

# **MISSIONARIES AND INDIAN INTERACTION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION**

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DECLARATION

I, Siddharth Gautam, declare that the dissertation entitled '**Missionaries and Indian Interaction in the Field of Education- A Historical Study**' in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my original work. No part of this work has been published or submitted to any other university.

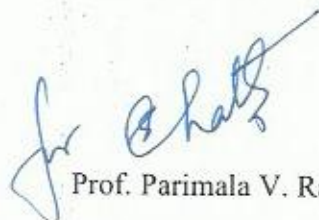
  
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# CHAPTER- I

## Introduction

The aim of this research is to understand the interaction of Christian missionaries in India with respect to Education. But, Educational activities of the missionaries cannot be understood in isolation. For this the interaction needs to be understood in a coherent manner. This interaction is not just a phenomenon of one or two centuries, instead the interaction has been evolving since the 1<sup>st</sup> century to this day. I have tried to collect a historiography on Christianity in India which provides us with different lenses to understand the interaction. This historiography is supplemented with a historical narration in which we majorly see Syrian (Thomas) Christian period, the Portuguese period (Catholics), Reformation and the Protestants.

The research deals with the debates around the activities of Christian missionaries in India. Christian missionaries worked immensely in the field of education. They are portrayed a few scholars as an arm of British Imperialism working in tandem with for the British Imperialism, by transforming the colonial empire into a culturally hegemonic empire. This kind of arguments makes the missionaries look like a completely foreign entity who were only interested in working to only gain converts and helping British Empire set a stronger foot in India. This was the centre of debates for quite a very long time.

These are now old debates which were inspired by the nationalistic fervors. Now, there are multitudes of examples which prove that the works of missionaries contributed in the development of India and especially in the field of education. This work will look into the works of English and Scottish missionaries and how they contributed to education in India. The different aspects of schooling of these missions viz. the curriculum, what was the nature of education was it overtly going for scriptural lessons or taking a safer secular path, what were the aims of the missionaries when they were starting these schools, how was the funding done and many other such aspects will be closely analyzed.

As already discussed above how Christianity is said to be an implantation from the west, how scholars have portrayed it as being a forearm of Colonialism, and was here in India on to gain

converts and expand Christianity. These statements have a political bearing with themselves. The work of Missionaries can be understood in the field of education, where they have left data which can be closely analyzed.

## **Christianity in India**

Indian sub-continent has been a place of ancient religions. It is the birthplace of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Later, Islam and Christianity came to India through contact with people from other parts of the world. Through the ages, India has acted as a “living library” which has fostered preservation of these religions. These religions are not in a static state; they are growing and developing within themselves and through interaction with one another. This interaction has further led to the formation of new traditions.

Christianity came to India at three different times. There are three major waves of Christianity coming to India. First was the coming of Thomas. His activities of conversion led to the growth Thomas Christians or Syrian Christians then comes the Catholic Christians and at last the Protestants. As such it is equally significant to understand these traditions in order to comprehend the true nature and evolution of Christianity in the Indian context.

The first wave of Christianity arrived in India during the ancient period in Indian history. This was the Thomas tradition which took shape because of the works of Gospel Thomas. Thomas was one of the twelve Apostles of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> There is a huge corpus of sources to study this tradition. The earliest literary account of Apostle Thomas` s missionary work in India is found in the *Acts of Thomas*. This ancient text is of unknown origin and comes from outside the continent.<sup>2</sup> During the Great commission<sup>3</sup>, the twelve Apostles of Jesus were asked to ‘*Go into the world and preach the Gospel*’<sup>4</sup>. The world was divided into different regions and Apostles were allotted to travel their respective region. The assignment of spreading the word of Jesus in India fell on Apostle Thomas.

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<sup>1</sup>New Testament

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 93

<sup>3</sup> In Christianity, the **Great Commission** is the directions of Jesus Christ to his disciples to spread his words amongst all the people of the world

<sup>4</sup> The Great Commission, Mark 16:15

In India, Thomas converted a number upper caste Hindus in Kerala to Christianity, who were later known as “*Syrian Christians*”. With time the teachings of Thomas and his involvement in the social structure of the peninsula began to be noticed. His popularity can be gauged from a number of tales as described in the Acts of Thomas. One such tale describes the events which led to his execution in AD 73.<sup>5</sup> Thomas`s teachings had influenced the lives several royal dignitaries including the wife of King Mazdai of Mylapore. In proclaiming the Gospel, Thomas brought about the conversion and baptism of several prominent women, including Queen Tertia herself, and her son Vazan.<sup>6</sup> But, inspired by her conversion, the queen forsook the marriage bed. Her thoroughly provoked husband, despite many pleas, was unable to persuade her to end her puritanical resistance.<sup>7</sup>

The second wave of Christianity can be attributed to the coming of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. It began with the arrival of Vasco Da Gama in May 1498 when he reached Calicut on the Malabar Coast and managed to secure a letter of concession for trading rights from the Hindu ruler of Calicut, Zamorin. However, the arrangement did not last long due to the opposition from the Muslim traders of the area. (Frykenberg, 2008)

It was only in 1513 when the peace treaty between the Portuguese governor, Afonso de Albuquerque and Zamorin was signed that the Portuguese managed to establish a firm Portuguese state in India called “*Estado Da India*”, With a strong post in India began the inflow of Catholic missionaries into the hinterland of the subcontinent who later, were to play a significant role in the field of socio-religious sphere of the society. Thus a number of congregations started to enter India. First amongst these were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and later orders like the Carmelites, Capuchins, Oratorians, Theatines, etc. By far the most influential of all missionaries in India were the Society of Jesus, better known as Jesuits. This catholic congregation was formed by Francis Xavier. (Frykenberg, 2008)

The *Society of Jesus* was founded by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in 1534. It was a religious congregation of the Catholic Church which functioned from Spain. They opened schools and universities all over Catholic Europe. The first university opened by the Jesuits was in

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<sup>5</sup> Events leading to the martyrdom itself resulted from radical teachings that disrupted the marital relations of two royal officials; and then of the king himself.

<sup>6</sup> (Frykenberg, 2008), p. 97

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 97



Georgetown in 1789. At their pinnacle in around 1750, the Society of Jesus operated more than 500 colleges and universities inside Europe, somewhat 100 institutions in overseas colonies, and roughly 270 mission stations scattered around the globe.<sup>8</sup> The Indian mission of Society was led by Francis Xavier. Francis reached Goa in 1542. He visited a number of places in India to spread the word of the God and famously came to be known as the ‘missionary on the move’.

The third wave of Christianity and its evolution can be attributed to the formation of a new tradition within its fold. This new tradition was a result of a new of thinking which was emerging in Europe during the fifteenth century popularly known as the reformation.

The Catholic Church of the West was also in a degenerated situation in Europe. This decay was majorly in terms of corruption, ideological bankruptcy in the institution of the Church. The priests were busy in enjoying a luxurious life at the cost of common people.<sup>9</sup> Intellectuals like Martin Luther (1483-1546) and John Calvin (1509-1564) raised their voice against the evils prevailing in the church. Ideas of Luther and Calvin got popularity among the masses and a movement for reforms known as the **Reformation** emerged in Europe. The church instead of accepting the demand for reforms, responded with suppressive measures known as **Counter-Reformation**. Such measures further aggravated the situation leading to the Thirty Years of War (1618-1648) which was fought among the supporters and opponents of counter-reformation. The war ended with **Peace Treaty of Westphalia** in 1648 which resulted in the decline of the dominance of the Church. Further, it led to the rise of intellectuals and free thinkers in the society which now offered them and their ideas a new space. This brought in the **Age of Enlightenment** in Europe. The major outcome of this period was the demarcation between the Catholics and the Protestants.

The Protestants in line with the commandments of the **Great commission**<sup>10</sup> required that every single soul on earth should have a continuous access to the Word of God; and that each should be

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<sup>8</sup>Harris J. Steven, Jesuit Scientific Activity in the Overseas Missions, 1540–1773, p. 4

<sup>9</sup> For understanding Reformation in detail one can see Richard S. Mason’s A concise history of modern Europe, 2012

<sup>10</sup> During the Great commission (In Christianity, the **Great Commission** is the instruction of the resurrected Jesus Christ to his disciples to spread his teachings to all the nations of the world.) The twelve Apostles of Jesus were asked to ‘Go into the world and preach the Gospel’. The most renowned version of the Great Commission is in Matthew 28:16–20, here on a mountain in Israel, Jesus asks his followers to baptize every soul in the name of the

enabled to read in his/her mother tongue. The logic of this radical agenda was providing basic literacy, elemental numeracy and practical science.<sup>11</sup> New methodologies were designed to implement this vision. Unlike on the Catholics, it was an Obligation to educate the masses, so that the people around the world could read The Bible themselves. In Catholicism, a Priest was required for the interpretation of the Bible but, in Protestantism the followers could themselves read The Bible, interpret it and make a direct association with Jesus.

The new Christians who came to India after Reformation in Europe were the Protestants. Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, Benjamin Schultz and Johann Philip Fabricius carried this essence of both pietism and enlightenment cultures to India. (Frykenberg, 2008)

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg worked in Tranquebar(Tarangambadi)from 1706 to 1719. He enjoyed the confidence and support of Tamil Pundits. He and his successors strove to provide basic literacy for the common people and for the lowlier communities. Ziegenbalg mastered Tamil in both its classical and colloquial forms. He was the first scholar ever to complete a Tamil translation of the New Testament.

Names of at least seventy-nine successive missionaries who came to Tranquebar from Europe are recorded for the period from 1720 to 1840.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the next truly outstanding protestant missionary was Benjamin Schultz. He stayed in India for seventeen years. He worked in madras where he opened ‘an orphan school’ in Vepery. Schultz became one of the first European scholars to give serious attention to the study of Telugu language and literature. He also compiled a Telugu- German dictionary, a rudimentary Telugu grammar and Telugu translations of the Gospels.

Johann Philip Fabricius was the successor of Benjamin Schultz. He too worked in Vepery from 1740 to 1791. He took great efforts to enlarge the influence of the orphan school opened by Schultz. He produced a Tamil grammar in English, an English-Tamil dictionary and a new translation of both Old and the New Testament.

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Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. After that, the world was divided into different regions and Apostles were allotted to travel their respective region.

<sup>11</sup> (Frykenberg, 2008), p. 144

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 151

Christian Friedrich Swartz was a German Lutheran missionary in India. He reached Tiruchirapalli via Tranquebar. Tranquebar was for some time his headquarters, but he paid frequent visits to Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli. He finally moved to Tiruchirapalli in 1766, here he secured the friendship of local Raja Tulaji. Swartz worked with the king`s administration in different capacities. This was the time when the French and English were fighting a civil war in India. He was requested by the Raja to work as a military chaplain to take care of the wounded and disheartened from the war. He provided pastoral comfort to soldiers and sepoy of British East India Company, the Portuguese, Marathas in Deccan, the Mughals. Against his work he asked for establishment of seminaries and welfare of the common subjects. At many instance his request of waving of loans of the needy was considered by the king as commands. Swartz is also famous for his followers “shishyas” who travelled far and wide to help people. His works and deeds were made famous by these shishyas. Some of the noteworthy disciples were two gifted Vellalars- Sathyanathan Pillai and Nellaiyan Vedanayakam Pillai Sastriar, two courageous Nadars- Sundaranandam David of Tirunelveli and Maharasan Vedamanickam of Mayiladi in southern Travancore and a Brahman widow-Royal Clorinda.

### **Historiography of Missionaries activities in India**

The legacy of historiography has been the contribution of western tradition.<sup>13</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, westerners in lieu of their colonial activities began research in the interest of politics and economy.<sup>14</sup> Royal Asiatic society started by William Jones in 1784 was the first institutionalized form of such studies.<sup>15</sup> The objectives of such studies was to acquire a knowledge about the legal systems, revenue systems, resources and behavior of the people, their way of life etc., for better governance of the colonies.. Amongst the most towering colonial works are Max Muller`s Sacred Books of the East Series and Vincent Arthur Smith`s Early History of India (1904). These works carry certain generalizations. They perceived that Indians lacked a sense of history especially of the factor of time, chronology; etc Indians were accustomed to despotic rule and many other such generalizations. These generalizations were

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<sup>13</sup> Vidya Hadagali, Development of colonial historiography, p. 59

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 9

<sup>15</sup> Peter Lambert and Philip Scofield, Making History- An Introduction to the History and practices of the Discipline, Routledge, 2004, p.1

made to denigrate Indian character and justify colonial rule. (Ram Sharan Sharma, India's Ancient Past, 2004) They saw Indians as savages and produced a theory of being on a "civilizing mission" which meant that they are here to civilize the natives through their superior cultures which includes Christianity and western education.

In retaliation against such denigration the Indian nationalist scholars like Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade, Hemachandra Raychaudhari started writing against every possible thing related to the west. They were guided by the idea of Hindu revivalism. They pumped pride in Hindu cultures. Bal Gangadhar Tilak's starting of Shivaji festival was a manifestation of these ideas. This process boosted the confidence of Indians but it also paved the way for communalism.

Christianity and its mission activities are also not spared from this debate. The period of widespread diffusion of Christianity coincided with the development of colonialism on the Indian sub-continent. The co-relation of these two phenomenon raises several questions such as - *Did colonialism of the British Empire create and support Christianity and Christian mission's activities? Did Christianity directly or indirectly support colonialism? Did Christianity and its missionary activities prepare the way for colonial project of the British Empire? Did Christianity and mission activities identified themselves with the work of colonialism? Did the two phenomenons challenged or criticized each other?*

Some section of historians have pointed out that the two phenomenons were strongly linked to each other and are of the opinion that Christianity, since the 16<sup>th</sup> century has been an arm of Western Imperialism.<sup>16</sup> K. M. Panicker, in his book 'Asia and Western Dominance', describes Vasco Da Gama period in the following words "The captain general's ship flew on its mast a flag on which was painted a large cross of Christ and also carried cannon, symbols of the new power entering the East" (Panicker, 1959).<sup>17</sup> In the words of Brahmabandav Upadhyaya as noted by Dharamaraj "First comes the Missionary, and then comes the Resident, lastly comes the Regiment" (Dharamraj 1993).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> K. M. Panicker, Asia and Western Dominance, p. 34

<sup>17</sup> Pynhunlang NM Shullai, Colonialism, Christianity and mission activities in India: A post-colonial perspective, March-2017, p. 325

<sup>18</sup> Jacob S. Dharamraj, Colonialism and Christian Mission: Post-colonial reflection, 1993, Delhi

The British East India Company's primary concern was trade and commerce rather than religious activities. C. B. Firth commented that 'the company initially did not combine commerce and Christianity, as its religious interest was secondary but it was not reluctant in proselytizing activities' (Firth 2005).<sup>19</sup> Duncan B Forrester in his book 'Truthful Action: Exploration in Practical Theology' stated that 'the missionaries generally understood British rule as providential ordering, a sign of god's care for India rather than simply an opportunity for the making of individual converts.'<sup>20</sup> The opposition between the government's educational department and the missionaries has consistently been exaggerated.<sup>21</sup> In fact, British officers had themselves been brought up in a society in which the "powerful influence of an enveloping Christian culture in the formation of moral structures in society" was at play.<sup>22</sup>

On the other side of the spectrum, if one attempts to evaluate the Christian mission activities in India is in itself a Herculean task. For example, the accomplishment of Tranquebar missions and the administration rendered by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, Henry Plutschau and Christian Fredrick Swartz. They built up schools to empower the general population to peruse and compose. They set up Printing Press in 1712, distributed books and Tamil-German Lexicon.

William Carey along with Joshua Marshman and William Ward commonly known as *The Serampore Trio* settled at Serampore which had become a very successful mission. They founded Serampore College with Arts, Science, and Theology Department in 1818."<sup>23</sup> "Alexander Duff introduced Western Education and Science in English in Calcutta."<sup>24</sup> The missionaries in India had by 1851 founded 2007 schools and seminaries of Christian and general knowledge, which had as many as 79,259 pupils, as against 24,954 instructed by the government.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Pynhunlang NM Shullai, Colonialism, Christianity and mission activities in India: A post-colonial perspective, March-2017, p. 325-326

<sup>20</sup> Duncan B. Forrester, Truthful Action: Explorations in Practical Theology, 2000, The practice of mission, p. 217

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, Cambridge, 1995, p.5.

<sup>22</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, Delhi, 1998, p.65

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p. 331

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 331

<sup>25</sup> Narayan Sheshadri and John Wilson, *The Darkness and the Dawn in India: Two Missionary Discourses*, Bombay, 1853,p.68

Christianity since eternity has been a literary tradition, which means writing and circulation of texts have been along with it since the start. This has contributed to the development of immense corpus of literature. But, the literature has no linearity in itself, which is produced in different spatial and temporal zones. This makes the whole system of Christianity more vibrant and problematic. A lot of work has been done by only focusing at the works of missionaries. Robert Eric Frykenberg in his dissertation argues that The Raj itself was an "Indian Organization" Since it was intervened and in like manner adjusted, deciphered, modified and some of the time at any point gutted by the Indian Dubashes(Bilinguals or mediators) who were utilized by the English to execute its capacities.<sup>26</sup> Danna Agmon in her paper "Conflicts in the context of conversion: French Jesuits and Tamil Religious Intermediaries in Madurai, India" tries to locate the importance of the Indian catechists. She writes that the catechists are mentioned only in passing and only in positive terms but Danna argues that the relationship between Jesuits and catechists should be understood as both central to the Jesuit experience in India and as one in which the missionaries exhibited a muted anger towards the catechists. On the other hand, the catechist labor was also very crucial for the success of the mission. The social access and linguistic mediation granted by the catechists was indispensable to missionaries. Without catechists, access to local communities was either denied or strictly limited.

Frykenberg`s line of thought first of all moves away from missionaries-centered research work and secondly, it takes a step ahead arguing about the Indigenous growth of Christianity to argue that the British Raj was also an Indian Institution. Frykenberg while moving far from teachers focused approach is more open to gaining from reluctant Christian researchers. Frykrnberg`s methodological way to deal with Indian Christianity is like that was spearheaded by Andrew Dividers (and later promoted by Lamin Sanneh) with regards to Africa. As Walls may said, with assention from Frykenberg "The Christianization of India likewise involved the Indianization of Christianity."<sup>27</sup>

Gauri Vishwanathan in her book "Marks of conquest: Literary study and British Rule in India", attempts to use the idea of "Cultural Hegemony" of Antonio Gramsci to understand the development of Christianity and missionary activities in India. She argues that Imperialism

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<sup>26</sup> Chad M Bauman, Indian Christian Historiography from Below, from Above, and in Between, 2011, pg-622

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pg-623

would have been incomplete and short-lived until it is rooted in higher culture which was Christianity and English Education. Frykenberg is also putting up a similar kind of subaltern history by using the “bottom up approach”, the difference between Frykenberg and Vishwanathan is that he is not using any kind of “master-narrative”. On the other hand, Frykenberg himself has been accused of perpetuating his own master narrative (Chad M. Bauman, 2011).

Jeffery Coxx in his book “Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and colonial power in india(1818-1940),” in chapter “The Providentialist Master Narrative”, argues that researchers like Frykenberg exaggerate the qualification amongst ministers and majestic "military officers, dealers and researchers" and by doing as such they make less noticeable the numerous manners by which missionaries were embroiled in frameworks of magnificent compulsion and control.<sup>28</sup> Jeffery Coxx argues that an overemphasis on Indian Christians and procedures of "indigenization" winds up disguising critical manners by which "missionaries and Christian changes over alike cooperated to concoct another type of Christian character, one that can't be comprehended in the event that one depends too vigorously on the paired names Indigenous and foreign.<sup>29</sup>

Chad M. Bauman in his 2011 paper “Indian Christian Historiography from Below, from Above and in Between” opines that “if Frykenberg`s research and that of those who were influenced by him helped swing the pendulum of Indian Christian historiography away from missionaries and towards Indian Christians themselves, then research like Jeffery Coxx`s Imperial Fault lines, which provides a thoughtful analysis of Western missionaries at work in British India, may swing it back again to a more fruitful equilibrium”.<sup>30</sup>

Richard Fox Young in his work “Empire and Misinformation” strikes this kind of balance. He consolidates Frykenberg`s enthusiasm for both Indian pioneer and Indian Christian history, and shows the capability of Frykenberg`s Bottoms-up approach to contest "historiographies that

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, pg-623-624

<sup>29</sup> Jeffery Coxx, Review of Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868-1947, by Chad M. Bauman, American Historical Review 115, no. 2(2010), pg-527

<sup>30</sup> Chad M. Bauman, Indian Christian Historiography from Below, from Above, and in Between, 2011, pg-624

portray the creation of colonial knowledge as though it were made in England, forced from above, and latently acknowledged..

Daniel Jeyaraj, Avril Powell center around the reliance of missionaries and Indian Christians in Tranquebar, crafted by a Muslim change over, Abd al-Masih related with the Church Missionary Society in Agra, and the way that the to a great extent upper-position Hindu intellectuals who trained Indian dialects to teachers affected preacher understandings of "Hinduism". John C. B. Webster in his book "A Social History of Christianity: North-west India since 1800", shares Frykenberg's repugnance for the dialect of postcolonial hypothesis and subaltern investigations; while there is in this book a lot of sharp perception, there is next to no hypothesis to be sure Webster's book is really a provincial history. He says that Regional history perceives that "Christianity capacities fundamentally at the neighborhood and territorial levels," and that "national advancements" have "distinctive provincial effects and reactions. In the meantime," local history powers the student of history to move past the historical backdrop of a specific Christian mission, establishment, or sort of work . . . keeping in mind the end goal to pick up a dream of Christianity all in all inside a particular area.<sup>31</sup> Profundity and thoroughness are regularly inconsistent objectives. Regional history can offer the most ideal approach to accomplish a decent measure of both in the same time". The district broke down in Webster`s book incorporates a large portion of what today lies between India's Delhi and Pakistan's Peshawar.

“A Social History of Christianity” as the title suggests, a social history, and Webster's methodological decision gets from his feeling that the "internal dynamics" of the Christian people group "have been molded much more by social and political substances than by missionary designs’.<sup>32</sup>

The awesome quality of Webster's social history is the way it delineates the Indian Christian people group in discussion with social and political improvements of the time. A considerable lot of the most huge of these advancements needed to do with British dominion, so the relationship

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid, Pg-627

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, pg-627



of missionaries and Indian Christians to British directors and their strategies figures conspicuously in the book.<sup>33</sup>

In *Imperial Fault Lines*, Cox charges Webster's prior content, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India* (Delhi: MacMillan of India, 1976), of sustaining, alongside crafted by Frykenberg, the "Providentialist master narrative. Be that as it may, significantly more than in "The Christian Community and Change", in "A Social History of Christianity" Webster goes to nearly to the differing and changing connections of teachers and supreme authorities, concentrating on the ascent and inevitable decrease (after 1880) of what Stanley Brush has called the "Fervent Entente" amongst preachers and zealously disapproved of royal managers" Webster is additionally commendably mindful to the impacts of more nearby and inward advancements on the Indian Christian people group (and the other way around), and this mindfulness offsets his worry with British imperialism.

M. A. Laird in his 1972 book "Missionaries and Education in Bengal (1793-1837)" discusses about the English Mission in Bengal and the Scottish mission in Bengal. In describing the English mission he makes a comparison between England and India on the aspects of education and religion. Efforts taken in the field of education by the missions are discussed in two chapters where he makes a comparative analysis of four major centers of missionary work in Bengal viz. Chinsura, Burdwan, Calcutta and Serampore. He also dedicates two respective chapters discussing about the education been imparted to boys and girls in respective schools.

In the chapters on Scottish mission to Bengal, Laird starts with a comparison of Education culture between England and Scotland. He elaborates on how the differences have interplayed in their respective missionary activities. Amongst the Scottish missionary he discusses details around Alexander Duff in Bengal.

Koji Kawashima in his 1998 book "Missionaries and a Hindu State Travancore (1858-1936)" describes about the Mission activities in Travancore state. He explains how Travancore state was different from other places because Travancore was a pious Hindu state. He takes up different chapters on Education, Medicine. In the chapter on Education, he talks about the changing

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, pg-630

relations between the Travancore Government and the missionaries relating to different policies on elementary education and education of the lower castes in Travancore.

Hayden J. A. Bellenoit in his 2007 book “Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920” takes up the region of North India. The book extensively deals with all the aspects of mission and the government. The book starts from 1860 in North India which corresponds to the period when the region had gone through the revolt of 1857. The memory of the revolt was fresh and the government and the missionary had to be very conscious about the policies they were trying to implement. He argues that after the revolt the government is facing acute financial crisis which makes a case for the missionaries to work in the field of education.

### **PROTESTANTS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION AND THE CHARTER ACT OF 1813**

Missionaries were travelling all over the world to spread the word of the Jesus. In India, the English India Company did not support nor allow the entry of missionaries on the subcontinent till the enactment of Charter Act of 1813. The Court Of Directors were afraid that missionary activities will disturb the social fabric in India which will further have ramifications on peaceful commercial activities of the Company.

“English literature came to India with the passing of the Charter Act of 1813. This Charter Act renewed the East India Company's Charter for commercial operations in India and produced two major changes in Britain's role with respect to its Indian subjects: one was the assumption of a new responsibility towards 'native' education, and the other was a relaxation of controls over missionary work in India”.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the most prestigious institutions in higher education are Protestant ones like The Madras Christian College built in 1839, St. John's college in Agra built in 1850, Sarah Tucker College at Palayamkottai, 1866, St. John's, Palayamkottai, 1878, St. Stephen's, Delhi organized in 1881, The Christian Medical College at Ludhiana built in 1894, and at Vellore in 1918. By 1931, the Lindsay Commission appointed by the British administration reported that most of the part of Christian institutions heavily influenced the Indian educational scenario in the nineteenth century

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<sup>34</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, "Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India, 1813-1854," *Social Text*, no. 19/20, autumn, 1988, p. 86.

and not just with respect to the greatness of their instructive exercises yet in addition as to the western thoughts and qualities taught through education. From the 1870s the Christian Protestant missions were serious in attempting to impact the learned person, religious and political arousing of the informed Indian on the supposition that triumphant over the scholarly people and high ranks was the best technique to achieve the possible change of India in general<sup>35</sup>

The proposed study is divided into three chapters excluding Introduction and conclusion. The introduction has already dealt with the historiography of Christianity in India and a historical narration of the coming of Christian missions to India. First chapter deals with the Old Perspective in the understanding of Christian missionary activities and how it has become redundant in the present context. This chapter also presents a New perspective to Christian missionary activities in India which makes these activities relevant in terms of educating the marginalized sections like Dalits, Tribals and Women. This theory of Old Perspective and New Perspective is adapted from eminent Historian of education Parimala V. Rao work on education.

The second and the third chapter are in some ways comparative to each other. The coming of the East India Company gave an employment opportunity to the Scottish officers and Scottish missionaries. In most of the previously done works the Christian missionary works are taken in a homogenous form. But, the officers employed by in the services of the Company were of different origins. Here we are discussing about officers from England and Scotland. The officers were trained through different types of education system prevalent in their respective countries viz. England and Scotland. These differences in training and educational background are also seen in their methods. The methods chosen by the English missionaries and the Scottish missionaries brought difference in the outcomes of their work. These outcomes are discussed in chapter two and chapter three. Both the chapters also talk about education system catered in both the countries and how they were influenced by the ideas of enlightenment.

The conclusion to the study tries to contextualize the study. The relevance of the study is dealt here as the repercussions of the Old perspective which still disturbs the peace of the Indian subcontinent and opens up debates which takes the progress backwards. The development of the

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<sup>35</sup> Rudolf C. Heredia, *op. cit.*, pp. 2334-2335.

society and economy are taken for granted in the name of such redundant debates needs to be thrown out of the window now.

## Chapter I

### Perspectives and Contestation of Colonialism and Missionaries in British India

This chapter is divided into two sections namely 'Old perspectives' and 'New perspectives'. These two sections are dealing with how the debates on Christian missionaries are viewed and the location of the author from where he is putting such argument. This will be the old perspective. In second part of the chapter i.e. 'New perspective', the researcher has argued that, why the debates discussed in Old Perspectives have become redundant. In addition, the researcher has tried to draw attention to the real questions which need to be answered through history writing, instead of writing a history which is not even factual correct and where a facts are searched to satisfy a theory. In 'old perspective' two important debates has been discussed. The debates are **known as** "Christianity an Arm of Empire"<sup>36</sup> and the second one is whether the Christian Missionaries are trying to establish a "Cultural Imperialism"<sup>37</sup> or "Cultural Hegemony"<sup>38</sup>?

This section will deal with the analysis of two works to understand the field of education in India and the works of missionaries. These are Martin Carnoy's 1974 book 'Education as cultural imperialism' and Gauri Vishwanath's 1989 book 'Masks of Conquest: literary study and British rule in India'. Martin Carnoy in his work attempts to prove that the educational activities during the colonial period were an arm of imperialism which was used to condition native people. Whereas Gauri Vishwanathan uses the theory of cultural hegemony and tries to fit it according to Indian context so as to portray education as a tool for cultural subordination of the natives.

These two old debates are very necessary to understand interaction of missionaries' in India. Further it can help us to figure it out the contribution of missionaries' to Indian society at large. It is in this context this chapter has placed the so called 'old perspective' first. After that, the chapter has discussed the fallacy of the 'old perspective' and needed of a fresh look-out to the

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<sup>36</sup> Ian Copland, Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, C.1813-1858, The Historical Journal, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Dec., 2006), pp. 1025-1054, Cambridge University Press, p.1023

<sup>37</sup> Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, David McKay Company Inc., New York, 1974

<sup>38</sup> Gauri Vishwanathan, Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India, faber and faber, London, 1989

contribution of missionaries' and the perspective or the vantage point that emerged from discussion is known as 'new perspective'.

## **1. Old Perspective:**

### **1.1 Expansion of Colonies**

It used to be said that modern European imperialism was actuated by a quest for 'God, Gold and Glory'. The inaccurate translation of this phrase is 'to work for God i.e. spread Christianity, do business or trade and earn wealth i.e. gold and lastly bring glory to the nation or state they represent.' Where the flag went, another metaphor proclaimed, the cross was never far. Some scholars have seen that, would it be able to be just an incident that this major worldwide missionaries' activity happened amid a time of excited European political and financial assertion, a period that saw a noteworthy piece of the land surface of the planet fall under European and American sway?

On the off chance that the loss of the North American provinces 'embedded in British governments a stamped hatred to the obtaining of new pioneer duties', this view had inadequate impact on post 1783 advancements on the 'supreme boondocks' in India, which kept on growing significantly in clear rebellion of the self-preventing provisos from claiming Pitt's India Act. Call this casual or 'facilitated commerce' government maybe, the truth is that the year instantly following the catastrophe in America saw not just vast acquisitions of region by the East India Company in the subcontinent, yet in addition vital acquisitions by the Company in Malaya and the beginnings of white settlement in Australia. It was the same story in China after 1840 and in the Pacific after 1870. Here too, missionary expansion and political expansion appear to have gone hand in hand.

Some respected scholars of the Protestant missionary enterprise, such as Brian Stanley, remain skeptical about this development. Yet it is difficult to accept Stanley's assertion that no 'plausible connection' can be established between the export overseas of Protestant missionary evangelism and 'trends in British colonial policies'. In fact, there is this two connection, largely synchronous, and, at least in the eyes of contemporaries, allied. But what was the nature of their connection? Did the missionary societies help to drive imperial expansion, or did they merely take advantage

of it better to pursue their ultimate goal of saving souls? That is the issue which continues to exercise the minds of historians. A recent analysis of missions in India by Susan Visvanathan concludes: 'The conversion of the East to Christ ... was a major political plank for imperialism.'<sup>39</sup> The old argument that evangelism consciously served empire has been replaced by one that holds that relations between church and state on the frontier were characteristically 'temporary, grudging, self-interested' and that the two were as likely to undermine each other as they were to provide mutual support.<sup>40</sup>

## **1.2 Christianity in India:**

Christianity came to India in roughly three waves in three different times. First was the coming of Thomas in AD 52. His activities of conversion led to the growth Thomas Christians or Syrian Christians then comes the Catholic Christians and at last the Protestants. As such it is equally significant to understand these traditions in order to comprehend the true nature and evolution of Christianity in the Indian context. The period of widespread diffusion of Christianity coincided with the development of colonialism on the Indian sub-continent. The co-relation of these two phenomenon raises several questions such as, Did imperialism make and bolster Christianity and its mission's exercises? Did Christianity bolster imperialism? Did Christianity and its main goal set up the route for expansionism? Did Christianity recognize itself with the reason for imperialism? Did the two wonder battles or scrutinize each other? A few antiquarians have voiced out doubt that these two wonder' are emphatically connected and are of the supposition that Christianity, since the sixteenth century has been an 'arm of Western Imperialism'. K. M. Panicker, in his book 'Asia and Western Dominance', describes Vasco Da Gama period in the following words "The captain general's ship flew on its mast a flag on which was painted a large cross of Christ and also carried cannon, symbols of the new power entering the East" (Panicker, 1959).<sup>41</sup> In the words of Brahmabandav Upadhyaya (1899) as quoted in Dharamaraj "First

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<sup>39</sup> Susan Visvanath, 'The homogeneity of fundamentalism: Christianity, British colonialism and India in the nineteenth century', *Studies in History*, 16 (2000), p. 227.

<sup>40</sup> Andrew Porter, 'Religion and empire: British expansion in the long ninet of Imperial and Commonwealth History', 20 (1992), p.376-7

<sup>41</sup> Pynhunlang NM Shullai, 'Colonialism, Christianity and mission activities in India: A post-colonial perspective', March-2017, pg-325

comes the Missionary, and then comes the Resident, lastly comes the Regiment” (Dharamraj: 1993).<sup>42</sup>

The British East India Company’s essential concern was exchange and trade as opposed to religious exercises. C. B. Firth remarked that 'the organization at first did not join business and Christianity, as its religious intrigue was optional yet it was not hesitant in converting exercises' (Firth 2005). Duncan B Forrester in his book ‘Truthful Action: Exploration in Practical Theology’ stated that ‘the missionaries generally understood British rule as providential ordering, a sign of god’s care for India rather than simply an opportunity for the making of individual converts.’<sup>43</sup> The opposition between the government’s educational department and the missionaries has consistently been exaggerated.<sup>44</sup> In fact, British officers had themselves been brought up in a society in which the "powerful influence of an enveloping Christian culture in the formation of moral structures in society" was at play.<sup>45</sup>

### **1.3 Interaction with Missionaries’**

On the other side of the spectrum, if one attempts to evaluate the Christian mission activities in India is in itself a Herculean task. For example, the success of Tranqbar missions and the service rendered by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, Henry Plutschau and Christian Fredrick Swartz. They established schools to enable the people to read and write. They set up Printing Press in 1712, published books and Tamil-German Dictionary.<sup>46</sup> William Carey along with Joshua Marshman and William Ward commonly known as *The Serampore Trio* settled at Serampore which had become a very successful mission. They founded Serampore College with Arts, Science, and Theology Department in 1818.<sup>47</sup> Alexander Duff introduced Western Education and Science in English in Calcutta.<sup>48</sup> The missionaries in India had by 1851 founded 2007 schools

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<sup>42</sup> Jacob S. Dharamraj, *Colonialism and Christian Mission: Post-colonial reflection*, 1993, Delhi

<sup>43</sup> Duncan B. Forrester, *Truthful Action: Explorations in Practical Theology*, 2000, The practice of mission, pg-217

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, Cambridge, 1995, p.5.

<sup>45</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, Delhi, 1998, p.65

<sup>46</sup> Pynhunlang NM Shullai, *Colonialism, Christianity and mission activities in India: A post-colonial perspective*, 2017, pg 331

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, pg-331

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, pg-331



and seminaries of Christian and general knowledge, which had as many as 79,259 pupils, as against 24,954 instructed by the government.<sup>49</sup>

Christianity since eternity has been a literary tradition, which means writing and circulation of texts have been along with it since the start. This has contributed to the development of immense corpus of literature. But, the literature has no linearity in itself, which is produced in different spatial and temporal zones. This makes the whole system of Christianity more vibrant and problematic.

### **1.3.1 Missionaries' as Arm of Imperialism:**

Martin Carnoy in education as cultural imperialism further constructs the story of perpetual division of the colonizer-colonized based on European/non-European dichotomies. He argues that it is 'colonised knowledge' which perpetuates 'the myth' that 'schooling has served the poor to succeed'.<sup>50</sup> He further argues that, the farmer's or artisan's son who gets some schooling and then goes to work in the factory has available to him goods that were not available on the farm or village: lots of people, movies, modern clothes, and the very small possibility of getting a high-paying job. But, the son also gives up control over his time and the social conditions that surround him.... [T]he son, thanks to schooling and migration to the city, has increased his choice of some goods but has also become dependent on working and social condition set by others and out of his control.<sup>51</sup>

Such an construct of a rural society is far from reality. In a highly stratified caste society like that of India, has any untouchable, marginalized peasant, agricultural labourer or artisan in a village control over his time? And more importantly good, would he like to live in perpetuity in such degrading social and economic conditions that surround him? The answer is an emphatic 'No'.

Carnoy thus begins the analysis of Indian education: '[I]n the mercantile period of European imperialism (1500 to 1780), ... the British east India company created Moslem colleges to elicit

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<sup>49</sup> Narayan Sheshadri and John Wilson, *The Darkness and the Dawn in India: Two Missionary Discourses*, Bombay, 1853, p.68

<sup>50</sup> Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, New York: Longman, 1974, p.3 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, *New perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi; Orient Blackswan, 2014, p. 7

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14. As cited in Parimala V. Rao, 2014, p. 7

the cooperation of the Moslem elite. The colleges were then used to develop elites loyal to European values and norms'.<sup>52</sup> He also states that, 'the Indian society in the sixteenth century was headed by the Moslem absolute monarchy of the Moghul Empire'.<sup>53</sup> Considering the Mughal emperor to be the leader of the Indian society is too far-fetched. Also, the east India Company did not set up any Muslim college until 1780. The first Muslim college, the Calcutta Madarssa, was established by Warren Hastings in 1781. Carnoy argues that 'Hastings actively encouraged Brahminism as a means of breaking the Mughal power'.

The main thesis of Carnoy's book is that schools have been used as cultural tools by imperialistic nations to subjugate people in the Third World and weaker members in their own societies to the interests of the powerful.<sup>54</sup> Carnoy argued that, the education system in India was engineered in such a way that, they control Indian subcontinent and makes the natives to depend upon on Britain. Orientalist phase gave native elites their native colleges under British control. When capitalists began to gain control of the British government at home and to change the role of India in its relation to the metropole, the educational system changed as well: for Indians to become consumers of British goods and to become more capitalistic required a reconstructed educational system based on British values and norms. The anglicist policy was implemented in India: Indians were to be taught in English. There was resistance to this policy at first because of deep-seated traditions. To recruit in low level bureaucrats in British India they demanded English trained Indians.<sup>55</sup> The English higher education system was rapidly with the imposition of new social structure. At the same time, however, primary schooling was neglected. In colonial India, Britisher design education to achieve in total control of India, what they term as "development."<sup>56</sup> In the first chapter, he defined the focus of the book as an exposition of how schools have functioned in western, industrialized societies and in those countries they colonized

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 21-22. As cited in Parimala V. Rao, 2014, p. 7

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 84. As cited in Parimala V. Rao, 2014, p. 7

<sup>54</sup> Jan Currie, *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de la Pensée Éducative*, Vol.9, No. 3 (December, 1975), pp. 217-219, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, p.1

<sup>56</sup> Jan Currie, *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de la Pensée Éducative*, Vol.9, No. 3 (December, 1975), pp. 217-219, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, p.84.

during the past two hundred years or so. (In his work, he does not adequately differentiate between schooling and education and uses the terms interchangeably.)<sup>57</sup>

He argues that education was used to colonize the mind`s of the people. He further argues that Schooling and educational policy are thus instruments for the legitimating and maintenance of power in the hands of a few nations and in the "ruling bourgeois" elites within those nations. Schools channel youth into status and word related parts in ways that help the legacy of benefit from age to age, both actualized and legitimized by tests, evaluations, and testaments constantly twisted for the offspring of the decision tip top. In the meantime, the schools colonize the brains of understudies to acknowledge assignments of inadequacy or prevalence that serve the industrialist class framework.<sup>58</sup>Carnoy examines schools and schooling by comparing myths with empirical evidence supplied by current social scientific investigation. Thus, his thesis emerges: "We argue that far from acting as a liberator, Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperialist domination."<sup>59</sup>

Government is be described theoretically via Carnoy as "... a cognizant exertion of the prevailing class in numerous nations to impact and control other nations' economies for the monetary and political pick up of the ruling force. " Applied to the issue of instruction, the creator discusses tutoring as the primary procedure by which the colonizer instills the colonized for parts suited to the political, social, and monetary needs of the colonizer. Carnoy's intermittent accentuation on instruction as a particularly industrialist instrument to ensure a foundation, to look after request, and to empower diligent work at unobtrusive pay among the individuals from a populace makes odd perusing in this day and age.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Jan Currie, *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de la Pensée Éducative*, Vol.9,No. 3 (December, 1975), pp. 217-219, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, p.1

<sup>58</sup> Mary Jean Bowman, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Jul., 1976), pp. 833-841,The University of Chicago Press, p.1

<sup>59</sup> Thomas Wiggins, *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Autumn, 1975), pp. 524-526, American Educational Research Association, p.3

<sup>60</sup> Mary Jean Bowman, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Jul., 1976), pp. 833-841,The University of Chicago Press, p.3

Endeavors to attract on exact confirmation to help so clearing a hypothesis as Carnoy embraces (or it's inverse) appear to be unavoidably to keep running on two primary tracks: (1) evaluations of inspirations or of goal in the plan and usage of instructive strategies and (2) appraisals of the real societal impacts of instructive frameworks and their tasks. The issues brought up for Carnoy by these issues of impacts and purpose are settled most effectively for his first exact cases—instances of customary expansionism, where there is immediate mediation by a financially and militarily intense nation in a powerless one. It is sufficiently simple to appear, for instance, that British colonizers intentionally sought after an approach of teaching indigenous people to fill in as middle people for the foundation and upkeep of British control and British culture. Moreover, couple of educated individuals would deny another essential (fractional) truth in the affirmations of radical essayists: Missionaries and different reformers regularly were utilized as a part of part as handmaidens of entrepreneur mastery under conventional expansionism, notwithstanding when they were not likewise colonized mentally to recognize their standards with the interests of the decision common of the metropole. Be that as it may, there are opposite actualities: training liberates men to wind up free scholars and pioneers; this perfect characterized a portion of the instructive preachers of pilgrim times; and pioneers were taught in "English" schools to beliefs of law based self assurance (and popularity based participatory political majority rule government); enlistment to provincial schools frequently was open. To call this "social government" is a certain something; to distinguish it with various leveled industrialist control and hostile to majority rule government is another

In the time of customary imperialism, advancements were less mind boggling, and creation associations were not all that huge in scale. Moreover, dangerous populace increments were just start to rise. Neither of these improvements, in populace or in size of creation, can be ascribed specifically to free enterprise expecting that we recognize private enterprise with showcase economies, which is as close as I can come to distinguishing Carnoy's significance of the term. Certainly, entrepreneur society delivered the essential learning and systems in general wellbeing and sanitation that have brought down death rates and that undergird the populace blast. Creation advances and association in substantial scale undertaking have portrayed industrialist improvement in the twentieth century, however collectivized economies are much more

organized to extensive scale movement and frequently on a fundamental level demoralize activity among little enterprisers.

His argument is very appealing, but it is less than convincing to any except the naive, disillusioned utopianists who fail to criticise even the most unscholarly generalisations that the author renders. His thesis throughout these historical case studies is that western formal education came to the Third World and to the poor and powerless not as a liberator, but as part of imperialist domination does not fully recognise the two-edged sword that schooling can be, for it not only can be used as a means of socialisation (or, to employ Carnoy's terminology, as an instrument of colonisation or cultural imperialism), but it often can result in an urge by individuals to question the status quo, to change their situation of dependence (and in this case, it truly "educates" them). These unintended consequences, although referred to by Carnoy, are neither well-defined nor

He occasionally mentions that there are some other functions of schools, besides the subjugation of people to the interests of the powerful, such as social mobility for the poor and the possibility that schooling may contribute to dissent and original thinking — but he argues that these are not the primary purposes.<sup>61</sup>

*Even if one accepts the premise that schools condition, train and indoctrinate their clients into docility by suppressing their humanity, their critical faculties and their creativity, this seems a problematic area.*

He also asserts that educators and social scientists have misled the Third World into believing that education will improve the individual morally and materially and provide him with upward mobility. He goes on to suggest that, not only those in the Third World, but also those in the western world have been tricked by historians and social scientists into a certain interpretation of history

He informs us that the real moving forces of history are not people and their ideas, but social and economic factors; and Marx, is he not a western social scientist? and what about Dürkheim and Weber, Anderson and Foster? The sociologists of education have been telling us for years that

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<sup>61</sup> Jan Currie, *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de la Pensée Éducative*, Vol.9, No. 3 (December, 1975), pp. 217-219, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, p.3

schools are merely reflections of society and not easily used as instruments of change. They have repeatedly pointed out that, if you want to change society, you should begin with restructuring the economic and social systems Carnoy has even quoted Foster in the previous chapter in a different context, but stating exactly the same maxim, that we need to examine "what goes on outside the schools rather than what goes on inside them"<sup>62</sup>

Another disturbing characteristic of Carnoy's writing is his penchant for generalisations. For example, in discussing education in Africa, he states "the children of domestic slaves and the poorest villagers were the first pupils in most missions".<sup>63</sup> The missionaries in Uganda set up primary and secondary schools to cater principally to chiefs' sons. It is possible that poor children were sent first to see if they would come back alive or unharmed, but after that, the poorest children were rarely found in schools unless they were granted scholarships. That societies are experiencing a tremendous convergence in the type of institutions that are developing in all parts of the world urbanised, bureaucratic, industrialized, credentialed, consumer-oriented appears to be true, but to assume that this is all a part of a grand plan designed by the elites of the dominant societies to keep the poor and the weak subjugated is hardly realistic Carnoy is an all around qualified business analyst, and he admits that his proposal is in no way, shape or form demonstrated. In any case, nobody perusing this book could figure that he had any ability in financial matters. Inquisitively, he shows none of the worry for proficiency and profitability that frequents leaders of communist social orders; effectiveness and efficiency are terrible words that Carnoy applies just to private enterprise.<sup>64</sup>

### **1.3.2 Missionaries as Cultural Hegemony**

Gauri Vishwanathan in her book "Marks of conquest: Literary study and British Rule in India", attempts to use the idea of "Cultural Hegemony" of Antonio Gramsci to understand the development of Christianity and missionary activities in India. She argues that Imperialism

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<sup>62</sup> Jan Currie, *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de la Pensée Éducative*, Vol.9, No. 3 (December, 1975), pp. 217-219, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, p.329

<sup>63</sup> Jan Currie, *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de la Pensée Éducative*, Vol.9, No. 3 (December, 1975), pp. 217-219, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, p.84

<sup>64</sup> Mary Jean Bowman, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Jul., 1976), pp. 833-841, The University of Chicago Press, p.5

would have been incomplete and short-lived until it is rooted in higher culture which was Christianity and English Education. But they use missionaries work as a medium of service and eventually they succeed.

She argues that, the second and more important influence in the thrust toward reform was exerted by a group of missionaries called the Clapham Evangelicals, who played a key role in the drama of consolidation of British interests in India. Among them were Zachary Macaulay, William Wilberforce, Samuel Thorton, and Charles Grant, and to these men must be given credit for supplying British expansionism with an ethics of concern for reform and conversion.<sup>65</sup> Unsuccessful with the earlier act of 1793 that renewed the company's charter for a twenty year period, the missionaries were more triumphant by the time of the 1813 resolution, which brought about the other major event associated with the Charter Act: the opening of India to missionary activity.<sup>66</sup> Although chaplains had until now been delegated by the East India Company to serve the requirements of the European populace living in India, the English parliament had reliably declined to alter the Company contract to permit teacher work in India. The primary explanation behind government obstruction was a dread that the tenants would feel undermined and in the long run reason inconvenience for England's business wanders. The rebellion at Vellore, close Madras, in 1806 was faulted for converting action in the territory. The dread of further demonstrations of threatening vibe on religious grounds developed so extraordinary that it incited a transitory suspension of the Christianizing mission Despite assurances by influential parliamentary figures like Lord Castlereagh that the Indians would be as little alarmed by the appearance of Christian ministers as "by an intercourse with the professors of Mahometanism, or of the various sects into which the country was divided"<sup>67</sup> the British government remained unconvinced that the Indians would not be provoked by interference with their religious beliefs.

The opening of India to educators, close by the devotion of the British to neighborhood change, may appear to propose a triumph for the pastors, encouraging them possibly to predict official help for their Evangelizing mission. Regardless, if they had such desires, they were to be plagued by the procedure with watches out for their activities, which turned out to be tremendously

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<sup>65</sup> Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, Delhi, 1998, p.36

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36

<sup>67</sup> Thomas B. Macaulay, "speech in the House of Commons, dated 2 Feb 1835,"

stringent. Openly, the English Parliament requested an assurance that substantial scale converting would not be done in India. Secretly, however, it required little influence about the particular points of interest that would spill out of teacher contact with the Indians and their "numerous indecent and disturbing propensities." Though speaking to a union of interests, these two occasions British inclusion in Indian training and the section of ministers were a long way from being correlative or commonly strong. Despite what might be expected, they were totally restricted to each other both on a basic level and truth be told. The innate limitations working on British instructive approach are clear in the focal inconsistency of an administration focused on the change of the general population while being controlled from conferring any immediate guideline in the religious standards of the English country. The consolation of oriental learning, seen at first as a method for satisfying the ruler's commitments to the subjects, appeared to complement as opposed to lessen the inconsistencies.. For as the British swiftly learned, to their dismay the Hindus and Muslims to the religious and moral tenets of their respective faiths a situation that was clearly not tenable with the stated goal of "moral and intellectual improvement."

Aside from the impact of defeating the dissemination of Christian standards, the irreconcilable situation between duties to Indian instruction on one hand to religious lack of bias on the other rendered the correspondence of current learning basically unthinkable. The impasse was made by what was seen to be the managing structure of mistake implanted in Hinduism, blocking guideline in present day science, history, and other exact orders. Since the learning of the west couldn't be granted specifically without appearing to alter the texture of indigenous religions, British managers were for all intents and purposes incapacitated from moving in either bearing.<sup>68</sup>

In the first stages of British involvement, prior to their accession to power, missionary work was actively encouraged. 88 under the military protection of the company, missionaries could get to know a geographic area more intimately and provide essential information about the social structure, culture, economic production, and trading habits of the people. They helped to legitimate foreign presence among the natives (demonstrating the superiority of Christianity). They were able to establish some point of contact with the land other than that of the court, a procedure necessary in building a firm base. Missionaries were the first people to try to learn the

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p.37



vernacular languages and to try to communicate directly with the people. They had the first printing presses, and set about translating the bible and other books into the native tongues, attempting to introduce a western perspective and religion to accompany their commercial counterpart.<sup>69</sup>

Much of the missionaries work was done in cities-instructing and serving the English community, getting to know the native Hindu and moslem elites, and exchanging the printed and spoken word.<sup>70</sup> In addition, they made direct attempts to convert natives to Christianity by working in the villages. Committing resources, manpower, and energy to seizing new lands and building huge trading operations overseas was not possible without the ideology of the “white man`s burden”, and it is missionaries and then reformist zeal most of all that confirmed this ideology.<sup>71</sup> The missionaries were the only Europeans at this time who were setting up schools directly for Indian children, using their native languages and also teaching them English “to facilitate dealings”. Up to 1770 the company was doing all it could to give protection to the missionaries and to assist them financially (help build and repair schools, provide personnel, etc.) and in other ways to advance their educational endeavors.

## **2. Drawback of Old Perspective:**

The most important fallacy of above discussed two book is that, its gives an one sided picture of the spectrum. It is also well known fact that, the conclusion drawing from an incident is based on the framework on which the conclusion has been drawn. So one can say it easily that, Carnoy and Viswanathan has given a very much one sided views of the missionaries. The pertinent question that both of them un/consciously avoided are the interpretation of a Hindu God, Ganesh that has been adopted by CMS. The CMS as a part of English missionaries, why they adopted a Hindu symbol for their record book? The image that represents the symbol of knowledge is one of the prominent icons in Hindu tradition. This implies that, there is a possibilities of looking missionaries’ activities beyond the “colonial perspective”. So it can give us a fresh look on

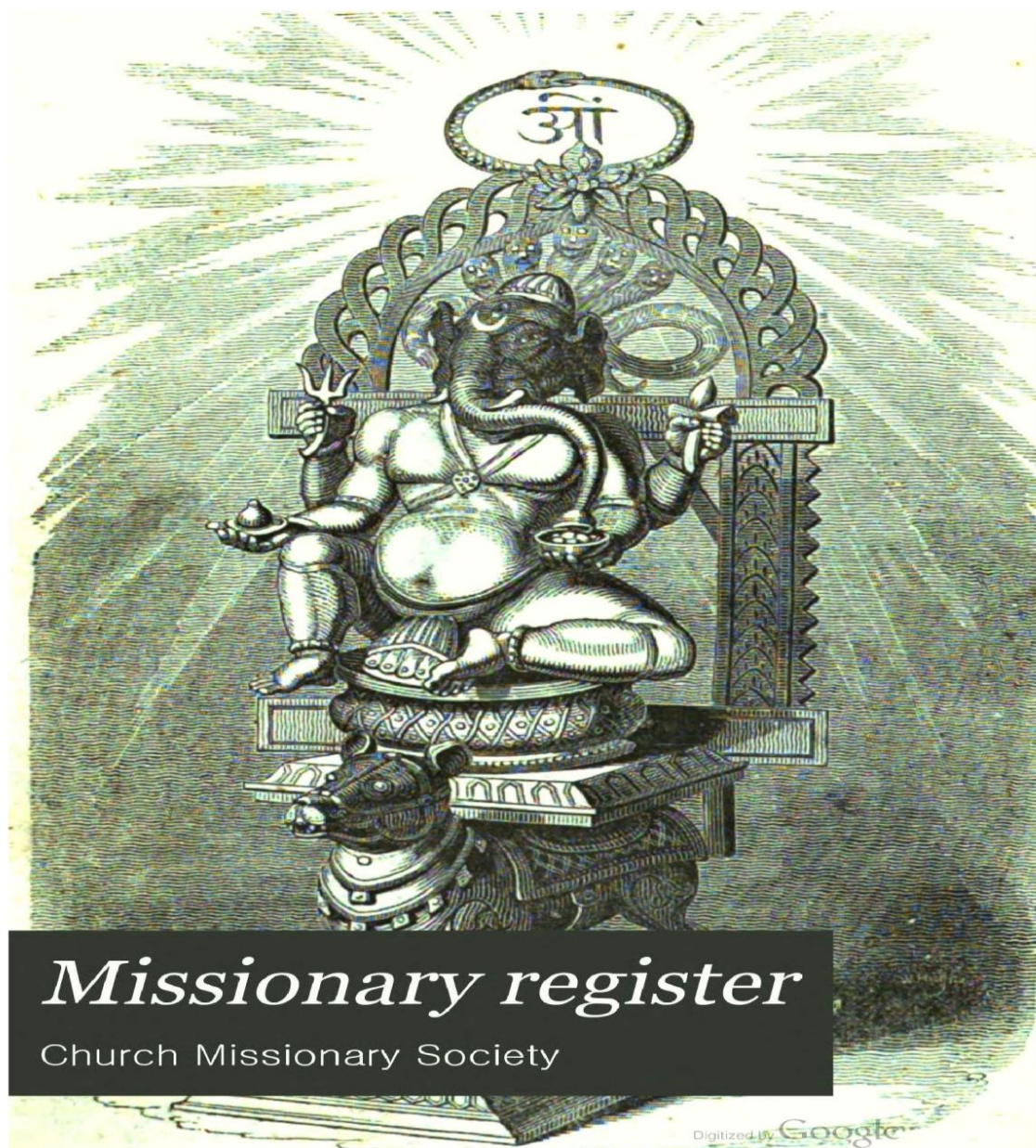
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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.88

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p.89

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p.89

various historical figures and events. In the following section and subsequent chapter(s) this necessities has been discussed in details.



### 3. New Perspectives

The need for ‘new Perspectives’ arises due to two important drawbacks in the ‘old perspectives’; namely, factual errors and a complete silencing of the voice of the truly oppressed. This calls for a complete silencing of the voice of the truly oppressed. The need for “new perspective” arises due to two important drawbacks in the old “old perspective”: namely, factual errors and complete silencing of voices of the truly oppressed. This calls for discarding fashionable theories and reverting back to actual history –writing, called narrative and chronological history. This type of history writing does not “create (a) past” to suit a theory. Such a history essentially presents factual accurate, chronologically documented historical events. This form of history is not an end itself, but forms the basis for further critical examination in historical research.<sup>72</sup> The second important reason for a New Perspective is the complete absence of the poor, women, untouchables and the lower castes in this saga of oppression perpetuated by the elitist old perspective.

The difficulties faced the marginalized and the oppressed have no geographical boundaries. Along with Dalits, women belonging to all castes were denied education in past two millennia. Once women got access to education in midst nineteenth century, how did they feel about their own position in Hindu society? These writers were educated in the most adverse of times, and that heightened their awareness of their own condition and injustice meted out to them by a patriarchal society. The inhuman practice of women infanticide in north, north-western and central India, supported by statistics, is a poignant reminder of how the status of a girl child has always been in India. In 1868, the ninety villages of Basti district in North-Western provinces and Oudh had 1204 boys as against 259 girls under the age of ten. Pandita Ramabai commented on that families killed newborn girls as easily as destroying a mosquito or other annoying insect.<sup>73</sup> Just as “Compulsory Education” questions the myth of nationalists fighting solely for national interest, Hayden Bellenoit’s “Education, Missionaries and the Indian nation, c. 1880-1920’ questions the modernist myth that Christian missionaries were instruments of colonial

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<sup>72</sup> Parimala V. Rao, *New perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi; Orient Blackswan, 2014 p.30

<sup>73</sup> Parimala V. Rao, *New perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi; Orient Blackswan, 2014 p.33

rule. Bellenoit argues that the missionaries viewed the Swedeshi Movement as an exercise in patriotism rather than a bellicose ‘anti-foreign movement’. Charlie Andrews actively supported the freedom movement.<sup>74</sup>

With this new perspective we can focused on the little known educational debates and education of the marginalized communities and women, contests the existing old perspective. By attempting to go beyond the existing binaries of understanding the colonizer and colonized, European and non-European and imperialist and anti-imperialist, or what Hobsbawn calls ‘comforting history’, it makes an effort to script a critical history. By bringing out these lesser known debates and educational developments, an effort has been made to, as Richard Aldrich emphasizes, ‘rescue from oblivion, those whose voice have not yet been heard and whose stories have not yet been told. Having discussed about limitations of structural location and possibilities of new hope of ray, the subsequent chapter(s) will gives a much more details on missionaries’ contribution to education in British India.

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<sup>74</sup> Parimala V. Rao, *New perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi; Orient Blackswan, 2014 p.37

## CHAPTER II

### Role of English missionaries in the field of Education

#### Introduction

This chapter will deal with the English missionaries working in the Bengal during the colonial period. These missionaries came from England and Wales. They came to spread the “word of the Jesus”. This chapter will firstly explain the background of these English missionaries which will help us develop an understanding about their activities in Bengal. Most important work by these missionaries was in the field of education.

Before the entry of the missionaries in Bengal vernacular elementary education was catered in *pathsala* schools which existed in most of the larger villages.<sup>75</sup> They taught reading, writing, arithmetic, accounts and some religious literature. The syllabus was very much adjusted to qualify the scholar for taking part in the real business of the local society.<sup>76</sup> The process of learning was very slow in these *pathsala* schools.<sup>77</sup> In this context we will analyze the work of the missionaries in Bengal.

#### 2.1 Education System in Britain and its Colonies:

In England, from where these missionaries came to Bengal, the education system engineered in such a way that it maintained status quo i.e. to uphold as well as perpetuate class system.<sup>78</sup> The power and renown of the English world class was 'approved' by training. The mechanical unrest and the extension of exchange and domain in the second 50% of the eighteenth century

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<sup>75</sup> William Ward, Reports on the State of Education in Bengal, 1835-8, p. 142-5

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 147

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 251

<sup>78</sup> Parimala V. Rao, Class, Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p.58

empowered the elites to utilize instruction as a device to strengthen their capacity and impact over society in Britain and the recently established states. In this way, for the lower classes instruction was 'dependably a hard battle.'<sup>79</sup> In the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries schools in England were classified into two categories' and those are elementary and grammar schools. The elementary schools variously known as charity schools and Sunday schools established by the church, attempted to give some literacy to the children of the poor.<sup>80</sup> In 1811, Church of England established 'Poor Schools' to cater the growing poor. These schools aimed to teach denominational Protestantism of the Church of England by emphasizing that 'the national religion ought to be made the establishment of national instruction and ought to be first and head thing educated to poor people'. The society declared that the aim of these schools 'is nothing less than preservation of national religion'.<sup>81</sup> The standard of education given in these schools was so limited that these children could not enter high Schools. Many of these schools considered teaching, writing and arithmetic as 'more dangerous' and even 'more harmful'. These schools aimed to discipline the children and inculcate in them the values to accept the existing hierarchal social structure. The boys who studied in these elementary schools could not enter the grammar schools, which were in fact the entry to universities.<sup>82</sup> The Grammar schools taught Greek, Latin and Mathematics, exclusively catered to the upper class elite boys.<sup>83</sup> The elite boys were trained to enter these Grammar schools through private tutors by respective families or through expensive and exclusive 'preparatory schools'.<sup>84</sup> So, one can say that, the education system in England and her colonies were carefully structured to maintain the superiority of the elite classes. This system of education was disadvantageous to the poor Englishmen entering the services of the East India Company as cadets and copiers. Most of them could not rise in administrative hierarchy, like Scots.

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<sup>79</sup> Philip Gardener, Literacy, learning and Education, in Chris Williams, A companion to nineteenth century Britain, Oxford:Blackwell, 2004, p. 353 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class, Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p.58

<sup>80</sup> H. J. Burgess and P.A. Welsby, A short history of national society,1811-1961, London, 1961, p.2 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class, Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p.58

<sup>81</sup> First annual Report of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church, London 1812, p. 5-6

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p.36.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p.46.

<sup>84</sup> H. J. Burgess and P.A. Welsby, A short history of national society,1811-1961,London, 1961, p.2 as cited in pvr, p.58

In both England and Bengal during the early nineteenth century many children received no education at all, but the available statistics indicate that the proportion which did not get education was much higher in the Bengal than in England.<sup>85</sup> In both the countries education was severely limited by social conservatism; the position framework guaranteed that Indian instruction ought to be basically professional preparing, with higher religious investigations restricted to the Brahmins; in England, the governing classes permitted their lower orders to read scriptures, but were still uneasy about writing and arithmetic.

## **2.2 English Missionaries and their work on Education:**

The missionaries who came to Bengal belonged to humble social backgrounds and in most cases their educational qualifications would have been meager indeed had it not been for the training that they received in their respective denominations or missionary colleges. At that time the usual missionary attitude towards non-Christian religions was one based on a literal understanding of Genesis. In which Adam was the ancestor of all mankind and he had originally worshipped God rightly, but since his fall, his descendants had deviated in various ways from the true religion.

### **2.2.1 Social Background of Missionaries:**

Missionary minded Christians were therefore ready to detect traces of God`s original revelation in Hinduism, but they believed that it had become hopelessly corrupted during the passage of time, and that it was for them, the ambassadors of the second revelation through Christ to lead non-Christians back to innocence. Evangelicals and high Churchmen both believed the Genesis. The difference between evangelicals and high churchmen was that evangelicals believed in personal turning to Christ while high churchmen believed only in baptism and confirmation into the Church of England. These evangelicals comprised the great majority of the missionaries in the nineteenth century Bengal.

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<sup>85</sup>M.A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837*, 1972, p. 47

William Carey was the greatest of all missionaries who reached Bengal. He reached Bengal in 1793. Carey was born at Paulerspury (Northamptonshire) in 1761. His father and grandfather were masters of the Anglican charity schools. He was fond of reading and was a keen observer of nature, and a weaver taught him Greek and Latin. He was apprenticed to a shoemaker at the age of fourteen. A few years later he joined the Baptists and became a minister to various small congregations, and had a brief and unsuccessful period as a master of a village school. After several years of rather precarious existence as cobbler, teacher, and minister in rural Northamptonshire he moved in 1789 to a new ministry in Leicester. Throughout these years, Carey was mastering foreign languages, for which he had great aptitude, widening his knowledge of geography, history and science, becoming possessed of the conviction that it was incumbent upon all Christians to strive with all their might for the conversion of the world. William Carey reached Calcutta in 1793. In Calcutta he was to operate openly as a missionary in the company's territories so he had to accept a position as superintendent of an indigo-plantation at Madnabati. In 1794 Carey opened his first school with a few local boys here. He taught them reading, writing, arithmetic, the local accounting system, and Christianity.<sup>86</sup> The kids were relied upon to figure out how to learn by heart basic questionings, bits of sacred text, and songs, which were at the same time utilized as activities in perusing and composing. The other important missionaries' was Joshua Marshman. He was born in 1768 at Westbury Leigh in Wiltshire; his father was a weaver and deacon in the local Baptist church. He received an elementary education in the village school. Like Carey, he was also largely self-taught beyond that level; he was also an omnivorous reader. In 1794 he was delegated ace of the rudimentary philanthropy school bolstered by the Broad mead Baptist church, Bristol, where he was permitted to squeeze out his compensation by giving a further developed training to private understudies. One of them was C.J. Rich, who, as the East India Company's occupant at Baghdad after 1808, explored the historical backdrop of Iraq and Kurdistan. Marshman's 'private theological school... climbed quickly openly estimation, and set him on the double in conditions of autonomy. Amid his stay in Bristol Academy in the city and one of the staunchest supporters of the mission-who allowed him to attend classes in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Syriac. Marshman thus gained experience as a teacher at both an elementary and a higher level before he sailed for Serampore in 1799, so he was not unqualified to assume the main responsibility for the educational work of the Baptist

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<sup>86</sup> J. C. Marshman, Carey, Marshman and Ward, I, 66-7; Embree, op. cit., 94. As cited in Laird, 1974



mission there. Marshman was in Serampore between 179-1826 and 1829-37. He assumed the main responsibility for education among the Trio. He was soon making for plans to widen the curriculum also.<sup>87</sup> In 1811 he introduced the monitorial system inspired from Lancaster and Bell. Carey's oldest child, William, who was then the preacher at Katwa and Richard Mardon at Gumalti (Malda locale) were encouraged to give uncommon consideration regarding the association of schools on this example in their regions:<sup>88</sup>

William Ward was another prominent English missionaries' to British India, born at Derby in 1769. His father was carpenter, and he himself was apprenticed to a printer, and about 1795 became the editor of the Hull Advertiser. He became a Baptist and went to Dr. Fawcett's Academy at Ewood hall, Yorkshire, where he studied classics and divinity; before his departure for Serampore in 1795. He was an assistant to Samuel Pearce, the minister at Birmingham, who had established some Sunday schools and taught the elements of science to the children of his congregation. He was in Serampore between 1799 to 1818 and 1821 to 1823.

Of the L.M.S. missionaries, Robert May was born at Wood-Bridge, Suffolk, in 1788; his father was a sailor, and his mother died when he was three. An 'aged relative' had him admitted to him to Sunday school attached to the local chapel, where he learnt to read the Bible. As a youth he entered a gentleman's service 'to take care of his horse, etc.', and later he became a teacher in a Sunday school, where he was 'happy and useful'. He decided to become a missionary and entered the Congregationalist Academy at Gosport, of which David Bogue was the tutor. Here he continued to teach part time and to preach to children, evidently with success—a practice which he continued during a year that he spent in the United States en route for India (1811-12). He had thus gained considerable experience as a teacher before he arrived in Bengal, though of somewhat limited kind. He was at Chinsura between 1812-18.

J.D. Pearson came from a slightly more elevated social background than most of the missionaries under consideration here. His father was a London merchant and Anglican. He left home of his liking for 'gospel preaching', worked in various mercantile offices, presumably as a clerk, and taught at and superintended Sunday schools, acquiring at the same time an admiration for

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<sup>87</sup> Baptist Missionary Society, from Marshman to Fuller, 1811 as cited in Laird, 1972, pp. 65

<sup>88</sup> Serampore Circular letters (1813), p.7.

monitorial system and eagerness to use it in mission schools overseas. He was at Chinsura from 1817-23 and 1826-31

Of the two Anglican chaplains<sup>89</sup> who played a major part in education in Bengal at the same time, Thomas Thomson was born at Plymouth in 1774; his father died when he was a year old, leaving the family in difficult circumstances. Nevertheless he was able to go to a private school at Greenwich, and ultimately to Cambridge. He became a fellow and assistant tutor of Queen's College in 1797- at that time the president of the College was Evangelical leader Isaac Milner, who was more than ready to promote likeminded young men- he lectured in Greek, Latin, and mathematics. He was also for a time of a curate of Stapleford, where his work included some teaching in parish; in this connection his biographer wrote 'his aptitude in teaching the young was unusual. Daniel Corrie was at Cambridge as an undergraduate, where he fell under Simon's influence. In 1802 he was ordained and became curate of Buckminster, Leicestershire. Corrie was in Calcutta from 1819 to 1834.

The English missionaries are distinct from the Chaplains- who contributed most of the development of education in Bengal in the early nineteenth century thus tended to come from working or lower middle class backgrounds. Several of them received some kind of formal secondary education, either in denominational seminaries or through tuition arranged by their missionaries society; others depended most entirely on their own private reading and study. Many of them had some teaching experience before they went to Bengal, Especially in Sunday schools. They were above all individualists-a faculty which was stimulated and directed by their Evangelical religion, and further nurtured by the spirit of the age of the Industrial Revolution into which they had been born. Missionary service was seen as a life of acute discomfort leading probably to a premature death in highest cause of all; also no doubt, subconsciously, as a means of bettering one's social position, of rising out the mass into the middle class. M.A.C. Warren has perceptively commented that the missionary movement was 'in part an expression of ...the social emancipation of the underprivileged classes- or at least of individual members thereof.'<sup>90</sup>

More Baptist missionaries arrived in Bengal in 1799; faced with the hostility of the Bengal government they took refuge in the Danish enclave of Serampore, they were William Ward and

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<sup>89</sup> Chaplains are appointed by the East India Company to minister to its servants in India.

<sup>90</sup>M. A. C. Warren, *Social History and Christian Mission*(London, 1967), p.37 as cited in Laird, 1972, p.41

Joshua Marshman. William Carey joined them in 1800 to form the “Serampore Trio”. They opened a Bengali primary school with forty young men at Serampore in 1800.<sup>91</sup> By September 1804 there were three schools in towns in Jessore locale and one at Dinajpur;<sup>92</sup> another was accordingly begun at Katwa, and in 1808 the mission assumed control five in Malda region.

According to the letters of Richard Mardon (a subordinate of the Trio), writes that the villagers were themselves repeatedly requesting for schools. Mardon says that, prior numerous villagers dreaded to lose position in the event that they went to the mission schools, however later they had understood that their feelings of dread are unwarranted. Also, they could take the instruction while they leave the Christianity.<sup>93</sup> In India, there have been instituted superstitions that by doing such works would lead to destruction of one’s caste like travelling across the sea, etc. But, on the other hand Mardon’s letter also shows that the demand for education was no less.

### **2.2.2 Serampore Trio in Bengal(1793-1837)**

First missionary to leave a lasting impact on the educational landscape of Calcutta was William Carey. William Carey reached Calcutta in 1793. He did not come as missionary, instead he came as a superintendent of an indigo plantation in Madnabati (village in Malda district) because of the ban on missionaries. In 1794, Carey opened his first school in the same district with a few local boys. He taught them reading, writing, arithmetic, the local accounting system and Christianity.<sup>94</sup> The children were expected to learn by heart simple catechisms, portions of scripture and hymns, which were simultaneously used as exercises in reading and writing. In 1795 Carey outlined his plan as-

“a plan for erecting two colleges(chow parries Bengalee)... in each of which we intend to educate twelve lads, six Musselmen, and six Hindoos: a Pundit is to have the charge of them, and they are to be taught the Shanskrit, Bengalee and Persian languages. The Bible

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<sup>91</sup>National Library of Wales. MS. – J. Chamberlain to Sutcliffe, 27 November 1805 as cited in Laird,1972 pp. 64.

<sup>92</sup> Periodical accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, 1804, pp. 22-3 as cited in Laird,1972 pp. 64.

<sup>93</sup>Serampore Circular Letters(1811), pg-14 as cited in Laird,1972, pp. 65

<sup>94</sup> Periodical accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, 1795 pg. 124 and 1798 pg-436 as cited in Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837 by M. A. Laird pg-63.

is to be introduced there, and perhaps a little philosophy and geography. The time of their education is to be seven years....”<sup>95</sup>

This plan gives us a glimpse of educational ambition of William Carey which resulted in the foundation of Serampore College in 1818.

Joshua Marshman and William Ward reached Serampore in 1799. They first reached Calcutta but due to the hostility of the Bengal government they were forced to take refuge in Danish enclave of Serampore. Carey, William Ward and Joshua Marshman together made the Serampore Trio in 1800.<sup>96</sup> Joshua Marshman assumed the main responsibility for education among the Trio. By 1804 they had opened three schools in Villages in Jessore district and one at Dinajpur, another was started in Katwa and in 1808 mission took over five in Malda district.<sup>97</sup> Marshman`s original motive for the extension of schools was that the opportunities for teaching the Scriptures would increase correspondingly, but he was soon making for plans to widen the curriculum also.<sup>98</sup>

In Bengal, there were other missionary groups as well. These were the two Evangelicals Henry Creighton and John Ellerton, both of them were sent by Charles Grant. Creighton was responsible for the most judicious and systematic plan for elementary education in Bengal. They had established some Bengali elementary schools in the Gumlati area by 1804. He is famous for his “*Memoranda on the most Obvious Means of Establishing Native Schools for the Introduction of the Scriptures and Useful Knowledge among the Natives of Bengal*”<sup>99</sup>. This memorandum contained a number of ideas which became the guiding light for different plans on elementary education for next Fifteen years.

The second group was the London Missionary Society. The efforts of LMS are considered to be the most serious efforts in the field of education in Bengal prior to the charter act of 1813. Most important amongst the LMS group are Nathaniel Forsyth and Robert May. They worked in the

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<sup>95</sup>Ibid.(1972) Pg-63.

<sup>96</sup> In the works of J. Marshman pg-124 cited in Laird, 1972.

<sup>97</sup>Laird. M. A, Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837, pg-64

<sup>98</sup> Baptist Missionary Society, from Marshman to Fuller, 1811 as cited in Laird,1972, pg-65

<sup>99</sup> Periodical accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, 1808, pg-23 as cited in Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837 by M. A. Laird,1972 pg-66.

Danish enclave at Chinsura (35kms north of Calcutta) since 1756.<sup>100</sup> It was Charter Act of 1813 which allowed the missionaries to enter India officially. This came mainly as a result of pressure by Evangelicals and the supporters of the missions. The Charter Act contained a Clause which in effect legalized missionary work in East India Company territories. In the understanding the interaction of Christianity and Indian tradition, this Charter Act of 1813 holds a special place. This clause made an obligation on major legislative bodies like the East India Company and the Bengal government to take efforts to educate the natives. The clause in the Act declared that,

“It is the duty of the country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religions and moral improvements; and in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of accomplishing those benevolent designs.”

Post 1813, the missionaries in Bengal engaged in education at several places. But, there were four centre of outstanding importance: Serampore, Chinsura, Burdwan, and Calcutta. One lakh rupees were also sanctioned under the provision of the Charter Act for the promotion of interests and happiness of the native inhabitants. William Carey had devised a plan to spend the allocated money in the furtherance of ‘elementary education’ all over the country. But he soon realized that the allocated amount was not sufficient for the said plan. He therefore suggested that the Government of Bengal should concentrate its resources on providing facilities for Indians to study European science at Fort William College and left elementary education to the ‘liberality of individuals’.<sup>101</sup>

In Serampore area, the public support in terms of contributions and donations from Indians as well as from Europeans came in huge way. This was in line with the ‘liberality of individuals’ what William Carey was suggesting. They were enabled in fifteen months during 1816-17 to establish no less than 103 elementary schools with 6,703 regular pupils.<sup>102</sup> In 1818 the emphasis was changed to the improvement of the existing indigenous schools, through the introduction of

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<sup>100</sup> London Missionary Society, 1812 as cited in Laird, 1972 pg-67

<sup>101</sup> Laird. M. A., Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837, 1972 pg-71.

<sup>102</sup> Ist Serampore Schools Report, 1817, p.12 as cited in Laird, 1972, pg- 72.

textbooks and periodic inspection and in the same year Serampore College was founded for higher education in arts, science and theology.<sup>103</sup> The Serampore missionaries were the only ones who established schools outside the four main centers before 1823. They sent Owen Leonard to Dacca in 1816 where he founded a Persian school and some Bengali elementary schools by 1823.<sup>104</sup> A Bengali school was established in Mushirabad in 1817. There were also a few Bengali schools at Chittagong, Katwa, Dinajpur and in Birbhum and Jessore districts.<sup>105</sup>

In Chinsura, a direct partnership between missionaries and government was achieved. Elementary schools were founded and superintended by Robert May. They were financed by the Bengal government. Robert May was the London Missionary Society missionary at Chinsura. He opened his first Bengali school in his House in 1814. His schools rapidly increased in number. Mays` work was appreciated by the Government of Calcutta for his `extraordinary talents` as a teacher and the `uncommon zeal and prudence` for his work. A grant of six hundred rupees per month under the Charter Act of 1813 was also allocated in the name of May. It was increased to eight hundred rupees in 1816.<sup>106</sup> By 1818 May had increased the number of the schools to thirty one with 2,695 boys in regular attendance.<sup>107</sup> May died in 1818 and his place was taken by J. D. Pearson , another London Missionary Society missionary.

In Calcutta, Bishopric was set up in 1813.<sup>108</sup> The first Bishop was Thomas Fanshawe Middleton. He was very cautious towards missionary work. He encouraged Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) establish themselves in Bengal. SPCK began its educational work in 1818 and by 1823 it had established two `circles` of six elementary schools each, in the suburbs to the north and the south of Calcutta, with a total of about 800 boys.<sup>109</sup> For higher education Middleton founded Bishop`s College at Sibpur in 1820.

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Bengal had a great sense of urgency but it did not achieve anything substantial till 1813. Thomas Thomason, a CMS missionary, is credited for his

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<sup>103</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Serampore Schools Report, 1818, pp.22 ff. as cited in Laird, 1972 pg-72.

<sup>104</sup> BMS Report, 1824, p-10 as cited in Laird, 1972 pg-77

<sup>105</sup> BMS Report, 1824, as cited in Laird, 1972, pg-77

<sup>106</sup> India Office Records, No. 9, July 1915 as cited in Laird, 1972, pg-73

<sup>107</sup> London Missionary Society Quaterly Chronicle, 205 as cited in Laird, 1972, pg-73

<sup>108</sup> Under the Charter Act of 1813 as cited in Laird, 1972, pg-74

<sup>109</sup> SPG Report, 1824, pp 149-52 as cited in Laird, 1972 pg-74

detailed and comprehensive plan for education in Bengal Presidency, involving the establishment by the government of a ‘high-school’ in every district for the teaching of English and modern science, a ‘normal school’ at Calcutta for the training of teachers, and encouragement of elementary vernacular schools in the villages. A particular feature of interest was the plan for ethical teaching, which was to include selections from the Muslim, Christian and Hindu sacred books.<sup>110</sup> His plan was not accepted by the Government instead he received help from Kali Shankar Ghosal, a friend of Ram Mohun Roy.<sup>111</sup> He gave Thomason a piece of land for school at Kidderpur on the outskirts of the city.

Calcutta also saw some activity by London Missionary Society (LMS) and Baptist missionaries. James Keith and Henry Townley arrived in 1816. They were the first LMS missionaries to work in Calcutta. They opened two elementary schools in the city in 1817. They believed that they were of little value unless the Christian Scriptures could be taught in them, but this was at first difficult owing to local opposition.<sup>112</sup> In Burdwan, Church Missionary Society emerged as a major factor in the education of Bengal. The Calcutta Committee agreed to give them financial support to some elementary schools which were being established by Captain James Stewart.<sup>113</sup>

The college opened by The Serampore Trio was known as “*College for the instruction of Asiatic Christian and other youth in eastern literature and European science*”. This college was opened in 1818. The objectives for opening the college are found in a booklet published by the college committee in 1819. The booklet is printed by Black Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, Leaden hall Street, London. In the table of contents of the book point no. 11 deals with the “*Advantages likely to result from the Institution*”. This seems to be an important primary source to understand the milieu in which the institution was organized and ran.

*“These, then, are the outlines of this College “for Asiatic Christian and other youth”. Among the first advantages which, under the Divine blessing, will result from an institution of this nature, will necessarily be, the improvement, in a high degree, of the various versions of the Scriptures in the languages of Eastern Asia. Learned natives from*

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<sup>110</sup> Sargent. Thomason, *Memoirs of the Life of Rev. Charles Simeon*, 1848 pp214 ff as cited in Laird, 1972 pg- 74

<sup>111</sup> CMS Records, 1816, as cited in Laird, 1972, pp-75

<sup>112</sup> LMS-Kieth to LMS, 1817 and Townsley to LMS, 1817, 1818, as cited in Laird,1972 pg-76

<sup>113</sup> CMS –Minutes of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of CMS, June 1816 as cited in Laird, 1972, pg-76

*all parts of Eastern Asia, perpetually conversant with the Scriptures, both in Sungskritu and in their own dialects, must gradually suggest improvements respecting style and expression, which Europeans, commencing the study when past the age of youth, and chiefly employed in the closet, can scarcely ever be expected to elicit; while Native scholars, trained up in an acquaintance with the Scriptures from their earliest youth, and some of them in the knowledge of the originals themselves, may be extended ultimately to complete this important work.”<sup>114</sup>*

The English missionaries were engaged in the teaching in vernacular languages and Scriptures through which they expected to interact with the masses in a better and wider way. These lines explain the same thing that the students who attended school should be well read in native scriptures so that they can understand the good and the bad aspects of the Native literature. They thought the superstitions and inhumane practices like sati and others could be removed by the natives themselves if they read the scriptures properly. Hence, they catered in vernacular languages.

*“After this, it will follow of course, that there will be formed a body of the ablest Native Translators, relative both to works of general science, and of morality and religion. It will be an inferior advantage flowing from this Institution, but still one not unimportant to India, that it will ultimately secure the translation of the best works in the English language into the chief languages of India. By the exertions of its various Students, directed and assisted by the European officers of the College, who will; of course, esteem this an important part of their duty, -we may hope gradually to see the Sungskriti and its chief dialects enriched by the best word of a Bacon, Newton, Locke, Charnock, Baxter, Howe, Fuller; and the choicest intellectual treasures of Britain laid open to the intelligent throughout India and Eastern Asia”<sup>115</sup>*

These lines explains the objective of developing a group on intellectuals who could compare the ideas of the intellectuals of the west like Locke, Baxter, Charnock with the writings of the

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<sup>114</sup> College for the instruction of Asiatic Christian and other youth in eastern literature and European science, Black Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, Leadenhall Street, London, 1819, p. 19

<sup>115</sup> College for the instruction of Asiatic Christian and other youth in eastern literature and European science, Black Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, Leadenhall Street, London, 1819, p. 19-20



Scriptures which fostered caste practices, suppression of women and other practices which was keeping the society backward. The translation of these Scriptures from archaic Sanskrit to other languages also helped in the wider dissemination of these texts which could be easily read and understood by the common masses. This is also relative with the practice of Protestants where they expected the common masses to read the Bible themselves making the direct connection with the Jesus. This practice helped in the reduction in the importance of the Church as an institution in the West, which was in a state in corruption and degeneration. This was also the case with the Brahmanical structure practiced in India.

*“But the peculiar advantages to the cause of Christianity in India will not be small. Among these may be reckoned the following: As far as learning is; capable of effecting it, the character of Native Christians will be raised throughout India, as they with their children will possess advantages superior to those of any cast among the Hindoos”.<sup>116</sup> “If this College be conducted with due vigour, it may be made the Christian Benares, and the balance of Sungskritu literature be turned completely on the side of Christianity; while an acquaintance with history, chronology, geography, and European science in general, and, above all, with the Sacred Scriptures, will impart a freedom and strength of mind unknown to the children of brahmanic superstition”<sup>117</sup>.*

The establishment of the proposed college will render significant contributions, not only to the native Christians, but also to the Christianity in India. It will help the native Christians to compete with the upper caste Hindus, mainly Brahmins and equip them with superior tools to have an edge in all the fields. The college, if created as sketched and with determination, may become the Christian Benares and slide the weight towards Christianity from the side of Sanskrit literature. The native Christians-with the amalgam of knowledge from various fields like geography, European science, history and Holy Scriptures will possess such qualities and strength that the superstitiously driven Brahmin boys would be no match for them. The native Christians would beat them in every field and in every possible way.

*“Should only a few of those admitted on the foundation of the College experience the power of religion in their youth, and devote themselves to the Ministry of the Gospel; still*

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p.20

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p.20

*in the rest, a body of able native Sungskritu scholars will be formed, who, freed from the terrors of Hindoo superstition, will have their minds enlarged by a general knowledge of European science, and elevated by the study of the Sacred Scriptures.”<sup>118</sup> “These, whether employed as Superintendants of Schools, placed in the courts of law or engaged in the common, business of life, can never rally again on the side of Hindoo superstition, nor gird on anew the chain of the cast. They must remain on the side of Christianity; and they may gradually enlighten, their own countrymen through - out India and Eastern Asia.”<sup>119</sup>*

Even if a few of those enrolled at the beginning of the college, upon encountering the power of religion, find their calling in it and decide to devote themselves to the cause of Christianity and work for the ministry of gospel; the rest, with their knowledge of European science and sacred scriptures, would possess the body of a native Sanskrit scholar, freed from the shackles of caste and Hindu superstitions. These would not be swayed by any illogical belief whether employed in public life or personal domain. Also, it should be made sure that they remain in the ambit of Christianity and work towards enlightening their fellow countrymen about the evils of caste and superstitions, both in India and eastern Asia.

*“In addition to these, the benefit which pious young men, who at a more mature age may devote themselves to preaching the Gospel may reap from the Institution, will not be small.<sup>120</sup>” “They may be directed to pursue precisely those - studies they most need, and this for three years, or two, or even one, the extra support they need being furnished to them from other quarters. In the mean while, they may be employed occasionally in itinerating through the country around, or even sent on short journies, and a trial be made of their - talents and fitness for the work, while they are improving their minds<sup>121</sup>”.*  
*“Thus every latent gift may be drawn forth, and employed in the most judicious manner. In a word, when we combine all these ideas , and consider that this College will be open*

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p.21

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p.21

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p.21

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p.21

*to all denominations, so that Asiatic Christian youth of every name may alike obtain these advantages, without the least dereliction of their peculiar sentiments”.*<sup>122</sup>

Those involved in the duty to the God will emerge as the ablest ministers of Gospel who will work towards the smooth functioning of church of Christ in India and to demonstrate the fake pomposity of Hindu system with respect to Christianity. They would be sent across the country as a form of their training and would be enrolled in short term courses to improve their mind. The college, if established as planned, will benefit the Asiatic Christian youth on an unprecedented scale and help in permanent establishment of Christianity in India as was done by Professor Frank through his institution in Halle which led to development of Protestant interest in Germany.

### **1.3 Achievements**

In the field of girls' school the missionaries were pioneers to an even extent than in boy's education. There was no prohibition on the education of girls in the Hindu scriptures, but by 1800, at least in Bengal, such a strong prejudice had arisen that a literate woman, though not quite unknown, was an exceptional phenomenon.<sup>123</sup> It was thought that an educated girl was doomed to early widowhood. The failure to cultivate the mental faculties of women had resulted in them being regarded as inferior beings. In addition to this general masculine prejudice, there were certain customs which militated against the education of girls especially of the middle and upper castes; they were often married at the age of eight, and once in their husbands' houses it was not considered proper for them to go about freely outside. For this reason girls' schools were totally unknown: such women as did obtain any education were taught privately in their homes.<sup>124</sup>

In founding the girls' schools in Bengal the missionaries were therefore pioneering something quite new. Their motives for starting this work were a characteristic mixture of the humanitarian and the evangelistic, of which the former was given most stress to begin with. They were genuinely shocked by what seemed to be the degraded state of Indian women, and regarded

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p.22

<sup>123</sup> William Ward, *Hindoos*, ii, 503; Adam's Reports, p.187

<sup>124</sup> Adam's Reports, p.187

education as necessary not only for their own sake but for that of the society as a whole. They also thought that Christianity would make more progress if women could be brought under its influence. As with so many other aspects of missionary education work, the first to act were the Serampore missionaries, who in 1816-17 admitted girls into one of their schools ‘separated from the boys by a mat partition’.<sup>125</sup> Then in 1818 May opened a school for girls at Chinsura: fourteen attended.<sup>126</sup> It was however the Calcutta Baptists who made the first big effort to multiply schools for Bengali girls, founding for the purpose the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in 1819. It was supported by the girls of the fee-paying ‘boarding schools for young ladies’ conducted Mrs. Lawson and Mrs. W. H. Pearce,<sup>127</sup> and within two years they had established three day-schools in the city with seventy-six pupils.<sup>128</sup> William Ward was trying to arouse the interest of the ladies of England by publishing somewhat lurid accounts of the degraded conditions of their Indian sisters.<sup>129</sup> He also attended the annual meeting of the British and Foreign School Society in May 1821, and partly in consequence of his ‘very pathetic appeal’ on behalf of the women of India, the society decided to send Miss Mary Ann Cooke to Bengal to teach girls under the supervision of Calcutta School Society.<sup>130</sup> Some of the leaders of Bengal opinion were also by then doing their best to encourage girls’ education; amongst them a few ones were especially Ram Mohan Roy, Radha Kanta Deb, and Pandit Gour Mohan Vidyalkar. During the following decade, some girls’ schools were established at all the main mission stations in Bengal: by the London Missionary Society at Chinsura and Behrampore, as well as in and around Calcutta; by the Baptists at Katwa, Suri, Dacca, Chittagong, and Jessore; and by the Church Missionary Society at Burdwan, Kalna, Bankura and Krishnanagar.

At first needlework a staple of the curriculum of the girls’ schools in England- was introduced into those in Bengal also, but after a few years it was discontinued in the schools of the Ladies Society and of the Serampore Baptists: such work was normally done by male Muslim tailors, and was therefore not popular with Hindu schoolgirls.<sup>131</sup> Otherwise the curriculum was similar to

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<sup>125</sup> 1st Serampore Schools Report, 1817, p. 19

<sup>126</sup> India Office Records-Bengal Judicial Criminal proceedings. No. 14,18 September 1818- Forbes to Bayley.

<sup>127</sup> Baptist Missionary Society Report, 21 June 1821, p. 17, Memoirs of Rev. W. H. Pearce, Calcutta, 1841, p.95

<sup>128</sup> Baptist Missionary Society Report, 20 June 1822, p.10

<sup>129</sup> Missionary Register, November 1820; William Ward, Farewell Letters, p. 62-70

<sup>130</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> B.F.S.S. Report, 1821, p. xi, 32-3

<sup>131</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Report of the Serampore Native Female Schools, 1832, p. 64-5

that of the boys` schools, including Bengali reading and writing, arithmetic, sometimes a little geography and some rudiments of ‘useful knowledge’ and above all Christian religious teaching.

Due to the work of the missionaries a lot of old prejudices were undermined, but by the insistence on religious teachings the missionaries were wasting a good opportunity to spread girls` education, and indeed had raised a new barrier against it. This explains why the mission girls` schools were avoided by the upper castes: for their womenfolk to leave their customary seclusion and go outside to a school where they would be taught mainly Christianity in association with the daughters of cobblers and sweepers was not an attractive prospect.

The works of the mission girl`s schools became more and more the preserve of the lower castes. In spite of the upper-caste prejudice against going out to school, the girls were of all castes in the schools of the Calcutta Baptists in 1821-there were a few Brahmins and Kayasthas as well as others of the middling and low castes.<sup>132</sup> A number of heathen women called Harkarus were employed to collect children to escort them to school. They used to go about from house to house among those classes to whom the rewards their children receive from the missionaries are an object, and by giving a few piece they succeeded in collecting a number of children`. The ‘harkarus’ were paid according to the number of girls they brought to the schools, which gave them an incentive to collect as many as possible.<sup>133</sup>

Campbell talks about a frequent missionary complaint that girls are not allowed to remain in school sufficiently long to allow their characters to be formed by their education. They left at a very young age to either marry or to take up work which paid them little more than missionaries could for attendance at school. Hence, majority of the girls left schools before they are able to read the scriptures and many of them before they can read at all.<sup>134</sup> The development of mission schools for girls passed through two distinct stages between 1817 and 1837. During the first decade the various societies, in their original flush of enthusiasm, established anything up to two dozen schools each. These schools were on the whole small, and were scattered over too wide an area to be supervised efficiently; this problem of course existed in connection with boys` schools also, but the shortage of suitable superintendents for girls` schools was even greater. Miss Cooke

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<sup>132</sup> Statham, Indian Recollections, p.54

<sup>133</sup> London Missionary Society. MS.- Campbell to LMS, 27 September 1838; Adam`s Report, p.300

<sup>134</sup> Calcutta Christian Observer, June 1833, p. 300-1

was the only female missionary specifically designed for this work; elsewhere it was normally carried on by the missionaries' wives. Some of these, especially Mrs. Marshaman, Mrs. Perowne and the first Mrs. Mundy, proved well-fitted for the task, but they had of course domestic matters to attend to also; and the man who took a particular interest in girls' schools such as Ward and Jetter, had many other preoccupations too. It was in order to make superintendence both easier and more efficient that the process of consolidating the local schools into one 'Central School' had started. In addition to the Central School, four other day-schools continued under the supervision of the Ladies Society- two in Calcutta, one at Howrah, and one at Kalna.<sup>135</sup> The Serampore Baptists had in 1834 two day-schools at Serampore, two at Chittagong, one at Bakerganj, and probably two at Dacca, with a total of about 300 girls.<sup>136</sup>

The missionaries were the pioneers of schools in Bengal in itself an important landmark in the educational history of the province. But, even after twenty years of the results of their efforts comprised only a few small day-schools which were commendable from the humanitarian point of view, but gave an education which had little relevance and still less attraction for the people as a whole. The interest which girls' education aroused in the early years, and the readiness of parents, including at least some of high caste, to allow their daughters to receive education at least some of high caste, to allow their daughters to receive education either at school or at home, indicates that if the missionaries had been more concerned with girls' education for its own sake, and less with religious instruction whatever its unpopularity, they could have made a much more significant contribution in this field.

### **Conclusion**

From the above discussion on English missionaries, we understand how the Education system was in England in the sixteenth century. The English missionaries who came to India were taught under this kind of education system. The education system in England endorsed the English class system which further strengthened the existing compartments which existed in England. The English class system was a normal practice in England which made them accept the caste stratification in India. This caste practice caused number social disabilities to the marginalized sections of the society. The marginalized sections viz. the dalits, the tribals and women were

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<sup>135</sup> P. Chapman, *Hindoo Female Education*, London, 1839, p.112

<sup>136</sup> *Serampore Periodical Accounts*, 1834, p.91-3

again made to stay away from the education system. The English missionaries taught in vernacular languages and these languages were inherently loaded with the practices of caste which caused further deterioration in the conditions of the marginalized. They stressed on the teachings of the Scriptures which was also engulfed in the practices of caste and women subordination.

The chapter narrates the work of the missionaries in Bengal. The Serampore college became a centre for higher education. The “Outlines of the college” are critically analyzed to understand the purpose of opening an educational institution. The English missionaries made a great in the education of women in Bengal but they were stubborn to give lesson on Christianity which a step which took their work backwards. The achievements the education system which was offered by the English missionaries was progressive in nature in the sense that impacted in a positive direction in making the marginalized section mobile that they could decide for their own future.

## CHAPTER III

### Role of Scottish Missionaries in the field of Education

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter starts from where the chapter on English missionaries and their achievement in previous chapter are discussed; this chapter will discuss about the Scottish missionaries and their contribution to education in general and English education in particular and their achievements in the field. Keeping this in mind, this chapter is divided in three sections, where first section is giving a general introduction to Scottish missionaries in India. The second section is dealing with missionaries' contribution towards education system in India. Lastly, the last section is giving a glimpse of achievement of missionaries.

There are two major primary sources used in the study of Scottish missionaries and specially Alexander Duff. The first one is Duff's work known as India and Indian missions. This is a description by Duff himself on how he sees his mission. The other work used in this study is Lal Behari Dey, *Recollections of Alexander Duff, D.D., Ll. D.* (London, 1879). Lal Behari Dey was a student of Alexander Duff. In his book on Alexander Duff, Dey describes his experiences with Alexander Duff in school. Hence, these two sources become very important to a better understanding about Duff.

The monolithic construction of identities by the imperialist and anti-imperialist historiographies of Indian education undermines the specific regional and class-identities of historical actors.<sup>137</sup> The Scottish-Indian connection, as distinct from the British-Indian connection has been explored by several historians. But, in the field of education, a study of Scottish-Indian connection is an unexplored area.<sup>138</sup> In the nineteenth century, the official education policy upheld the traditional caste stratification and also grafted the English class system over it. But there were some voices that raise their voice or come together to resist this policy or to give an alternate within the folder

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<sup>137</sup>Parimala V. Rao, *Class, Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century*, *Social Scientist*, 520-21, p. 55

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, p.55



of British Education policies. Among them Scottish missionaries stand as tall as any other. Hence, there is a need to take a look at the connection between the social background and the Scottish education system, as well as the educational ideas and activities of Scottish Missionaries in India.

### **3.2 Scottish and their connection to British:**

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, England and Scotland were two independent kingdoms, often in conflict with each other. In 1603, Queen Elizabeth I died and the Scottish king James IV inherited the English crown and became James I. Though both the kingdoms came to be ruled by a single king, they remained separate states with separate legislature and spoke different languages. The Scottish highland spoke Gaelic, a Celtic language and the lowland spoke scot, an Anglo-Saxon language. They also professed different denominations of protestant Christianity. The Anglican Church in England was hierarchal, with bishops and archbishops, while the Presbyterian Church in Scotland was non-hierarchal in nature. David Armitage has argued that England and Scotland retained their particular religious and political institutions and remained, in more respects, divided by Protestantism than united by it.<sup>139</sup> However, economic compulsions forced Scotland for a closer union with England in the eighteenth century. Scotland was a poor country. Out of 30,000 square miles of its territory, only ten percent of its land was fit for agriculture and another thirteen percent of land did not produce anything. In 1690s several years of famine and consequent starvation worsened the situation. A scheme to establish a colony in America called Darien Scheme which involved one-fifth of country's wealth had failed.<sup>140</sup> It affected every section of the society. These economic disasters forced a union with England. In 1707, the Acts of Union merged Scotland with England to form a new kingdom called Great Britain.

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<sup>139</sup> David Armitage, *The Ideological origins of British Empire*(Cambridge- Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 59-67 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, *Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century*, *Social Scientist*, 520-21, p. 55

<sup>140</sup> R. D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish people, 1750-1918* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1995) p. 2-3 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, *Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century*, *Social Scientist*, 520-21, p. 56

After the union, the transition from an independent country, to becoming a part of Great Britain was not smooth. The loss of political identity was not balanced by material rewards; and this looked and felt worse to Scots because all the apparatus of an independent Scottish state such as Church, law, Education system and so on, was still in existence just as it had always been.<sup>141</sup> There was a need to integrate them into the larger socio-political system. The appointments to the various positions of East India Company came handy. Scots were given several positions in the East India Company to normalize the bad effects of the union. McGilvary has emphasized that ‘India patronage was a major strand whereby consolidation was achieved, and the very concept of Great Britain sustained.’<sup>142</sup> India became a “corn chest” for Scotland, while England cemented its union with Scotland.

To derive advantage from such patronage, the Scots who spoke Gaelic and scot languages had to learn English. In order to overcome such language barriers, Scotland adopted English as a medium of instructions at all levels. And within a short period, the Scots largely succeeded in what has been described as ‘beat the English at their own game’.<sup>143</sup> During the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth centuries, armed with English education, they came to dominate the colonial administration in India.<sup>144</sup> This rise can be attributed to the success of the Scottish education system.

### **3.3 Education System in Scotland and England**

#### **3.3.1 Scottish Education System:**

Scotland had envisaged a national system of education as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. Under this system, schools at all levels were linked with each other and with the universities. In the areas where the system was well established, pressure from the landowner, the minister, or community opinion ensured that most of the students did attend the school and

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<sup>141</sup> George K. McGilvary, East India Patronage, p.13 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p. 56

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, p. XIII

<sup>143</sup> J. Ruben Valdes Mirayes, ‘The prejudices of Education, Atlantis Vol. 27, December 2005, p.114 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p. 57

<sup>144</sup> George K. McGilvary, East India Patronage, p.31 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p. 57

learnt at least to read. Some parish school masters could teach Greek, Latin, accounts and mathematics- in short, everything needed to prepare a student for the university.<sup>145</sup> The standards of education given in these parish schools must have been exceptionally good. The Scots were able to rise in the hierarchy of the East India Company because they were better educated than the English cadets and copiers, due to distinct education system followed in Scotland.

### **3.3.2 English Education System:**

In England, the education system was design in such a way that it can maintain the status que i.e. an English class system of stratification. This stratification was founding stone for the power and prestige associates with English elite. It was their education system that validate and carryforward this stratified social system.<sup>146</sup> In the second half the eighteenth century, the industrial revolution helps Britain to expand trade as well as their colonies. They used this education policy as a tool to reinforce their power and influence over both newly founded colonies and their own society. Hence, for lower class, to get education was a hard struggle.<sup>147</sup> The entire education system in England in eighteenth and nineteenth was divided into two categories i.e. elementary and grammar schools. The elementary schools variously known a charity schools and Sunday schools established by the church, attempted to give some literacy to the children of the poor.<sup>148</sup> In 1811, Church of England established 'Poor Schools' to cater the growing poor. These schools aimed to teach denominational Protestantism of the Church of England by emphasizing that 'the national religion ought to be made the establishment of national training and ought to be first and head thing educated to poor people'. The society declared that the aim of these schools 'is nothing less than preservation of National

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<sup>145</sup> Anderson, Education and the Scottish people, p, 3-5

<sup>146</sup> W. D. Halls, Cultural Ideals and Elitist Education in England, Comparative Education review, Vol. 15, No. 3, Oct 1971, p. 317-329 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p. 58

<sup>147</sup> Philip Gardener, Literacy, learning and Education, in Chris Williams, A companion to nineteenth century Britain, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, p. 353as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p. 58

<sup>148</sup>H. J. Burgess and P.A. Welsby, A short history of national society,1811-1961, London, 1961, p.2 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p. 58

Religion'.<sup>149</sup>The standard of education given in these schools was so limited that these children could not enter high Schools. Many of these schools considered teaching, writing and arithmetic as 'more dangerous' and even 'more harmful'. These schools aimed to discipline the children and inculcate in them the values to accept the existing hierarchal social structure.

The grammar schools were the entry step to the universities<sup>150</sup> and those who studies from elementary school cannot go to grammar school. So it was inevitable that, those students from elementary schools can never goes to higher education or universities system. The Grammar schools taught Greek, Latin and Mathematics, exclusively catered to the upper class elite boys.<sup>151</sup> The elite boys were trained to enter these Grammar schools through private tutors by respective families or through expensive and exclusive 'preparatory schools'.<sup>152</sup>So, in England the system of education was carefully structured to maintain the superiority of the elite classes. This system of education was disadvantageous to the poor Englishmen entering the services of the East India Company as cadets and copiers. Most of them could not rise in administrative hierarchy, like Scots.

In Scotland, the children of the elite group and the poorest of the poor attended the same parish schools and the brightest ones went to the university. This meant that the son of a poor Scottish peasant or shepherd could achieve economic prosperity and intellectual distinction, which was denied to the English counterpart. For the middleclass children who studied with the children of shepherds and artisanal classes, the very idea that any talented boy could achieve distinction, irrespective of his socio-economic background, gave them a liberal world view which made them look upon the less privileged fellow beings with compassion. In this way, the Scottish education system made the children develop an egalitarian outlook.<sup>153</sup> The Scottish enlightenment contributed enormously in placing this egalitarian outlook on a firmer footing. The Scotsmen who came to India were already familiar with poverty, were brought up in an egalitarian

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<sup>149</sup> First annual Report of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church, London 1812, p. 5-6

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., p.36.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p.46.

<sup>152</sup> H. J. Burgess and P.A. Welsby, A short history of national society,1811-1961,London, 1961, p.2 as cited in Parimala V. Rao, Class , Identity and Empire: Scotsmen and Indian Education in the nineteenth century, Social Scientist, 520-21, p. 58

<sup>153</sup>Ian Cumming, 'The Scottish Education of James Mill', History of Education Quarterly, Vol No. 2, September 1962, p.156-57

education system, which had helped them in overcoming economic distress and humanitarian values of the Scottish enlightenment, and viewed India in a different light than Englishmen and the colonial state.

### **3.4 Educational Policy in British India**

#### **3.4.1 The oriental education policy**

In the educational debates of the early nineteenth century India, the ‘Orientalists’ denoted a group of British scholars of oriental languages who stood for teaching only classical languages like Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit as against the Anglicists, who advocated modern education. English scholars like H. T. Prinsep and H. H. Wilson insisted on encouraging Arabic and Sanskrit education because they held that Indians were incapable of understanding rational European knowledge and would at best be ‘promiscuous crowd of English smatterers’.<sup>154</sup> The policy of promoting only oriental learning was highly disadvantageous to Indians, since without the knowledge of English and modern sciences, Indians could never hope to have a share in the administration, to engage with it in an effective way or to challenge its policies. Moreover, their emphasis on Sanskrit excluded non-Brahmins and women, or in other words; education was exclusive domain of Brahmins men. The Orientalists were also strong defenders of caste system and favored the Brahmins and the Rajputs for all government appointments, from highest to the lowest position.<sup>155</sup> It is here that the critical role of the Scotsmen as the promoters of modern education comes into picture.

### **3.5 Intervention of Scottish Missionaries:**

Scottish church sent Alexander Duff (1806-1878) as first missionaries outside Great Britain. He lived and worked in Calcutta in his formative years and works for spreading English education in India. His influence in British India was two folded i.e. (i) through establishing of school and

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<sup>154</sup>Parimala V. Rao, ‘Promiscuous Crowd of English smatterers: The poor in the Colonial and Nationalist Discourse on Education’, *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, Vol. No.2, 2013, p. 227-232

<sup>155</sup>H. T. Prinsep to Robert Grant, the governor of Bombay, and Minute by Robert Grant dated 9 August 1936, Board Collections, No. 74869 as cited in M.A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837*, 1972, p. 184

colleges, (ii) through his in person contact with those who are in responsibility for higher decision maker in regards to policy in British India. Duff was born to a ‘small farmer’ and ‘fervent Evangelical’ families in Moulin a Scottish Highlands in 1806. He was graduated from St. Andrews University in ‘arts and theology’. In 1829, he got married and sailed for Calcutta. After one year and two shipwrecks he reached Calcutta in 1830.

In May 1829, General Assembly of Scottish Church appointed Duff as its first missionaries to British India. In September same year he left Leith for London with the companionship of his wife. One month later he sailed in an East India Company’s ship ‘*Lady Holland*’. With the crew member of 22, the ship was wrecked near Cape Town in South Africa. Though the cargo was lost, all the crew members were survived the disaster. The library i.e. some 800 books, journals, notes, memoranda etc. that duff was taken with him also washed out. Only his Bible and Psalter survived in a reasonable condition. Duff and his crew meted with the second shipwrecked when their voyage from South Africa to Bay of Bengal in the estuary of the Hooghly. But he and his crew member reached safely, and they were sheltering in a village temple. The help was send from Calcutta and they were rescued and conveyed to the city. After landing in Calcutta, Duff had consulted many peoples and observed Indian society. In his book ‘Indian and Indian Missions’ he has pen down in details about his aims and objectives. According to him, the root of problems in Indian lies underneath of Hinduism; which had exerted an omnipotence of malignant energy over the intellect and morals of the people.<sup>156</sup> He further argued that India’s degradation had been caused by ignorance, for which ‘useful knowledge’ was supposedly the cure.<sup>157</sup>

Alexander Duff opened his first school in F Kamal Bose’s house after lots of consultation. He suggested that, a morning prayer will be offered everyday with the opening of the school. It was Raja Ram Mohan Roy who suggested that, the Lord’s Prayer should be used in the schools. In the 1836 the school was moved to another person’s house namely Gorachand Basak and in the same year the present building was started.<sup>158</sup> Though he was thinking to start a college soon after reaching India, however cleverly he waited for some time and visited various educational

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<sup>156</sup> Duff, *India and Indian Missions.*, p.44

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p.264

<sup>158</sup> Prof. Asit Kumar Sen, Secretary, 150th Year Celebration Committee published in the 150th Year commemorative volume 1980, Scottish Church College- Glimpses of college history

institutions carried on by missionaries' societies. He observed their how they were working and his pattern will fit in India.

At that time, many missionary societies were working in Calcutta and adjoining part of Bengal. It was William Carey who first arrived in 1793 followed by others. After the renewal of Company Charter in 1813, the conditions made favorable to missionaries. Duff visited the schools run by other missionaries but was not impressed by what he saw. The pupils were given only the most rudimentary education and these schools were used mainly by boys of low caste.

He understood that, it would be outlandish for him to open a college as the important establishments of auxiliary schools did not exist. He raised some concerned or complained regarding early missionaries that advocated for establishment for elementary schools in vernacular languages i.e. Bengali. He argued that, because of this students did not get the proficiency more than three rupees.<sup>159</sup> Duff, having deserted opening a school, needed to choose what sort of school to open and what dialect ought to be the medium of instruction. And finally he announced to open an institution in Calcutta that provided education to Hindu community. As he had been told by the committee at home for not to set up the college in Calcutta, but in some neighboring town, he waited for some time after opening of the primary education and ventured to disobey his instructions. On carefully surveying the field he came to the conclusion that the college, to be useful and influential, must be set up in the capital of British India.<sup>160</sup> He founded institutions known as General Assembly's Institution on 13 July 1830, now known as Scottish Church College. The lessons in this school were to be given in English and follow the instructions given in Christian religion. He also played a part in establishing the University of Calcutta.

Other missionaries considered Duff misguided. The precise reason of this thinking is that, His help came from a surprising quarter i.e. from a Brahmin reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Ram Mohan Roy was leading figure for advocating for English education and western knowledge even before Duff came to Calcutta. It was very much evident when Government was planning to

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<sup>159</sup>Alexander Duff, *India and Indian Missions*, pp. 530-33, 2nd Edition, Edinburg 1840

<sup>160</sup>D. H. Emmott, *Alexander Duff and the Foundation of Modern Education in India*, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 160-169, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of the Society for Educational Studies(May, 1965), p.25

established a Sanskrit College during Lord Amherst. Roy wrote to the Lord Amherst arguing for English education saying that,

*“We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and other useful sciences. ... This seminary can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society.”*<sup>161</sup>

Ram Mohan Roy helped Duff in many ways to establish his school in Bengal. First Roy helped out get all logistic work e.g. to get a building to providing students. Further, when some students objected to read Bible, Roy motivated them to study by giving his own example. He told them that, he has read everything and he did not lose his caste too.<sup>162</sup>

The first five boys appeared on 13 July 1830; by the end of the week more than 200 students had appeared and many more were seeking admission. Duff had to deal with two ‘vicious practices’ which were then common- of flocking to a newly opened school, receiving some free text books, and then departing; and ‘of perpetually shifting from school to school, from a spirit of restless curiosity’. Hence, the only boys who were accepted were those who agreed to pay for their textbooks on entry, and whose parents bound themselves on their behalf to respect the rules of the school.<sup>163</sup>

### **3.5.1 Collegiate Education:**

With the chairmanship of W Yates, a meeting among different denomination of missionaries’ was held on 7<sup>th</sup> June, 1831 at the Union Chapel House. After the meeting, unanimously a resolution had passed to request and communicate Duff to chalk out a master plan for the direction of educational institution in Calcutta. They asked Duff to carry on education to promising natives. For the purpose of starting a new institutions and the spreading of general science, they appoint two committees’ i.e. General committee and Book Committee, in

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<sup>161</sup>Letter from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Lord Amherst. Quoted in Sir Charles Trevelyan, On the Education of the People of India, p. 65, London, 1838

<sup>162</sup>J. N. Ogilvie, op. cit., pp. 389 as cited in D. H. Emmott, 1965

<sup>163</sup>National Library of Scotland MSS.- Duff to Inglis, 23 August 1830



subsequent meeting. In both the committees, Duff has been made as Secretary by the missionaries of different denominations. The third resolution of the committee states “as the proposed institution is entirely of a charitable nature, Rupees five per month for each boy be deemed a reasonable fee till number amounts ten, from ten to twenty, Rupees four and fifty paise each; for twenty or any number exceeding it Rupees four each, which may be reckoned the permanent fee of the Institution.”<sup>164</sup>

Further, for the expansion of the higher education, the General Committee did a survey study into the numbers and conditions of Bengali and English schools. The figure that they came out was, four hundred boys including one hundred and fifty from the General Assembly’s School were attending.<sup>165</sup> So in near future they considered to increase of two hundred forty boys in across English school. The Book Committee selected by the ministers of various sections was guided by the thought that the English schools gave the fundamental capability to affirmation to a higher foundation. Accordingly, the advisory group accommodated great starting books for the spread of the learning of English among school understudies. The Committee, in any case, did not neglect to declare unmistakably the rules that guided its work. The object was to inculcate Christian religious and moral principles in the minds of the native youth. “On this account” thus runs the minute of the Book Committee dated the 13th of July 1831,

*“It is intended that each reading book consists of two parts, in one hand, to unfold the moral and religious principles and facts, and the other hand, to comprehend general or ordinary copies of discourse of useful knowledge.”*<sup>166</sup>

To culminate harmony among the associated system, the committee had recommended the same class book to adopt in all schools those who are associates with different missionaries’ bodies.

As vital for the building up of a standard of capability, they ask to propose that the books thereafter settled on for appropriation, might be made to supply this standard and that whatever different books any educator may think legitimate to bring into his school a careful colleague with those arranged or prescribed by the Book Committee, and embraced by the Brethren at their

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<sup>164</sup>Prof. Asit Kumar Sen, Secretary, 150th Year Celebration Committee published in the 150th Year commemorative volume 1980, Scottish Church College- Glimpses of college history

<sup>165</sup>Ibid, p.6

<sup>166</sup>Ibid., p.7

general gathering be considered as totally vital to all induction into higher foundation or College.<sup>167</sup>

The individuals lamented that in the language structure division they can discover nothing precisely suited to the needs of the locals. As needs be, they proposed to give two new works, one of a basic nature to contain just driving or general standards and standards went with various activities.

They got immediate success in school. In four days, the number rose from five boys to two hundred.<sup>168</sup> It was acquaintance of English among the high caste Hindu society which made the moment interest for affirmation Duff's school. English language became the language of ruling power and government service. Later on it also became the language of commerce as well. In west English was regarded as the gateway for the knowledge and science. With very small time the school gains the status of a college.<sup>169</sup> The students rose to five hundred by 1835.<sup>170</sup>

From this year to 1839 Duff was home in Scotland arguing the reason for instructive missions. During his nonappearance from Calcutta an extensive new building was raised for the school, which proceeds being used today. On his arrival Duff understood the need to isolate the Institution into independent offices for school and school and this was finished.

In 1843 there was an interruption in the Church of Scotland which had its repercussions in India. Duff and his partners clung to the recently settled Free Church. This choice implied his leaving the school structures in the hands of the old set up Church and looking for new premises somewhere else. These were found without trouble and there were 1000 understudies in the new establishment. The first structures stayed unfilled and destroy for a few years. The re-opening of the first structures prompted multiplied movement. The re-association of the two universities occurred in 1908 and new structures were raised for the university school.

### **3.6 Achievements**

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<sup>167</sup>Ibid., p.7

<sup>168</sup>Church of Scotland Mss. 'East India Mission Letters, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1829-37.' Letter from A. Duff to Dr. Inglis, dated Calcutta, 23 August 1830, National Library of Scotland

<sup>169</sup>J. Cyril Hensman, The Centenary of the Scottish Church Collegiate School, Calcutta, p. 2, Calcutta, 19

<sup>170</sup>Friend of India (Weekly Series), Vol. I, 24 September 1835, p. 306, Se

Duff abandoned the idea of opening a college in light of the fact that the essential establishments of auxiliary schools did not exist. At that point he needed to choose what sort of school to open and what dialect ought to be the medium of instruction. There were various possibilities in front of him: In the event that he utilized the vernacular, Bengali, it would just add to the quantity of below average schools which he saw around him. They cooked, for the poor and the outcaste. It was the upper and white collar classes he looked for to attract, the children of station Hindus, of brokers, of the lesser representatives of the East India Company, of the workers in dealer firms, and the like. Duff found that Brahmins and other rank Hindus who could afford to do as such co-worked with each other to frame little one-educator schools of their own, classes being held in the home of one of the boys` guardians and the instructor being paid by the expenses raised. He rejected Bengali as a language of medium of instruction because he believed that it was not sufficiently developed for use as a medium of higher education.<sup>171</sup> As for Sanskrit, he argued that it was inseparably associated with Hinduism- that was ‘stupendous system of error’.<sup>172</sup>

Duff was not impressed by the standard of the boys whom he admitted into the newly-opened school: their discipline left much to be desired; some could read English words but understood little or nothing of what they read, while others knew no English at all.<sup>173</sup> Even the most advanced of them. Faced with this situation Duff planned to awaken the mental faculties of his pupils, exercised patience and encouragement.

One of Duff’s pupils, Lal Behari Dey, has left a vivid account of his teaching methods: in our exercise there happened "bull": he grabbed hold of that word, and instructed us on it for about a large portion of a hour. He asked us... .regardless of whether we had seen a bull; what number of legs it had; whether it had any hands; whether we had any tails, and so on., to the vast excitement of every one of us.<sup>174</sup> He did not expect the boys to learn alphabet by learn, but taught simple words and the letters of which they were composed- for example “0” and “X” thus the pupils at once learnt something meaningful, the English word for familiar animal.<sup>175</sup> As in other school Duff communicated knowledge: but before examination they had a procedure of close

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<sup>171</sup> India and Indian Missions., p.516

<sup>172</sup> Duff, India and Indian Missions, p. 519

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p.529

<sup>174</sup> Lal BehariDey, Recollections of Alexander Duff, D.D., Ll. D. (London, 1879), p.50

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., p.118-19

addressing, subjected that knowledge of pot. Of examination, and in this manner refined it, and, lastly, added to its stores'. Through this framework, "The thoughts of students were augmented: their capacity of reasoning was produced: they were urged to observe: they were instructed to express their thoughts in words: and as learning was made wonderful to them, awful their surrenders were drawn towards the procurement of learning.<sup>176</sup> Duff insisted on boys explaining their ideas in their own words, and therefore gave no dictated notes in case they should simply be learnt by heart and reproduced.

Duff thus insisted that all his pupils should be so grounded in English that as to be able to use it correctly and easily, and he regarded the teaching of the lower classes as crucial for the success of the school. Starting with element of English in August 1830, the curriculum of school was extended during the six years following to include history and geography of India and the World. Christian religious teaching was a basic feature of the school from the beginning, and specially one finds attention between two cherished ideals of the contemporary Scottish scene-Christian commitment and independent thinking. Duff was clear that he wanted his students to turn to Christianity only as the result of a responsible, fully-considered personal decision. In the school, Christianity was not just one subject to be educated among others; it was an impact which pervaded as long as its can remember and work. The day by day routine began with petition, and parts of the book of scriptures were perused and clarified regular in the higher classes.<sup>177</sup> It was confidently expected that contemporary science, which Duff called the record and interpretation of Gods visible handiworks<sup>178</sup> would help to confirm the truth of Christianity and undermined Hinduism; only Christian teachers were employed in the English classes.

A simple illustration of this principle in action was witnessed by Lal Behari Dey: Duff was discussing the uses of cows with one of the lower classes, and knowing that the Bengali word was *goru*,

*he asked whether we knew another Bengali word which was very like it in sound... a sharp class fellow quickly said...guru....The doctor was quite delighted at the boy's discovery, and asked us of what use the guru was, and whether, on the whole, the*

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 120

<sup>177</sup> Duff, *India and Indian Missions*, p. 542, 550

<sup>178</sup> Duff, *Missions, the chief End of the Christian Church*, p. 87

*goru was not more useful than the guru. He then left our class...leaving in our minds seeds of future thought and reflection.*<sup>179</sup>

As Lal Behari Dey subsequently commented, ‘there was an inter-penetration, or rather a chemical union, of the religious element with the whole system of teaching.’<sup>180</sup> As in contemporary Scotland, the attempt was made to integrate the curriculum into a coherent whole but not by philosophy, as was actually the case in the Scottish universities, but by Evangelical Christianity, as one would expect in a school conducted by a pupil and admirer of Chalmers. As to the effect of religious teaching, Duff summed it up when he wrote that,

“almost all the youths in the two senior classes have become thorough unbelievers in Hinduism; and, at the same time, as thorough believers in Christianity, so far as the understanding... is concerned.”<sup>181</sup>

The brutality of Duff’s revilements of Hinduism in his distributed works and in the addresses which he gave in the unified kingdom in 1835-39 was not outperformed by any contemporary evangelist. Duff was not satisfied with elementary textbooks available when he opened his school, so he compiled himself a grade series of three books, each in two parts. The first part consisted of exercises in English spelling, grammar, and composition, together with ‘all manner of topics...calculated to arrest the attention, excite the curiosity, and summon into rigorous exercise the conceptive and other intellectual faculties’. The second part comprised the ethical and religious selections, ‘designed to awaken the conscience, and variously to influence and impress the heart’.<sup>182</sup>

In June 1832 Duff was able to open a second school, on a similar pattern to the one in Calcutta, at Taki, about forty miles east of Calcutta. He did invite the brothers Kalinath and Baikantnath Roy Choudhary, friends of Ram Moahn Roy to whom Duff had been introduced on his arrival in Calcutta. Another school was established in 1835 under the superintendence of the mission at the Fort Gloster, a cotton factory, a few miles down the Hoongly from Calcutta. Duff was ill and exhausted at the end of his first four years in Bengal, and returned to Scotland in July 1834 for

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<sup>179</sup> Lal Behari Dey, *Recollections of Alexander Duff, D.D., Ll. D.* (London, 1879), p.50-1

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p.125.

<sup>181</sup> The Church of Scotland’s mission to India, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1833.

<sup>182</sup> Duff, *India and Indian Missions*, p. 536-7

six year furlough,<sup>183</sup> during which he gave a number of addresses in which he aroused the Church to fresh activity and enthusiasm for missions. Meanwhile the Calcutta school continued to develop in Duff's absence, thanks largely to the ability of his two colleagues W.S. Mackay and David Ewart.

Should Duff mean to help, enhance new schools of this write? He dismissed this probability since he understood that Brahmins and different individuals from the upper and white collar classes would not send their youngsters to a Bengali school keep running by a Christian minister when they had comparable schools of their own to send them to. Regardless Duff had a low conclusion of Bengali language. He said that up to the season of Carey it was 'as discourteous, as unreduced to strategy or govern, as the most brutal of the vernacular lingos of Europe amid the medieval times'. Sanskrit and Persian were the regarded dialects and both of these were impracticable as mediums of directions<sup>184</sup>Duff had only one alternative left-the English language.—As a local of the Scottish Highlands, he had early understood that among Gaelic-talking individuals the requests of higher training must be met by English. Duff put Gaelic and Bengali in a similar class. English was vital for the training of individuals who talked either.<sup>185</sup>

The accomplishment of Duff's work and the wide interest of his school to the Bengali Hindu white collar class influenced the legislature to give careful consideration to his perspectives and his techniques. The impact was all the more grounded through the way that Calcutta was the seat of the Indian Government around then, and in certainty the school structures were not at an incredible separation from the administration structures. The accomplishment of the choice to utilize the English dialect as the medium of guideline empowered numerous different schools and universities to do likewise.

Duff's achievements in relation to those of other missionaries prior to 1837 need some reassessment. As we have seen, almost from the moment of his arrival he was himself battling their educational work and, whether consciously or otherwise. In fact all of what are generally regarded as characteristic feature of Duff's education policy had been introduced by other missionaries before his arrival on Calcutta.

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<sup>183</sup> Duff retired from his work in Calcutta finally in 1863, and died in 1878

<sup>184</sup> Alexander Duff, op. cit., pp. 536-4

<sup>185</sup> J. N. Ogilvie, *The Apostles of India*, pp. 387-88, London, I as cited in D. H. Emmott, 1965

They had all perceived the significance of English instruction and had begun English schools: they all understood the significance of preparing Indian ministers and instructors as to the last particularly they didn't require Duff to explain a "descending filtration" arrangement for them and they were all giving Christians and in addition mainstream educating in their schools. If Duff was more thoroughgoing in his insistence that his pupils should learn English at an early age and then uses it as their medium for learning, this was offset by his cavalier dismissal of the possibilities of the Bengali, to say nothing of his suspicion of Sanskrit. Even Duff's rightly celebrated insistence that education should be so conducted as to awaken to the full the intellectual potential of the students.

Was Duff then nothing more than man with an unusual talent for self advertisement and impressive sounding oratory? To say this would be going much too far: the truth would seem to be that although none of these ideas were original, he was far more successful than his predecessors. It is also absolutely right that within a few years of its foundation his school had developed into the best missionary institution in Bengal: indeed Auckland's judgment (1837), that "it was the best school of any kind in the area, does not seem unreasonable- a very considerable achievement in itself, for which Duff must be given great credit." This was partly due to the unprecedented thoroughness, indeed the professionalism, with which he carried out his ideas, the teaching of English, the application of the 'interrogatory system', the selection and training of assistant teachers, the integration of Christian with secular learning.

One of the most important things is that he himself devoted to full time to one school (apart from its outshoot at Taki). Unlike him the other missionaries act as an supervision to a dozen or more schools, whereas he did not delude himself that he could give proper supervision to as many as schools that scattered across the villages over a wide area in the intervals between vernacular preaching.

But the key to the Duff's achievements was his personality, especially as it was manifested in the classroom. In general, he "compelled admiration and respect, but not affection, and his traditional Scottish respect for the freedom of the individual to argue their own point of view was in practice in limited by his insistence that in the end the claims of Christianity must always

prevail: but Lal Behari Day's vivid picture of him in action is enough to show his greatness as a teacher.

### **3.6.1 Effects of the introduction of English Education:**

William Adam in his report on the state of education in Bengal (1835 and 1838) made the following remark.

*“My recollections of the village schools of Scotland do not enable me to pronounce that the instructions given in them have a more direct bearing upon the daily interests of life than that which I find given or professed to be given in the humbler village schools of Bengal.”*<sup>186</sup>

However absence of learning in materialistic science, destitution and carelessness had debilitated the premise of the learning, conferred either through vernacular dialect or Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Even, at initially, East India Company did not support either the spread of English instruction or Missionary exercises in India. The change affected in the Charter of East India Company be that as it may, opened the conduit of Christian missions in India. They established a few schools. The Baptist's Mission College at Serampore was built up in 1818. Private people additionally took a hand in issue. David Hare, Raja Rammohan Roy and G. H. Turnbull each settled a school.

The establishment of Hindu College and the Calcutta School Book Society, in 1817, did pioneering work towards the direction of spreading English education. Among those in this nation who supported the spread of advanced education by the presentation of English, the name of Raja Rammohan Roy emerges preeminent. In December 1823, the Raja tended to a letter to Lord Amherst giving the most clear piece of the liberal thoughts which provoked the backers of western instruction to argue for the presentation of English as medium of advanced education. Indeed, even the Orientalists drove by Prinsep never supported for the presentation of vernacular as the medium of direction.

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<sup>186</sup>J. N. Ogilvie, *The Apostles of India*, pp. 387-88, London, I as cited in D. H. Emmott, 1965, p.9



The inquiry that rattles around then was whether English or Persian and Arabic ought to be the vehicle for advanced education. Here Dr. Duff had assumed a critical part in the presentation of western instruction in India, through the medium of English. In the Anglicist-Classicist discussion which was at its stature amid this period, Duff and Rammohan Roy firmly bolstered the previous view. Thus the ground was at that point arranged for the presentation of English. The verifiable procedure of the whole development had been in activity for along time and nothing caused or moved this procedure more than the Evangelical and Utilitarian thoughts. Macaulay's well known Minutes gave a last seal to this debate and affirmed Bentinck's conclusions, who issued his Resolution of the seventh March 1835 which expressed that,

*'the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.'*<sup>187</sup>

The impacts of this choice were expansive. Western thoughts, western writing and dialect, western science theory, western conduct, western style of living, western standard worked as lever in achieving political, social and financial change of India. At the same time it made another station hindrance between the English instructed few and the uneducated millions.

In the in the interim, notwithstanding, the interest for western training in the nation in mid nineteenth century was in the expansion and there were just couple of establishments to provide food western instruction to Indian students. According to Dr. Duff, 600 young men on the least count day by day went to English schools led under the careful supervision of evangelists in Calcutta and its neighborhoods.

The fame of English training in the early piece of the nineteenth century was to a great extent owing to their craving for liberal instruction and interest in organization. In this regards, Macaulay's aim in his own words was

*"To form a class who may be interpreters between us with the millions whom we govern, a class of persons English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and in intellect."*<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>187</sup>Ibid., p.9

The Christian teachers found in the duplication of English schools implies for proliferating Gospel. Dr. Duff with Raja Rammohan Roy, the dad of Modern India, had assumed critical part in supporting Macaulay. Obstacles in this way were put in the method for the youthful academic when he opened his school and the air was lease with the call of 'Hinduism in threat'. In this emergency, Rammohan stood by the side of the youthful evangelist since he found in him a youthful committed soul gave to the cause of the spread of education. In his judgment the Raja turned out to be completely legitimized. Duff no question was roused by fervent thought processes yet in the meantime his affection for India was next only to that of his own nation and his anxiety for India's welfare and the upward versatility of its people through the spread of learning earned the appreciation all things considered and non-Christians alike in this country. It is enticing to cite a couple of words from his goodbye deliver to uncover the depth of adoration he engaged for this nation and its prosperity; “wherever I wander, wherever I roam, wherever I labor, wherever I rest my heart will be still in India.”<sup>189</sup> Dr. Duff was by profession, “a missionary”; but his life and labors, the true and constant friend of India.<sup>190</sup>

## Conclusion

From the above discussion on Scottish missionaries we find that the Education system developed in Scotland was much more socially sensitive than it was in England. The nature of education was fairly established on the ideas of enlightenment period. The children of all classes could attend same schools. This resulted in the development of a feeling of compassion amongst the students from rich and the poor backgrounds.

The strong belief in the ideas of enlightenment made Scottish missionaries take hard decisions. They were not pragmatic on issues like medium of education to be catered in English or vernacular languages, etc.

These attitudes of Scottish missionaries can be seen in the Indian context as well where the missionaries like Alexander Duff who himself was Gaelic speaking exerted his full force for English education because he knew it would help in the introduction of western ideas. The

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<sup>188</sup>Prof. Asit Kumar Sen, Secretary, 150th Year Celebration Committee published in the 150th Year commemorative volume 1980, Scottish Church College- Glimpses of college history, p.7

<sup>189</sup>Ibid., p.7

<sup>190</sup>Prof. Asit Kumar Sen, Secretary, 150th Year Celebration Committee published in the 150th Year commemorative volume 1980, Scottish Church College- Glimpses of college history, p.7

efforts of Duff brought the marginalized sections to schools. The education enabled Dalits, tribals and women to contest for social mobility. This mobility of the marginalized sections of the society has led to the overall development in a democratic way.

## Conclusion

We started this study to understand the nature of the works done by Christian missionaries in India during the colonial period. There is an immense corpus of literature of micro and macro studies to understand the nature of missionary work in India. These works are at times political in nature. The works which are politically charged had political implications as well. Works done during the colonial period and right after independence are important because this was also the period when indigenous scholars developed their own narrative of nationalism. This narrative was based on division of Indian and Non-Indian, every Indian tradition and culture was pumped with pride to boost the nationalistic fervor amongst the masses. This fervor encouraged masses to resistance to fight against imperialist forces. Slogans like Hindu- Hindi- Hindustan and Hinduism in Danger was invented to motivate people to fight against imperialist powers.

The politically charged up atmosphere created by the national leaders and scholars lead to the undermining of other culture existing on the subcontinent. The idea behind doing this was to make uniformity amongst people so that a unitary method of fighting against foreign power could be effectively constructed. This construction alienated the people who were not the followers of mainstream Hindu culture. People started to look at Islam and Christianity as foreign implantation and were looked upon with suspicion.

The effects of such polarizations are haunting the Indian politics to this day. India has been a country which has been ruled by people of Islamite culture and the followers of Christianity. So, due to these interactions there are Christians and people other faiths living in India. In the case of Muslim alienation which during the independence struggle led to number of communal riots in different parts of the sub-continent. This phenomena still leads to lynching of Muslims and Dalits to this day. The Christians are also not spared from this lynching and atrocities, we hear about churches being burnt down, anti-conversion laws being implemented and in many others ways. The important parts here are the polarizations which are created amongst masses which are leading to such circumstances. The seeds of such polarizations were sowed in some point of time back in history. But, they are actively used while electioneering to gain political benefits by political parties and leaders.

So, it is very important to understand how these polarizations are created and what are they? While the scholars were pumping pride in native cultures undermined other cultures. They also connected Christianity as a religion which is closely connected with the project of Imperialism. And, hence the followers were targeted after that.

India gained its independence on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 and it's been 77 years since then. The Indian constitution has allowed to freely practicing whichever religion one likes to follow and allowed saving their respective cultures through educational institutions. Hence, the questions of was Christianity supporting the cause of colonialism? Were the Christian missionaries only after gaining converts? Should be completely get ridden of.

This type of understanding can be considered as an “Old perspective” from which one should departs now. There are number of problems of poverty, hunger and of marginalized sections which the nation needs to think about. This can be considered as a “New Perspective”. This idea of Old and New perspectives was evolved by an eminent historian on education Parimala V. Rao in her introductory chapter in *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*.

The New perspective considers the plight of the marginalized sections of the society. These marginalized sections have been made disabled due to the caste stratification system practiced in India. These sections are majorly the Dalits, Tribals and women. This New perspective brings the discourse of these sections to the mainstream instead of still debating over issues which have become redundant.

The works of the missionaries of missionaries did help in the improvement of the conditions of these marginalized sections. These missionaries were not allowed to freely practice in cities like Calcutta, etc. So, they turned towards the interiors where they saw the plight of these sections of people. They developed interest in developing the conditions of these people. And, their works have brought remarkable improvements in the conditions of these sections. This is what the achievements of the English and Scottish missionaries are.

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