allied questions.

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TABLE OF RACES AND POPULATIONS

	<i>Ceylon</i>	<i>Java</i>	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Formosa</i>	<i>Indo-China</i>	<i>British Malaya</i> ¹
Malays	..	40,891,000	12,113,000	..	..	1,705,000
Tamils	1,400,000	..	..	..	..	380,000
Sinhalese	3,500,000					
Annamese	..	..	..	..	16,400,000	
Chinese	..	583,000	60,000	4,238,700	250,000	1,255,000
Japanese	..	..	..	232,300		
Europeans and Americans	11,000	194,000	11,000	43,000	35,000	6,000
Others	401,000 ²	52,000	20,000	86,000	3,815,000 ³	
TOTAL	5,312,000 (1931)	41,720,000 (1930)	12,204,000 (1930)	4,600,000 (1930)	20,500,000 ⁴ (1926)	3,346,000

¹ Comprising the Straits Settlements, Federated and Unfederated Malay States.

² Includes some Malays, 4,000 Veddahs, and so-called Moors.

³ Includes Cambodians (about 2,300,000).

⁴ Includes 4,400,000 in Cochin-China, 4,820,000 in Annam, and 8,200,000 in Tonkin.

A NOTE ON THE RACES

Malays. The name given by Europeans to the dominant race in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, and to the brown races in Asia, south of Siam and Indo-China, and in the islands from the Philippines to Java. This definition excludes previously existing tribes which still survive.

Tamils. A Sanskrit name for the Dravidian people of South India.

Sinhalese. An Aryan race which came to Ceylon probably from a place north or north-east of the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and was converted to Buddhism in the third century B.C. The hill-country Sinhalese of the former kingdom of Kandy were not brought under British administration until 1815, when that kingdom was taken over. There are over a million of these.

Annamese. A people chiefly of Mongolian stock. According to their own traditions they once inhabited Southern China, and many of their habits and physical characteristics are Chinese. Since their occupation of Indo-China they have become modified by crossing with the Chams and others of its previous inhabitants. The Cambodians (Khmers) are more akin to the Siamese than the Annamese, and may have Aryan as well as Mongolian and Indonesian ancestry.

