



Educational Reforms of Christian Missionaries in Tiruchirappalli - a Historical Study

Dr. D. SENTHIL KUMAR¹

¹Associate Professor Department of History Thanthai Periyar Govt. Arts and Science College (A) Trichy – 620023 Affiliated to Bharathidasan University

Cite this paper as: Dr. D. SENTHIL KUMAR (2026) Educational Reforms of Christian Missionaries in Tiruchirappalli - a Historical Study..... Journal of International Marketing and Marketing Research, 4(3) 158-163

ABSTRACT

Educational development in Tiruchirappalli reflects a significant phase in the evolution of modern education in colonial South India, shaped by the combined influence of Christian missionary initiatives and British educational policy. Early missionary activity, beginning with Jesuit and Protestant interventions, laid the groundwork for organised schooling even before the colonial state assumed a more structured role following the Educational Dispatch of 1854. Missionaries played a central role in establishing institutions, promoting Western curricula, and introducing new systems of discipline, administration, and pedagogy. The growth of educational institutions such as SPG schools, Bishop Heber College, and St. Joseph's College demonstrates the expansion of both elementary and higher education, alongside efforts to integrate vernacular instruction with English-based learning. Missionary efforts were marked by both cooperation and rivalry, which contributed to institutional growth despite financial limitations and uneven state support. At the same time, the strategy of prioritising elite groups for education revealed limitations in achieving broader social reach. These developments transformed Tiruchirappalli into an important centre of learning, where missionary enterprise significantly influenced educational structures, social mobility and cultural change in the wider context of colonial India....

Keywords: Christian Missionaries, Tiruchirappalli, Colonial Education, British Educational Policy, Missionary Schools, Higher Education, Social Change.

INTRODUCTION

The development of modern education in Tiruchirappalli is closely connected with the activities of Christian missionaries and the gradual involvement of the colonial state in educational matters. Although the tradition associates the introduction of Christianity in India with St. Thomas in the early centuries CE, organised missionary activity in South India gained momentum only after the arrival of European powers. The Portuguese presence from 1498 and the missionary work of the Jesuits, particularly Francis Xavier in 1542, marked the beginning of sustained Christian influence. In the Tamil region, Protestant efforts became prominent with the establishment of the Tranquebar Mission in the early eighteenth century under Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau, which contributed significantly to the spread of education alongside evangelisation.

Tiruchirappalli gradually emerged as an important centre for missionary work due to its political significance and strategic location. Missionary organisations such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Jesuits established schools that combined religious instruction with elementary education. The work of Rev. C. F. Schwartz stands out in this context. His establishment of the Vestry School in 1772 introduced a Western pattern of education in the region. He also encouraged instruction in both English and Tamil, making education accessible to a wider section of society. These early institutions functioned largely through missionary initiative and financial support, as the East India Company showed limited interest in promoting education among the general population.

During the early nineteenth century, the Company's approach remained cautious, focusing more on administrative needs than on mass education. The debate between Orientalists and Anglicists, which led to Macaulay's Minute of 1835, favoured English education and influenced the direction of learning in India. A more systematic approach emerged only with the Educational Dispatch of 1854, which recommended the expansion of schools, the establishment of universities, and financial assistance through grants-in-aid. The establishment of the University of Madras in 1857 further strengthened higher education in the region. The growth of education in Tiruchirappalli thus developed through the combined efforts of missionary institutions and colonial policies, which together shaped the structure and direction of modern education in the region.

Existing literature on the history of education in the Madras Presidency provides important understandings of the role of colonial policy and missionary enterprise. Works such as The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency and reports of the Education Department offer detailed accounts of institutional growth and administrative measures. Philip Hartog and S. Sathianathan discuss the evolution of educational policy and its broader impact. Studies on Christian colleges

and missionary activities reveal their contribution to higher education and social change. However, specific regional studies on Tiruchirappalli remain limited, making this enquiry more focused

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study aims to explore the role of Christian missionaries in the development of education in Tiruchirappalli, analyse the impact of British educational policies and trace the growth of institutions like missionary schools and colleges. It also seeks to understand how these efforts influenced educational expansion and social change in the region.

METHODOLOGY

The study is based on historical research methods, relying on both primary and secondary sources. It draws upon official records such as the Reports on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, Government Orders of the Education Department, and census data relating to Tiruchirappalli district. These are supplemented with missionary records, contemporary writings, and relevant scholarly works.

DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

The development of an institutionalised system of education in Tiruchirappalli must be understood in the broader framework of British colonial policy in India. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, the East India Company did not assume direct responsibility for mass education. Instead, its approach remained cautious and limited, shaped largely by administrative convenience rather than any comprehensive vision of public instruction. This.

early phase was marked by reliance on indigenous institutions and missionary initiatives, with minimal state intervention. A decisive shift in educational policy emerged from the well-known Orientalist–Anglicist controversy, which culminated in Macaulay’s Minute of 1835. Macaulay strongly advocated the promotion of English education over traditional Oriental learning, arguing that Western knowledge and literature were superior and more useful for administrative purposes. His recommendation led to the adoption of English as the principal medium of higher instruction, thereby altering the trajectory of education across the Madras Presidency, including Tiruchirappalli. This policy aimed at creating a class of intermediaries “Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect” who would assist in colonial administration.²

The intellectual climate of the period was also influenced by reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, whose advocacy for Western education coincided with the gradual acceptance of English learning among sections of Indian society. His efforts, particularly in Bengal, had a wider ideological impact, contributing to what may be described as an emerging cultural transformation that favoured modern education over traditional systems. Despite these developments, the practical expansion of education remained limited until the mid-nineteenth century. In Tiruchirappalli, as in many parts of the Madras Presidency, education prior to the 1850s was largely dependent on missionary enterprise. Government records indicate that the number of institutions directly supported by the state was minimal, and indigenous schools functioned without systematic regulation or financial assistance. As a result, the overall level of educational development remained uneven and relatively underdeveloped.

A major turning point came with the issuance of the Educational Dispatch of 1854, often regarded as the foundational document of modern education in India. The Dispatch explicitly acknowledged that “the education of the masses has been hitherto too much neglected” and recommended a comprehensive framework for educational expansion. It proposed the establishment of a hierarchical system of education, consisting of vernacular primary schools at the village level, Anglo-vernacular high schools at the district level, and universities at the presidency level. One of the most significant features of the Dispatch was the introduction of the grant-in-aid system, through which private institutions including missionary schools could receive financial assistance from the government, provided they met certain standards. This policy had a direct impact on Tiruchirappalli, where missionary institutions formed a substantial part of the educational network.³

The Dispatch also emphasised the importance of teacher training, recommending the establishment of normal schools to improve the quality of instruction. It provided for the award of scholarships, enabling meritorious students to progress from elementary to higher levels of education. These measures were intended to create a more structured and accessible system, although their implementation varied across regions. In the Madras Presidency, the policy initiatives of 1854 led to measurable expansion. Official reports from the latter half of the nineteenth century indicate a steady increase in the number of schools and students. For example, by the 1870s, district-level data show the presence of numerous government and aided schools, alongside missionary institutions, contributing to the spread of literacy. Tiruchirappalli, owing to its administrative importance and missionary presence, experienced relatively rapid educational growth compared to less urbanised districts. The establishment of the University of Madras in 1857 marked another crucial development in the institutionalisation of higher education. As an affiliating university, it exercised control over curriculum, examinations, and standards across colleges in the Presidency. Institutions in Tiruchirappalli, such as missionary colleges, came under its jurisdiction, thereby aligning local education with a broader colonial framework. This not only standardised higher education but also facilitated the emergence of a new educated class in the region. Financial considerations continued to shape British educational policy. Although the government increased its expenditure on education after 1854, it remained cautious in its commitments. Education was often viewed as an economically unproductive sector, and expenditure was justified primarily in terms of

administrative efficiency and social stability. Consequently, the state relied heavily on private and missionary initiatives, using the grant-in-aid system to extend its reach without incurring excessive costs.⁴

Another notable feature of British policy was its emphasis on downward filtration theory, which assumed that educating the upper and middle classes would eventually lead to the diffusion of knowledge among the masses. In practice, however, this approach resulted in limited access to education for lower social groups, particularly in the early phases. While the number of institutions increased, the distribution of educational benefits remained uneven, reflecting broader social hierarchies. Tiruchirappalli's historical status as a centre of learning and its strategic location contributed to a relatively faster spread of education. The combined effect of missionary activity and government policy created a dynamic educational environment, where new institutions emerged and existing ones expanded in scope and function. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the district had developed a diversified educational structure, encompassing primary schools, secondary institutions, and colleges affiliated with the University of Madras.

Work of the Christian Missions

When the English East India Company was unwilling to accept a direct responsibility for the education of Indian people, the Christian missionaries came forward as pioneers to establish schools and colleges. The Company's policy was that, "the light must touch the mountain tops before it could pierce to the levels and depth". It means that education had to be given to the rich Brahmins and from them it had to filter down to the common people. But it did not work well.⁵ The missionaries took keen interest in education, at a time when the government did little to shoulder responsibility in this regard. Being a missionary Centre, Tiruchirappalli became the meeting ground of all the missionary forces. The spread of Christianity through education brought many in the fold of Christianity. The New Madurai Mission managed by the French Jesuits took keen interest in education. The Tranquebar Mission whose branches such as the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of Gospel under Fr. Schwartz made a beginning. He was the path finder of the missionary education in Tiruchirappalli. He founded the Vestry School at Tiruchirappalli in 1772.⁶ This was the first missionary school in Tiruchirappalli in western pattern. Fr. Schwartz established an English and Tamil School which was maintained out of his own salary. The Tamil branch of the school which survived in the form of an elementary vernacular school in Tennur, was transferred to the Fort in 1864.

Institutional Development

The expansion of missionary activity in Tiruchirappalli was closely followed by the establishment of a network of educational institutions, ranging from elementary schools to colleges. The Gospel Society's School at Erungalore was converted from a boarding to a day school during the year 1870. About 12 schools were managed by the missionaries of which two were managed by Roman Catholic Mission.⁷ The SPG had eight schools in the different parts of Tiruchirappalli. They were sufficiently well managed and worked upto the standard of the 2nd class Taluk Schools. In 1875, there were two High Schools in Tiruchirappalli managed by the missions. The Wesleyan Mission High School was situated in a less popular area about two miles away from the SPG. All the upper classes of that school were weak in point of the number of pupils.⁸

The Roman Catholic Missions and Gospel Society had specially distinguished themselves in the line of improving education. Each mission strove hard to outshine the other in educational and missionary activities. The Gospel Society's High School gradually developed into a college in 1873 and affiliated to the University of Madras. In 1883, it was upgraded to the position of a first grade college.⁹ The strength was ten for BA and thirty for the first Arts. There was an unhealthy rivalry between St. Joseph's and the SPG in Tiruchirappalli which caused reduction of strength in the SPG College. The cost for the maintenance of the College amounted to Rs.1527. The fees received was Rs.5365 and the government grant was Rs.4931. The strength of the College increased to Rs.250 in 1904. The college gave hostel accommodation for about seventy four students.¹⁰ The college received grant from the provincial funds and yet it worked on a deficit balance. In 1926, it was named as Bishop Heber College after the name of Bishop Heber. The Bishop Heber College was closed down because of the recommendation of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India with effect from 1934. The Mission did not have sufficient funds to run the college.¹¹

St. Joseph's College was originally planned to be established at Tiruchirappalli. Owing to an epidemic and the consequent death of six priests the venue had been shifted to Nagapattinam. The college department was opened in 1866 and in the same year it was affiliated to the Madras University.¹² It did not receive full salary assistance from Government. The College of Nagapattinam afforded to the European families in the South, the means of procuring to their children, the benefit of higher education. It was established and regulated on the same principles as the other colleges of the same society in Europe. The course of education comprised of English, French, Latin, Greek, History and Philosophy. Eminent Professors were there to teach. The age of admission was from seven to fourteen. Students who could read and write were admitted. At the time of the admission of their wards parents had to testify to the qualities of their children.¹³

The first three months after the admission were considered as probation period. During this time the boy's behavior in the institution would be watched and if he did not prove suitable to the regulations of the house, parents would be requested to take him away. Once in every three months, details regarding health and progress of the boys would be intimated to the parents.¹⁴ During 1882-83, the college was transferred to Tiruchirappalli. The college took special care in strengthening the potentiality of the staff and provided fine building in keeping with the dignity of the institution.¹⁵ They believed that higher

education should be associated with noble and impressive surroundings. The strength for the degree classes increased from 15 to 53 and first Arts 30 to 64 after the transfer. In the High School department attached to the College, the strength had been doubled since the transfer.¹⁶

St. Joseph's College was one of the best in the Presidency with European Professors and large number of qualified local teachers. The college department cost Rs.59,628 and the fees received amounted to Rs.17411 while the Government grant was Rs.10976. The College under the management of the Society of Jesus made School, Pugalur. All these schools contributed to the spread of education.¹⁷

Women Education

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, official reports on public instruction in the Madras Presidency make only passing references to female schooling, indicating its marginal status. Missionary records, however, suggest that small vernacular schools for girls were attached to mission centres in and around Tiruchirappalli. These schools typically functioned at the elementary level and imparted instruction in Tamil reading and writing, along with basic arithmetic and Christian catechism.¹⁸ The preference for vernacular instruction was not incidental; it reflected the practical aim of enabling girls to read religious texts and participate in basic forms of literacy within their households.¹⁹

The expansion of such schools was closely tied to missionary priorities. For instance, the SPG, which maintained several schools in Tiruchirappalli by the 1870s, also encouraged female instruction wherever possible, though not always as separate institutions. In many cases, girls were educated in parallel or subsidiary sections of existing mission schools rather than in fully independent establishments. This indicates that female education was considered important but not always institutionally prioritised to the same extent as male education.²⁰ Social constraints played a decisive role in shaping enrolment patterns. Contemporary administrative and missionary observations frequently note the reluctance of families, particularly among upper-caste Hindu communities, to send girls to public institutions. Concerns regarding caste purity, early marriage and interaction with male teachers limited participation. As a result, girls attending missionary schools were often drawn from Christian converts or from socially and economically marginalised groups, where such restrictions were less rigid. This uneven social composition is reflected in the relatively low numbers of girls compared to boys in educational reports of the period.²¹

Efforts were made to overcome these barriers through modifications in teaching arrangements. The use of female instructors, where available, was encouraged in order to make schools more acceptable to conservative families. In some instances, instruction was provided in segregated spaces or through informal arrangements connected to mission households. Although detailed records for Tiruchirappalli are limited, such practices are consistent with broader missionary strategies documented in the Madras Presidency.²² The curriculum offered to girls also reveals the nature of missionary priorities. Unlike institutions such as St. Joseph's College, where the curriculum included subjects like Latin, Greek, History and Philosophy, girls' education remained largely confined to elementary literacy, moral instruction and domestic training. This difference was not accidental but reflected prevailing assumptions about the social roles of women. Education for girls was intended to produce literate and morally disciplined individuals within the household rather than to prepare them for advanced study or professional engagement.²³ Government involvement in female education remained limited during much of the nineteenth century. The Educational

Dispatch of 1854 formally recognised the importance of extending education to all sections of society, including women and recommended the use of grants-in-aid to support schools. However, in practice, the expansion of female education in Tiruchirappalli continued to depend largely on missionary initiative. Official reports from the later nineteenth century indicate that while the number of schools increased, the proportion of female students remained comparatively low, pointing to structural and social constraints rather than administrative neglect alone.²⁴

Institutional evidence from Tiruchirappalli further illustrates this imbalance. While multiple boys' schools and at least two high schools were functioning under missionary management by 1875, there is no comparable record of high-level institutions exclusively for girls during the same period. This contrast highlights the secondary position of women's education within the overall educational framework. Even where colleges such as Bishop Heber College and St. Joseph's College expanded in terms of enrolment and infrastructure, their benefits were confined almost entirely to male students. At the same time, the limited spread of women's education did produce gradual changes. The introduction of literacy among girls, even in a restricted social base, altered patterns of communication and domestic life. Educated women within Christian communities, in particular, were able to engage with religious texts and participate more actively in mission-related activities. However, these changes remained confined to specific groups and did not translate into a broad-based transformation of female education during the period under study.

Curriculum and Medium of Instruction

At the elementary level, missionary schools prioritised vernacular instruction, particularly in Tamil. Early institutions such as the Vestry School founded by C. F. Schwartz in 1772 explicitly incorporated both Tamil and English instruction, indicating a dual pedagogical approach even in the late eighteenth century. The Tamil medium was primarily used to impart basic literacy (reading and writing), elementary arithmetic, and catechism, enabling students to access religious texts and participate in missionary activities. This emphasis is consistent with reports from the Madras Presidency, where vernacular schooling was seen as essential for initial educational penetration among local populations. However, as students progressed

to higher levels of education, there was a marked shift towards English as the principal medium of instruction. This transition became more pronounced after the acceptance of English education under the influence of Macaulay's Minute of 1835 and the Educational Dispatch of 1854, which encouraged the spread of Western knowledge through English. Missionary institutions in Tiruchirappalli adapted accordingly, especially in secondary schools and colleges.²⁵

In institutions such as St. Joseph's College, the curriculum at the collegiate level was comprehensive and closely aligned with European models of education. Subjects included English, Latin, Greek, History, and Philosophy, reflecting a classical liberal education framework. The inclusion of classical languages like Latin and Greek demonstrates the intention to replicate European intellectual traditions rather than merely provide functional education. The presence of "eminent professors" and structured courses further indicates a high level of academic organisation and standardisation. Similarly, institutions associated with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel developed a graded system of instruction. By the 1870s, the SPG managed multiple schools in Tiruchirappalli that functioned up to the

level of second-class taluk schools, suggesting adherence to recognised administrative and curricular standards of the Madras Presidency. These schools maintained a balance between vernacular teaching at lower levels and English instruction at higher stages, thereby creating a layered educational structure.

An important feature of the missionary curriculum was its integration of moral and religious instruction with secular subjects. Catechism formed a regular part of the syllabus, especially in elementary schools, while moral discipline was reinforced through structured routines and close supervision. At the same time, the inclusion of subjects such as History and Philosophy indicates that missionary education was not confined to religious training but aimed at producing a class of educated individuals capable of engaging with broader intellectual currents.²⁶ The curriculum also reflected clear social differentiation. While higher education institutions offered advanced subjects and intellectual training, elementary schools particularly those catering to marginalised groups remained limited in scope. This disparity suggests that the curriculum was not uniformly designed for universal advancement but was often aligned with the broader colonial objective of creating a limited educated elite. In terms of medium and content, therefore, missionary education in Tiruchirappalli operated through a dual system:

- Vernacular (Tamil) for foundational literacy and religious instruction
- English for advanced education and intellectual training

This dual approach enabled missionaries to expand their reach while simultaneously aligning with colonial educational priorities. The result was the emergence of a structured educational system that combined local accessibility with Western academic orientation, leaving a lasting imprint on the educational landscape of the region.

Administrative Practices and Discipline

Admission procedures in missionary institutions were carefully regulated. In colleges such as St. Joseph's College, students were admitted within a defined age group generally between seven and fourteen years and were required to possess basic literacy skills prior to entry. Importantly, admission was not unconditional. The first three months were treated as a probationary period, during which the conduct, adaptability, and discipline of the student were closely observed. If a student failed to conform to institutional norms, parents were formally requested to withdraw their ward. This system indicates a deliberate effort to maintain institutional standards and moral order.

Administrative practices also included regular monitoring and communication with parents. Missionary records show that reports on students' health, academic progress, and behaviour were periodically sent typically once every three months. Such systematic reporting reflects a high degree of bureaucratic organisation and accountability, distinguishing missionary institutions from many indigenous schools of the period, where such formal mechanisms were largely absent.²⁷ Discipline formed the core of the missionary educational model. Institutions operated under a regime of strict behavioural codes, where punctuality, obedience, and moral conduct were rigorously enforced. The daily routine was highly regulated, particularly in boarding institutions, where students lived under constant supervision. The emphasis on discipline was closely linked to the broader missionary objective of inculcating Christian moral values and habits of orderliness.

The administrative system also extended to institutional organisation and financial management. Missionary colleges functioned through a combination of student fees, government grants-in-aid, and missionary funding. For instance, financial records of colleges in Tiruchirappalli indicate that while fees constituted a significant portion of income, institutions often operated under financial constraints and depended on external support. Despite these limitations, administrative efficiency ensured continuity and expansion of educational activities.²⁸ Another notable feature was the presence of qualified teaching staff, including European professors and trained local teachers, which contributed to maintaining academic standards. The recruitment of such personnel was part of a broader administrative strategy aimed at enhancing institutional credibility and aligning with the expectations of the University of Madras, to which many of these colleges were affiliated. The disciplinary system also reflected social and cultural considerations. Students were expected to adhere to institutional norms that often differed from indigenous practices, including regulated interaction, structured timetables, and moral scrutiny. In some cases, this created tension with local customs, yet it also contributed to the formation of a new class of students accustomed to modern bureaucratic and institutional discipline.

CONCLUSION

The expansion of education in Tiruchirappalli reveals a pattern in which missionary initiative preceded and often

compensated for limited state involvement during the early phases of colonial rule. Missionary institutions introduced Western models of schooling and established durable structures such as vernacular schools, high schools and colleges that later operated within the colonial educational framework. The contributions of Schwartz, the SPG and Jesuit missions indicate that organised religious networks and external funding played a decisive role in shaping education in the region. At the same time, the allocation of substantial resources towards education did not fully meet the wider needs of society. Access remained uneven, as priority was often given to socially dominant groups, limiting broader educational reach. The success of missionary efforts varied across regions. In this context, the work of Alexander Duff in India stands out for its consistency and effectiveness, particularly in combining education with religious influence. His approach differed from many contemporaries and gained support among sections of the educated elite. Tiruchirappalli nevertheless emerged as an important centre of learning, where missionary activity left a lasting imprint on educational structures, social mobility, and cultural change within the colonial period

REFERENCES

- [1] The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency. Vol. 1, Madras, 1885, p. 593.
- [2] Hartog, Philip. Some Aspects of Indian Education Past and Present. Oxford, 1939, p. 3.
- [3] Dhas, Sarguru. "Educational Policy in the Madras Presidency – 1800–1900." Unpublished PhD thesis, Madras University, 1963, p. 13.
- [4] Dickinson, Richard, editor. The Christian Colleges and National Development. Madras, 1967, p. 22.
- [5] Hunter Education Commission Report. 1882, p. 6.
- [6] Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1882–83, p. 32.
- [7] Education Department (Miscellaneous). G.O. No. 218, 4 Apr. 1905
- [8] Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1936–37. Vol. 1, p. 53.
- [9] Education Department (Miscellaneous). G.O. No. 85, 15 Feb. 1905, p. 2.
- [10] Jesuit Educational Association of India. Delhi, 1970, p. 181.
- [11] Census of India, 1931: Statistical Appendix for Tiruchirappalli District, p. 77.
- [12] Education Department (Miscellaneous). G.O. No. 758, 29 Apr. 1940.
- [13] Education Department (Miscellaneous). G.O. No. 2215, 21 Nov. 1928.
- [14] Sathianathan, S. History of Education in the Madras Presidency. Madras, 1894, p. 115.
- [15] Education Department (Miscellaneous). G.O. No. 2473, 3 Dec. 1930.
- [16] Education Commission: Report of the Madras Provincial Committee. Madras, 1882, p. 46.
- [17] The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency. Vol. 1, Madras, 1885, p. 602.
- [18] Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1928–29, p. 20.
- [19] Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1859–60, p. 75.
- [20] Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1918–19, p. 10.
- [21] Census of India, 1931: Statistical Appendix for Tiruchirappalli District, p. 78.
- [22] Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1900–1901, p. 47.
- [23] Balasubramanian, K. "Christian Missionaries Contribution to Women Education on Pre-Independent India with Reference to Trichinopoly District." International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research in Arts and Humanities, vol. 3, no. 1, 2018, pp. 143–146.
- [24] Swaminathan, Padmini. Patriarchy and Class: An Approach to a Study of Women's Education in Madras Presidency. Working Paper No. 110, Madras Institute of Development Studies, Chennai, Aug. 1992, pp. 1–15.
- [25] Love, Henry Davison. Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640–1800. Vol. 2, John Murray, 1913.
- [26] Neill, Stephen. A History of Christianity in India: 1707–1858. Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- [27] Government of Madras. Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for the Year 1859–60. Madras Government Press, 1861.
- [28] Basu, Aparna. The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898–1920. Oxford University Press, 1974.