

THE MISSIONARY CREED
A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAITH AND WORK AMONGST
EVANGELICAL MISSIONARIES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIA

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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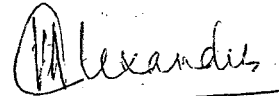
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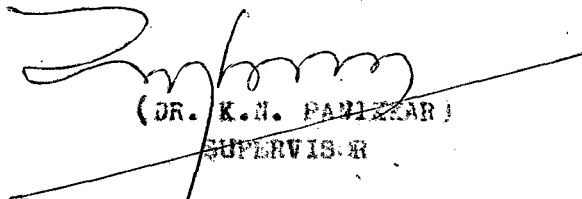
January 3, 1985

This dissertation is submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy.

It is certified that this work is original,
and has not been submitted, in whole or in part,
for any degree of this University, or any other.



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P R E F A C E

This dissertation arose out of a desire to do a study on the identity of Christianity in Modern India, which had developed in the course of a year's 'field work' after my M.A.. On its completion, thanks are due first of all to Dr. K.N. Panikkar, who patiently supervised its progress over two very educative years. The Delhi Brotherhood of the Ascended Christ very kindly allowed me access to their library, and I would like to thank them for many enjoyable days spent working there.

I would also like to express my appreciation of the fine academic discipline which 'C.H.S.' provided, especially my course work with Dr. Satish Saberwal. The work of preparing the dissertation in its final form was facilitated by the very efficient and accurate typing of Mr. Babu Varghese. Mrs. Susan Jacob provided valuable advice, and helped greatly with the proof-reading. That the job finally got done was due in no small measure to the moral and material support of my friends and parents.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.	American Board (of Missions).
A.M.C., 1872,	Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad 1872-3...(Madras, 1873).
A.P.	American Presbyterian
B.M.C., 1892	Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference held at Bombay 1892-93 (Bombay, 1893).
B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society
C.E.Z.S.	Church of England Zenana Society
C.M.C., 1882	Report of the Second Decennial Missionary Conference held at Calcutta 1882-83 (Calcutta, 1883).
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
F.C.S.	Free Church of Scotland
G.B.M.S.	General Baptist Missionary Society
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
P.M.C., 1862	Report of the Punjab Missionary Conference held at Lahore in December and January 1862-63 : Including the Essays Read and the Discussions which Followed them... (Ludhiana, 1863).
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
U.S.P.G.	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

The word missionary, when used in the text without any qualification, connotes 'evangelical' missionary.

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INTRODUCTION

The missionary has been of undoubted significance in the history of Christianity. Whilst, the agency of men who carried the gospel to alien lands has always been important in the spread of the faith, this was particularly so in the colonial church. Their importance as founders and leaders of the church, was enhanced by their access to, and identification with the foreign rulers¹. The attitudes of the missionary, including what was peculiar to the colonial milieu, were influential in shaping the character of Christianity in the colony. It is thus that this study has sought to focus on missionary attitudes.

A Rationale for this Study

The significance of the missionary's attitudes is, however, not limited to the history of Christianity in nineteenth century India. The mentality these represent was more pervasive than just the mission community. The premises and predilections (and prejudices, of course), of many men who served in lay

1. J.C.B. Webster, The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India, (Delhi, 1976) p.43-44.

capacities in India had some similarity to the missionary ². Understanding the missionary can perhaps help in understanding aspects which oiled the cogs of British Imperialism. Implied here is a closer look at the mechanics of colonialism which haven't yet received such attention in the historiography of colonial India.

History writing on our colonial experience, especially the writing in this country, has focussed on the subjection that was the dominant feature of the colonial era. What this study endeavours to do, in a small way, is make a case for a method of 'understanding', as adding to the historical perspective of one part of British colonialism. Karl Mannheim, writing nearly fifty years ago pointed the way:

"a human situation is characterizable only when one has also taken into account those conceptions which the participants have of it, how they experience their tensions in this situation, how they react to the tensions so conceived." ³

He also warned against the tendency of thought, in a period of

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2. Col. Munro, Dewan and Resident of Travancore in 1815 is just one example. L.W. Brown, The Indian Christians of St. Thomas : An Account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar, (Cambridge, 1956) p.132.
 3. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, (London, 1960), p.40.

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the growth of modern science, to reduce complex situations to an externalizing formal description, a world of facts in which (there) was only measurable data, only predictable modes of behaviour, that excluded all that was meaningfully intelligible, and which would be unable to ever build them up again ⁴.

When a recent Presidential address to the modern Indian history section at the Indian History Congress referred to the "reaction to the 'New Economic history,' 'history without people'"⁵, it expressed well the rationale behind a personal conversion. After having specialized in economic history at the graduate level, I moved to social history, at its furthest remove from 'Balance of Payments' - the history of mentality and religion. The ways in which men thought and acted, their conceptions of reality - all of which are subsumed under the term religion, - apart from being a richer and more interesting area for me personally, seemed also not without significance in the field of Modern Indian History.

4. ibid, p.39

5. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, Presidential Address Modern Indian History Section, Indian History Congress Proceedings of the Forty Third Session, Kurukshetra, 1982, (Aligarh, 1983), p.398.

Parallel to this personal movement, it has seemed to me, the discipline of modern history (in India especially) was taking a new interest in religion. One historian put it rather strongly in a review article : "Religion is of special, even crucial importance for the proper understanding of the history of South Asia... manifold elements of 'religious' nature have invariably impinged upon any effort to thoroughly understand the social context or the historical factors behind changes in India"⁶. One might not entirely accept this, but would agree that even Marxist historiography on the whole was displaying an increasing interest in the components of what are known as the superstructural elements of social formations, including religion.

Behind this renewed interest lie theoretical developments of two kinds. One has been the conception that even if you define ideology negatively as distorted knowledge, and science as the knowledge which penetrates phenomenal forms of reality, the two are not antithetical. This is because ideology is rooted in social contradictions, not in merely wrong cognition, and as such can be dispelled only by the practical solution of the

6. R.E. Frykenburg, "On The Study of Conversion Movements : A Review Article and a Theoretical Note", Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. XVII (1980), p.121-22.

contradictions. "Its roots are beyond the boundaries of mere intellectual mistakes and cannot be defeated by simple theoretical means",⁷ to quote Jorge Larrain. The second, is the realization that 'false consciousness' is a value judgment, not an explanation, and certainly not an understanding. A social consciousness, especially if it is widespread and powerful, enters the purview of the social scientist. The study of consciousness needs empathic subjective understanding as much as objective analysis.

The Method of this Study

What this study will attempt to do is to enter the cultural universe of the missionary (at least the segment connoted by the term Evangelical) and try to understand his perspective. Some explanation is in order here. The term cultural is used here specifically, to distinguish it from others like social and institutional. While all three are abstractions from the same reality⁸ (and strands from all will occasionally appear in the account) to focus on one is heuristically useful. The emphasis here is not so much on causal-functional as on logico-meaningful integration, involving style, logical implication, meaning, and value.

8. Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, (New York, 1973), p.144.

7. Jorge Larrain, The Concept of Ideology (New Delhi, .../- 1980), p.173.

Due to limitations of time, and skill, this M.Phil Dissertation will be an exploration of one primary source, the Reports of the Missionary Conferences held in the second half of the nineteenth century, at Ludhiana in 1862, Allahabad in 1872, Calcutta in 1882, Bombay in 1892, and Madras in 1902. These Decennial Conferences drew Evangelical Christian Missionaries from all over India (except the first one at Ludhiana, which was limited to the Punjab), and had representation from nearly all the Protestant Missionary Societies working in the Indian mission field. The extensive discussions at the Conferences covered the entire gamut of missionary work and life. The wide variety of opinions expressed, apart from dispelling a simplistic picture of a 'missionary attitude', make the verbatim 'Reports' of the Conferences a good source for the missionary perspective. Also briefly referred to, are some files of the Indian Missionary Archive of the U.S.P.C., and missionary journals, 'The East and The West' and 'Dayanodaya'. There is much else that missionaries have written which could have been usefully consulted, but this study is limited to these sources.

The main body of the dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first, will be a selective review of the historiography of the subject. The review after sketching the

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two large contexts, Church history and the history of the National Movement, in which the missionary has featured, proceeds to deal with five works which particularly focus on the missionary. In examining these, we have sought to bring out how they have approached the missionary, along with what they give to begin us on our quest for an understanding of the missionary perspective. Chapter two will be an exploration of how the missionary related to his colonial context. We will do this by looking at the missionary in the context of his 'home culture', his place in nineteenth century Indian society, his interaction with the colonial government, and the 'native' view of him. The third Chapter, central to our study, will explore the missionary perspective by examining his attitudes, in two main sections dealing with his faith and his work.

The above is, briefly, the scheme of the dissertation. It is both an initial research effort, and a preliminary exploration of the missionary 'Weltanschauung'. Despite having suffered somewhat because of a time constraint towards the end, it is hoped that the study has helped make the missionary more comprehensible, that it is not abstruse, even if it is mistaken. Truth, it has been said, will sooner come out of error than confusion.

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CHAPTER IMODERN INDIAN HISTORY AND THE MISSIONARY

The missionary has featured in three historiographical contexts. The first two, though fairly large, are not very significant for our purpose because one deals with modern Indian history without enough interest in the missionary, and the other deals with the missionary without enough interest in modern Indian history. We will examine these two, what I will call 'mainstream' history and 'church' history, briefly because they belong to two significant contexts. The third, which we will take up in some detail, comprises the not very large number of works in 'mainstream' history - meaning that they fulfill criteria and submit to the evaluation of practitioners of history writing - which occupy themselves wholly or in significant part with the missionary.

The impact of British colonialism, and the rise of a modern Indian response, have been the major themes of 'mainstream' historiography. Where the missionary has featured here, it has been largely as a given (usually negative) factor, in reaction to which Indians were forced to speak up and organise themselves in defence of their ancestral religion or culture⁹.

9. S.R. Mehrotra is fairly representative. S.R. Mehrotra, The Emergence of the Indian National Congress, (Delhi, 1971), p. 38 ff.

Alternatively, as many modern Indian leaders and movements defined themselves in counterposition to the doctrines and methods of missionaries, there has been attention on them ¹⁰. Naturally interest has been on the consequences of missionary thought and action, not on the attitudes which informed and impelled this thought and action.

The 'Church History' tradition has been very different, and very prolific. The scriptures of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, with its strong sense of history, are themselves a kind of record of the history of the faith. Church historians, with not very different purposes ¹¹, have charted and analysed the progress of Christianity in diverse areas ¹², and through varied agencies ¹³. The sheer number of such works encourages

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10. See Ashis Nandy, The Intimate Enemy : Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism, (Delhi, 1983), pp.23 ff, 51 ff. He does explore the outlook of C.F. Andrews, but because he was not a typical missionary.
11. "The book tells of the elements composing this Church and the manner of its shaping by servants of God to whom he had given special gifts through the Holy Spirit." to quote the foreword to one work. H.E. Gibbs, The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970, (Delhi, 1972), p.v.
12. Robert Clark, The Missions of the C.M.S. and the C.F.Z.M.S. in the Punjab and Sindh. (London, 1904).
13. C.F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. : an historical Account... 1701-1900 (London, 1901).

the tendency to ignore them, quite apart from their 'inward looking' tendencies. By 'inward looking' is meant the tendency to make non-temporal (i.e. spiritual or scriptural) explanations, and a minimal concern for events and situations outside the world of their faith ¹⁴. These have limited their usefulness in a highly temporal discipline like history. It was only after working on this dissertation, that the great possibilities that lay in 'Church history', as a source for a study of mentality, became apparent.

There is currently a process of re-examination taking place within 'Church history', that holds promise of a reduction in the distance between the large uncritical mass of church history, and the small but sharply critical part of 'mainstream' history, that deals with the church. There has been recognition that, hitherto, the history of Christianity in India has been approached as an eastward extension of Western ecclesiastical history, emphasising its internal history or its 'foreign mission' dimension. The general introduction ¹⁵

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14. In Gibbs, op. cit, for instance the fascinating eleventh Chapter is the only concession made to social history.
15. Joseph Thekkedath, History of Christianity in India, Volume II : From the Middle of the 16th to the End of the 17th Century (1542-1700), (Bangalore, 1982).

to the new series commissioned by the 'Church History Association of India' acknowledges this, while expressing a resolve to focus attention upon the Christian people of India and their self-understanding (rather than the foreign missionary).

Interestingly it also mentions the view that Christians and Christianity in India are an integral part of the society and culture of India - a proposition that the nineteenth century missionary might have looked at askance, as we shall see when we examine the missionary's faith.

The historiography that we will review at some length comprises works which have studied the missionary, and done so in a context of the cultural, social, economic, and political milieu of nineteenth century India. Our selection includes five books. These are D.B. Forrester's 'Caste and Christianity'¹⁶, J.C.B. Webster's 'The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India'¹⁷, E. Daniel Potts' 'The British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837'¹⁸, K.P. Sengupta's

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16. D.B. Forrester, Caste and Christianity : Attitudes and Policies on Caste of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Missions in India, (London, 1980).
 17. J.C.B. Webster, The Christian Community and Change in Nineteen Century North India, (Delhi, 1976).
 18. E. Daniel Potts, The British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837 (Cambridge, 1967).

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'The Christian Missionaries in Bengal' ¹⁹, and G.A. Oddie's 'Social Protest in India' ²⁰. Our particular interest in reviewing this small selection is an idea of how various scholars have approached the missionary, and what insights they have to offer towards understanding the missionary perspective.

Caste and Christianity

Forrester's study ²¹ is of interest to us because he has dealt with attitudes and policies of missionaries, and these regarding 'caste' which must have brought to the fore questions of both the missionary's faith and work. Forrester begins with Louis Dumont's discussion on the impact of caste on Christianity in India. His attempt to "redress the balance of scholarly discussion" ^{21a} traces the ways in which Protestant missionaries tackled the challenge of caste.

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19. K.P. Sengupta, The Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793-1833, (Calcutta, 1971).
20. G.A. Oddie, Social Protest in India : British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1850-1900, Manohar, (New Delhi, 1979).
21. D.B. Forrester, op. cit.
- 21a. *ibid*, p.202.

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He argues that,

"the Protestant critique of caste which slowly developed since the late 18th century has had a notable influence in the shaping of ideas and the modification of behaviour far beyond the boundaries of the Protestant Churches." 22

However, his conclusion that "the most significant achievement of the Protestant critique of caste was undoubtedly its major contribution towards a radical transformation of educated opinion in India" ²³, has not been greatly substantiated. He points out that other forces than Protestant opinion and practice viz. urbanisation, education, were working to break down the rigidity of caste, and that caste continues to operate with considerable potency despite legislation and changed opinions. ²⁴ What he has done is to throw much light on the range and detail of positions on the question of caste, leaving it to us to identify which parts of our (educated) opinion originated in Protestant opinion and practice.

The great merit of 'Caste and Christianity' is that its

22. ibid, p.202.

23. ibid, p.201.

24. ibid, p.201.

basis for assessments is not just opinion, but actual practice. Forrester gives due prominence to the fact that most missionaries' pronouncements on caste, went with complete adherence to the practice of an alternate casteism - racialism ²⁵. His survey of attitudes and policies makes a clear delineation of the various strands that comprised the thinking on caste, and its historical development with time and changed circumstances; missionary, liberal missionary, Indian Christian, Renascent Hindu. The major situations are also there : Company rule, 1857, mass movements into Christianity, along with the changes in outlook they precipitated. There is not much that Forrester has missed out on. Even the peculiar situation of Christianity in Kerala - where an ancient church well entrenched in caste society was confronted by the reforming missionary, - is discussed.

Forrester's contention seems to be, that the missionary perspective though often prejudiced or inadequate, contained a considerable element of truth. For, he says, "Even those who had the greatest eagerness to accommodate Christianity

25. ibid, p.42.

to Indian culture and the greatest love for India, shared with the more aggressive and ethno-centric Christians, a peculiar uneasiness about caste." ²⁶ Forrester is something of a latter-day defender of the (missionary) faith : some of the provocation to this scholarly work evidently came from an "over-critical" ²⁷ assessment of the missionary attitude to caste, and Dumont's contention that Christianity was only at the receiving end in the struggle with caste. To his credit, it must be said that Forrester is not blind to the missionary's limitations, despite his sympathy.

"With great consistency missionaries underestimated the resilience and adaptability of caste and regarded the problem of replacing it in far too simple a way. Indeed many of them seemed quite blind to changes that were taking place within the caste system, and sometimes they give the appearance of shadow-boxing as they inveigh against the absurdities and immoralities of caste in a former age." ²⁸

It is worth noting here that this basic distinction, between a sympathetic and a critical approach to the missionary, emerged as fairly significant in categorising the various works in the field.

26. *ibid*, p.7.

27. *ibid*, p.156.

28. *ibid*,

Let us also examine some of the questions that Forrester has raised in this work. The theme of his work quite probably came up when, as a lecturer (and missionary?) at Tambaram ²⁹, Forrester came face to face with the problem of caste in the South Indian church. From the context of the present, he is able to provide some answers to the questions that history had left unanswered - in the debate on caste, just who was right : the liberal acceptors or the fundamentalist reformers? Similarly, the historical context he chronicles is able to provide answers to questions which still vex the church : in missionary strategy, is a culture-specific agent less effective than one who is well acculturated? The bigger question underlying these is one which colonially bred Christianity everywhere has to face in various forms; is Christianity Western and anti-national? Finally, Forrester has raised the issue, central to this dissertation, of the role and nature of the missionary's attitudes. To quote him,

"Anglo-Saxon Protestant missionaries did not of course come empty-handed or empty-headed to India. The Bible which they brought and quickly translated was understood in the light of specific and conscious theological commitments, and beyond that they brought, expectations, attitudes, presuppositions, hopes, and prejudices, some of which seemed to them (but not to us or to their Indian converts) axiomatic, and of others of which they were usually unconscious." 30

29. *ibid*, Back flap of dust jacket.

30. *ibid*, p.191.

It is to questions such as these that this study addresses itself.

The Christian Community and Change

Webster's study ³¹ originated in two articles which he wrote for the journal Indian Church History Review ³². The connection with 'Church history' makes the work of special interest, in the context of our discussion above. Webster's definition of the Christian Community in North India as initially comprising foreign missionaries, and changing, over time, to a body of Indian converts, and his understanding of the roots of religious controversy which the missionary got involved in, and of the missionary perspective of issues like social change, and nationalism, are helpful foundations for our construction of the world view of the missionary. Webster's concern to 'demissionarify' history (explained in the following paragraph) is an ideal that we have adopted, although we have done it in a different manner from him, as we shall explain below.

Webster's method in writing his history has been to attempt not to fall into the tendency of equating the history of Christianity with the activities of missionaries. He

31. J.C.B. Webster, op. cit.

32. *ibid*, Preface.

compares this tendency with the view of the history of British India as made up of the acts of various administrators³³. This problem, which we referred to in our discussion of 'church history', has in our opinion two aspects to it. One has been ideological, originating in a view of the missionary as being of overwhelming importance in the history of Christianity.³⁴ The second has to do with the discipline history's strong archival moorings which make it vulnerable to being overly dependent on the sheer volume and accessibility of missionary perspectives. Webster has sought to break from this missionary-centrism in two ways. He has drawn on the archives of contemporary Indian newspapers (Arya Patra, Shahna-i-Hind, Sanatan Dharm, Gazette, Azad, Advocate, Leader) to ascertain Indian attitudes towards Christians. It might be worth noting that others like Potts³⁵ have based, even this aspect in their work, on the feedback contained in mission or related sources. The second way that Webster has tried to counter the problem is by giving due

33. *ibid*, p.43-4.

34. H.E. Gibbs, *op cit*, is almost entirely a chronicle of missionary activity.

35. E. Daniel Potts, *op cit*. See part IV.

place to the significance of the role of the Indian convert in the history of Christianity in India.

It is the insight into the foreign missionary's social position and attitudes that is remarkable in Webster's work. Perhaps, he is able to empathize more closely than most of us. He begins with an analysis of how particular schools of theology, that the Presbyterian missionaries belonged to, affected attitudes towards Indians³⁶. He is able to achieve a very fine understanding of the missionary's place in colonial society - the subtle differences that separated them from other expatriates (except the more devout), whereas to most eyes, the missionary was quite indistinguishable from the Government. The missionary perspective on social change and progress too were quite distinct³⁷, and parts of their over-all outlook. It is this cool appraisal of a particular perspective, free from the condemnation or applause that invariably accompany it, that is the achievement of Webster's work.

36. J.O.B. Webster, op cit, pp.31-36.

37. *ibid*, p.266.

'The Christian Community and Change' has raised questions which are relevant even in the context of changing (though no longer colonial) North India. Questions which face the North Indian Christian Community as it tries to work out its identity in the midst of cultural and social tensions. The problem of caste ties, and the ascribed meanings of the rite of baptism, are not solely questions for past history. It is in this context that a defence can be made of the locus standi of this dissertation. Its concern with the missionary is not a throwback to the days of 'Missionary equals Christianity' historiography. Here, the study of the missionary is not as the norm or the epitome of Christianity, but as a peculiar historical entity with distinctive traits, both merits and failings. To exorcise colonial spirits, one has to understand them adequately. It is this task of adequately understanding the missionary in colonial India that this dissertation has set itself - a task pioneered by those such as Webster.

The British Baptist Missionaries

In a field quite crowded with works measured by the criteria of piety perhaps, but certainly not objectivity,

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Potts ³⁸ says in his preface,

"I quickly realized that my work would be in danger of being labelled as another Baptist hallelujah written by, of, and for, the Baptists." ³⁹

We will consider below, to what extent, his work actually escapes the dubious distinction. The purpose of the book, according to Potts, is two-fold. One, to show that the Baptists with their multifarious activity, as "doctors, teachers, botanists, translators, printers, agriculturists - all to the greater glory of God, and the ultimate conversion to Christianity of the people of the Indian sub-continent", set the pattern for missionary endeavour in India, "a richer, broader, concept of missionary work" ⁴⁰. Secondly, that by their work, they "helped germinate the seed of reform in the Indian sub-continent" ⁴¹.

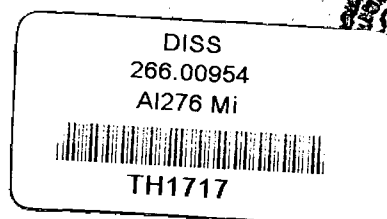
Potts carries out his purpose through dividing his work into four parts. The first, deals with the 'Beginnings, Growth and Acitivity' of the Baptist Mission, and their interaction with other groups, which discussed the issue of

38. E. Daniel Potts, op cit.

39. *ibid*, Preface.

40. *ibid*, p. 245.

41. *ibid*, Preface.



their contentiousness with other groups. Part II deals with their literary activity and the pioneering work in the vernacular, which the Baptists did, with a good depiction of their motives and concerns : Potts begins by stating that the basic purpose was "to aid missionary attempts to spread the knowledge of Christianity throughout India" ⁴² but follows with a much more balanced account than others like Sengupta ⁴³ who have emphasised the hypocrisy of Baptist efforts. Part III covers Baptist involvement in the political campaign for reform, legislation and their role in raising political awareness, despite their own loyalty to the British government, by their insistence on the importance of public participation in legislation. Part IV assesses the Indian response by examining the 'general response' through the reports to the mission, and the 'scholarly response' through the famous Ram Mohan Roy-Joshua Marshman debate.

Potts' work displays a fine sensitivity to the issues of cultural confrontation that the missionary in colonial India was centre of. The oft-encountered allegation that the missionary was ignorant and had bigoted views is re-examined. Potts suggests that bigoted the missionary was,

42. *ibid*, p.79

43. K.P. Sengupta, *op cit*.

but to dismiss him as unaware of reality in contemporary India is to repeat his mistake, of prejudice ⁴⁴. His awareness of the traditional Indian concept of a man of religion, helps to show how much the average missionary who wore the same clothes as the ordinary English people, ate meat, drank alcohol, and received a salary, didn't fit most people's idea of a holy man ⁴⁵. A thorough-going coverage of Baptist correspondence reveals the very ambiguous position they occupied in relation to the early colonial government - hardly in keeping with any simplistic views of missionary activity as fifth column of colonial rule ⁴⁶.

Potts is able to combine an understanding of the missionary rationale, with an awareness of the missionary's sometimes serious limitations. Two exemplary quotations will serve to illustrate much of what we have been saying about Pott's work. The first is a classic paragraph on the ubiquitous

44. *ibid*, p.212 n.

45. *ibid*, p.210.

46. *ibid*, pp. 103, 105, 108, 190, etc.

issue of conversions :

"By rendering medical aid they might prolong life for at most a few years. By preaching and distributing religious literature they might ensure eternal life for some. Mohandas Gandhi's oft quoted views that conversion and service are incompatible reflect a basic misunderstanding of Christianity. To a Christian, preparing the ground for conversion is the most important service he can render." 47

The second is equally clear in elucidating the missionary perspective, though this time Potts is batting from the other side.

"what many (missionaries) did not understand or attempt to understand they condemned outright ... too often missionaries failed to be forgiving, humble, and compassionate. Their criticisms of Indian ways and their propagation of those of the West made it appear, in the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, that they represented 'British Imperialism far more than the spirit of Christ', with the result that in the 'average Indian mind, the Christian missionary is almost indistinguishable from the alien official'." 48

It is this combination of facility in explaining the missionary perspective and of delineating the inherent prejudices in missionary attitudes towards Indian culture,

47. **ibid, p.48.**

48. **ibid, p.212.**

where they exist, that is the great quality of Pott's writing.

However, Potts does not manage to lay to rest the vexed problem of objectivity. Perhaps because its roots lie deeper than mere faulty historical method, to rephrase Jorge Larraín⁴⁹. Two discordant views of a subject might reflect opposing forces in an ongoing cultural struggle. The problem re-emerges when we begin to examine K.P. Sengupta's work on the Christian missionaries in Bengal.

The Christian Missionaries in Bengal

Sengupta's book⁵⁰, is a study of almost exactly the same subject, geographical location, and time period as two other works⁵¹, one of which we have just looked at. The author offers some justification, when he says⁵² that his focus is on missionary activity for gaining converts, and on the missionary attitude towards the people, both of which he

49. See Introduction above, n.

50. K.P. Sengupta, op cit.

51. These are Kenneth Ingham, Reforms in India 1793-1833. and E. Daniel Potts, op cit.

52. K.P. Sengupta, op cit, Preface.

feels were neglected by the earlier works. Sengupta's work is of interest to us, both as the only Indian scholar amongst the five we examine and, of course, because he studies missionary attitudes.

The problem of conflicting views in the study of the missionary, which we just referred to, emerges very clearly from a comparative reading of Potts ⁵² and Sengupta ⁵³.

Their different emphases, convey quite different impressions of the first brahmin convert. Potts ⁵⁴ thus :

"By 15th June, 1802, nine former Hindus had been baptised... included among the nine was one Brahmin, Krishna Prasad, whom Ward described as, 'a man of integrity among a nation who value themselves on their dexterity in the arts of deception and fraud'. This conversion was regarded as of especial importance... and in 1803 the first brahmin convert married a daughter of the Sudra Indian Baptist;"

and Sengupta ⁵⁵ on Krishna Prasad :

"For example, the official report on the exclusion of the converts - John, Golamee, and Ananda, (Krishna's second daughter) mentions "conduct unbecoming the Gospel as the reason for their exclusion. It is however from the journal of Ward one finds that John and Golamee were excluded for prostitution, and Ananda, the wife of Krishna Prasad, the first brahmin convert of the Serampore Mission for committing adultery."

52. E. Daniel Potts, op cit.

53. K.P. Sengupta, op cit.

54. E. Daniel Potts, op cit, pp.35, 158.

55. K.P. Sengupta, op cit, p.155

Sengupta and Potts' works provide a classic illustration of two historians working on almost identical sources, coming up with assessments which diverge greatly. A careful comparative reading of the two provides considerable insight into the premises and preferences of what has been referred to earlier as the sympathetic and the critical views of Christianity in modern India. To take the example cited above, Potts clearly has a point to prove in referring to Krishna Prasad, the first brahmin convert, and the intercaste nature of his marriage within the Christian community; Sengupta too has a point to prove in referring to the first Brahmin convert only in connection with his wife's exclusion for adultery. The former is trying to depict the transformation wrought in the Baptist converts; the latter, the morally debased character of converts. Both could claim with some justification that he was objective; the only difference is in ^{the} choice of facts. There is perhaps no complete freedom ^{from} subjectivity.

As he had indicated at the outset, Sengupta's recurring theme through the book is the exposure of the conversion motive of the missionaries. The section entitled 'Missionary Object', and the one on 'Translation', and the one on 'Education', all have this as their leitmotif, leading

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upto a conclusion that, "The lasting contributions of the missionaries towards the (sic) social progress in Bengal came directly from their non-evangelical work... the socio-religious reforms were the last thing that the missionaries wanted but they were what followed from their activities in Bengal." ⁵⁶ Sengupta's generalisation about the missionaries' "formidable ignorance of and hostility towards the religions and beliefs of the people" ⁵⁷ seems precisely the type that Potts commented on ⁵⁸. It leaves us with questions (which we take up in Chapter Three below) as to just what moved the missionary. They wanted converts; but what made it so important to them? They were often contemptuous of Indian religions and customs; what made them so? This is a level which Sengupta does not explore.

I am indebted to Sengupta's work, for one insight that he comes up with. He points out the missionary tendency to underemphasise any good that might be discovered in Hinduism or the Indian way of life ⁵⁹, and cites an illuminating comment

56. ibid, p.xii.

57. ibid, p.65.

58. See above, n.44.

59. K.P. Sengupta, op cit, p.73.

by a missionary in 1837, explaining that "to allow a single virtue or good quality to be coexistent with Hinduism, would be a virtual renunciation of the cause in which they had embarked." ⁶⁰ Though this is almost the exception to the rule of his work, Sengupta has touched upon an important psychological point. The emphasis on vices and bad qualities that are so frequent in the reports by missionaries - and it is rare to come across an appreciative report - were possibly a psychological defence against the difficulties and doubts with which a hard calling were fraught. Without subscribing to a psychological determinism, there is probably much that the social psychologist can help the historian of mentality with.

Social Protest in India

Oddie's book ⁶¹ (actually a collection of studies around its theme ⁶²) gives excellent background to our understanding of the missionary mentality. Of particular interest is his Chapter on 'The Men, Ideas, and Organization', and his

60. Shore, F.J., Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol.2, p.462 : cited in *ibid.*

61. G.A. Oddie, *op cit.*

62. As often, better conveyed by the sub-title, "British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1850-1900" than the title.

discussion of the changes in the missionary's situation in India from the early to the later nineteenth century.

Before we discuss some of the questions raised, let us briefly examine how Oddie has handled the rest of the study. He has used an impressive array of sources⁶³ to describe and assess the missionary role in social issues from caste, early marriage, and agrarian conditions, to Indigo and opium. The various sources seem to cover the range of perspectives, missionary, government, and Indian, available in writing. This is important because non-missionary perceptions could and did differ very sharply from missionary assessments of them⁶⁴. This is the inherent danger in using the latter to gain a picture of the former. Some of these issues saw cooperation between the missionary and Indian reformers, whilst others saw a divergence of interest. Oddie's discussion of the reasons why⁶⁵, raises

63. They include over eighty years' series of Bombay and Calcutta Missionary Conference Records; the published reports of the Government's Indigo, Opium, and Abkari Commissions; Indian controlled English newspapers and the vernacular press; periodical and pamphlet literature, biographies, public proceedings of organisations like the British Indian Association and the Indian Social Conference.

64. See M. Jurgensmayer, Religion as Social Vision, (California, 1982), Chapter 17. Also Chapter 2, Section IV, below.

65. G.A. Oddie, op cit, p.5ff.

some more interesting questions regarding missionary motives.

Oddie points out that the objectives and premises of the missionaries and the Indian reformers were different, even if they were agitating for the same issue. According to him, the difference lay in the Indian social reformers being parts (usually of the higher parts) of caste society, whereas the missionary due to his contacts, had a greater appreciation of the lower caste position, and consequently a more critical approach. Also, the missionaries tended to depend more on the government to act than the Indians, who did not want outside interference.⁶⁶ This, of course, was part of the changed climate of opinion in the latter nineteenth century, with its heightened national sensitivities. Missionary strategy on reform, which earlier concentrated on the rousing of public opinion in Britain, to help pressurise the government, now had more emphasis on Indian public opinion⁶⁷.

Oddie's investigation concludes fairly cautiously that,

56. ~~G. A. Oddie, The Indian Social Reformers~~
66. *ibid*, p.7f.

67. *ibid*, p.2-3.

"Missionary social policy, including the teachings and activity of British Protestant missionaries was one of the ingredients of social change within as well as outside the Christian community. However, a great deal of further research is still required before we reach any firm conclusion about the significance and impact of this aspect of missionary policy on the growth and development of Christianity itself in India during the 19th century." 68

This conclusion comes at the end of the extensive investigation that he has made. The discipline of history keeps a very tight rein on the judgments it passes. Oddie in his study of the Indigo controversy, disputes Blair Kling's contention that missionary interest in the issue ended with the discussions at the Calcutta Conference in 1855. In fact they only began there, he suggests.⁶⁹ A fascinating statistic that he comes up with, is a denominational breakup of the figures of missionaries who petitioned the government on the opium issue. They ranged from all of the Free Church of Scotland missionaries, ninety-four of the LMS and Seventy-five percent of the Baptists (all these being 'dissenter' sects) and thirty-six and eighteen percent respectively of the Methodists and the C.M.S. respectively (the last being of the Anglican Church)⁷⁰.

68. ibid, p.255.

69. ibid, p.156.

70. ibid, pp.242-3.

Although the missionary impact on social reform is not our primary concern, Oddie is very much on our ground when he explores the motivation which caused such a large number of Evangelical missionaries, not known for their commitment to a particularly social gospel, to be involved in social protest ⁷¹. And this despite the fact, according to Oddie, that not all of them were free from racial prejudice or the men from a bias against women ⁷². What made them campaign for greater equality among men, and more emancipation for women in education and other fields? Oddie feels that their British climate of reform was comparatively unimportant, when held against their experience of India. It wasn't any commitment to social justice per se, but rather more a commitment to the difficulties of their lower caste converts and the possibility of achieving more conversions. ⁷³

In this assessment he is close to Sengupta, though he has explored much more of the mentality of the missionary.

In the preceding review of literature, it has been

71. ibid, p.245.

72. ibid, p.250.

73. ibid, p.246.

our purpose to clarify our priorities in approaching the subject of the missionary in colonial India. It might be worthwhile to recapitulate the themes of the five books we have looked at here. Caste and Christianity ⁷⁴ dealt with the (essentially) Western Christian concept of equality that the missionaries carried, in its encounter with the Indian social institution of caste; and how the eventualities of history affected the encounter. Webster ⁷⁵ has attempted to chart the social history of a community consisting at first only of foreigners, as it grew and changed into its present place in North Indian history. Potts ⁷⁶, Sengupta ⁷⁷, and Oddie ⁷⁸, in their books have variously appraised the missionary presence and work in their specific areas : The first has tried to keep track of the multifarious nature of Baptist missionary activity, and gives us some perspective of the cultural conflict inherent; The second has concentrated on the conversion motive underlying all missionary activity, and gives us an inkling of the psychology of the missionary attitude; The third tries to assess the impact of missionary

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74. D.B. Forrester, op cit.
 75. J.C.B. Webster, op cit.
 76. E. Daniel Potts, op cit.
 77. K.P. Sengupta, op cit.
 78. G.A. Oddie, op cit.

effort on social reform in the latter half of the 19th century (the previous two focus on the first third of the century), while leading us in some initial exploration of motives underlying missionary activity.

The historiography of the missionary in colonial India has given us a foundation and guidelines for our attempt to reconstruct (from a limited exploration of the vast sources of missionary writings) the beliefs and attitudes of the Evangelical missionary in the nineteenth century in India. Firstly, the divergent assessments and emphases, we noticed, points to the need for care in handling the subject. The missionary was involved in controversy, and the historiography reflects this : an attempt to understand the missionary must deal with the problem. Secondly, the insights that have emerged in various places in the historiography suggest that the missionary had a rationale rooted in his particular outlook. The key to explaining the missionary lies in understanding his attitudes. Lastly, the colonial context in which our missionary existed must be clearly perceived, prior to reconstructing his outlook.

CHAPTER 2

THE MISSIONARY IN COLONIAL INDIA

The missionary might have thought of himself as no different from the first apostles, answering the 'great commission' of the resurrected Christ, to "go . . . into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."⁷⁹ While there were, undoubtedly, important similarities in the fact of an individual leaving home and kin for a relatively unknown situation to preach the Christian message, there were also differences. Christianity, which had then been the religion of an underprivileged minority was now the creed of a conquering nation. The modern missionary had the resources of a Missionary Society to provide him with a salary, and the security of life and limb that British power was able to give him.

In this Chapter we will explore the 'differences' in being an Evangelical missionary in India in the nineteenth century. We will do so in four sections. In the first we will outline some of the 'intellectual baggage' (that Forrester spoke of)⁸⁰ which the missionary brought with him from

79. The Gospel According to St. Mark, Chapter 16, verse 15, The New Testament (Authorized (King James) version, (Gideons, 1979) (hereafter The New Testament), p.109.

80. D.B. Forrester, op cit, n.30.

nineteenth century Europe. The Second Section will trace some of the influences, mental and material, which contemporary British Indian Society had on the missionary. The third section will examine some aspects of the relationship between the government and the missionary in our period. The final section will try to supplement the picture with an attempt to present the 'native' perspective of the missionary in India.

I. THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

It has been a truism that the European background is basic to many aspects of the history of India during colonial times. But this seems borne out by the history of the missionary. The wonder felt⁸¹, at the fact of hundreds of missionaries with indomitable confidence and resolve landing in India in the nineteenth century, would have been less had there been an awareness of the prevailing climate of thought in Europe. The nineteenth century in Europe, especially in Britain, was an expansive, exciting time. These were the years of the quickening of the Industrial Revolution and of

81. "If the Christian Shastra be true ... it was necessary that Christian teachers... should have been sent forth into all the world at the time of Christ. They are sent into Hindustan eighteen hundred years after Christ" : cited in Richard Fox Young, Resistant Hinduism, (Vienna, 1981), p.30.

the subjugation of whole quadrants of the globe. They generated a Faustian sense of mastery, which even the horrific conditions in the new industrial cities did not dampen. The prevailing ideas of the age included, among others, Darwinism and Gobineau's less reputable 'social Darwinism' leading to ideas of the more highly evolved state of some societies, and the fitness of some races to rule over others and civilize them. Though the missionary had a distinct ⁸² ideology, which we shall look into in the next Chapter, it is not unreasonable to think that they were not immune to many prevalent assumptions. The vision of a global victory for Christendom ⁸³ was almost natural then, especially as reports of 'mass movements' to Christianity came from various parts of India ⁸⁴ in the latter part of the century.

In the beginning of the century, the impulse was

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82. Evolution, for instance, was hotly denied by the adherents of a literal understanding of the creation story in the Bible, which in those days included most of the devout.
83. Titles such as "The Conquest of the Earth" are suggestive of this : A Sermon by William Alexander, in St. Paul's Cathedral at 172nd Anniversary of the S.P.G., (London, 1873).
84. J. Waskom Pickett, Christian Mass Movements in India, (New York, 1935).

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different. In those days, a distinct feature of British industrial society was the emergence of the 'New Mechanic' class. A study⁸⁵ of the psychology of this class, has spoken of its acute consciousness of its new "improved" state, and its sensitivity to the lot of the "lower orders." This sympathy for the lower orders was easily transferred to an alternate category like the "poor heathen"⁸⁶. Numerous sensational writings like those of Duff, detailing the awful state of the millions in India found wide currency⁸⁷, particularly in the Dissenter groups widely patronised by this class. They facilitated a ready shift in concern to the newly colonised lands.

It was these dissenting 'New Mechanics' that pioneered the trade union, as well as the missionary movements⁸⁸. Their humble origins, as well as Dissent's links with political radicalism, provoked bitter fulminations. Sydney Smith, of the Edinburgh Review, was a particularly critical

85. W.N. Gunson, "Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Canberra: cited in M.A.C. Warren, Social History and Christian Missions, S.C.M., 1967, p.40n.

86. *ibid.*

87. K.P. Sengupta, *op cit*, p.73.

88. M.A.C. Warren, *op cit*, p.42.

commentator on the activities of these "low born, low bred mechanics." On missions to India ⁸⁹ he has been quoted often :

"... the danger of insurrection from the prosecution of the scheme, the utter unfitness of the persons employed in it, and the complete hopelessness of the attempt while pursued under such circumstances as now exist..."

The lower class origins of missionaries, especially in the early part of the century, attracted much government suspicion of possible Jacobinism ⁹⁰. This was despite the influence of upper class Dissenters like Wilberforce, in the government.

Wilberforce, and the early missionaries were different aspects of the 'Evangelical Era' in British politics. This name was given to the years in the early nineteenth century, when a group of men ⁹¹, claiming inspiration from the Bible, were particularly active within and outside Parliament in bringing about reform and welfare measures. The characteristic

89. Sydney Smith in Edinburgh Review, April 1808, p.117; cited in *ibid*, p.60.

90. E. Daniel Potts, *op cit*, p.190.

91. This account of the Evangelicals is based on G.A. Oddie, *op cit*, p.245; H.E. Gibbs, *op cit*, p.x

feature of these Christians was an insistence upon the centrality and literalness of scripture, 'the word of God', and an emphasis on the regeneration, or 'conversion', of sinners including "nominal" Christians. While it was not the usual case for the Evangelicals to get involved in social action, much preferring the work of reform through 'saving souls', the example of the Evangelicals in Britain indicated the potential of the group.

The influence of the Evangelical movement was such, that not only did it include most Protestant missionaries⁹² in its ranks, but there were many of these Christians in the civil and military services in British India⁹³.

92. G.A. Oddie, op cit, p.37

93. There are numerous instances of civil and military officials subscribing to Mission Funds, and serving on Boards of Missions. For instance,

"... Mr. R. Maconachie for many years a Civil Officer in the Punjab, and a member of the C.M.S. Lahore Corresponding Committee, ... returned to England, and was now a member of the Committee at home."

Clark, Rev. Robert, The Missions of the C.M.S. and the C.E.Z.S. in the Punjab and Sindh (ed. & revised by Robert Maconachie, London, 1904), p.iii; and also,

" That time was one when, by God's mercy, there were many Christian heroes in the Punjab, Sir Henry Lawrence was then at the head of the Board of Administration. His letter of welcome to the missionaries, and his subscription of Rs.500/- a year to the Mission... showed the importance he attached to the work which they were commencing...",

ibid, p.3

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Another source of evangelical influence was the fact that a not 'insignificant number of missionaries went to the premier universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin ⁹⁴, which was also the source for large numbers of those in government. Whether because of contacts established at University, or because of shared beliefs, there are instances of British officials being helpful to the missionary cause ⁹⁵, under Company rule when missionaries were banned, and later when officially, religious laissez-faire was the policy ⁹⁶.

A part of the 'intellectual baggage' which the missionary brought with him from Europe, were the differences amongst various Christian denominations. Missionaries from the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Scottish churches, and the evangelicals from the Church of England (C.M.S.),

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94. Figures of one missionary society, the C.M.S., between 1815 and 1891 show that only 240 out of 650 missionaries were university graduates; but of these, 151 were from the above three universities: in H.A.C. Warren, op cit, p. 38.
95. Carey, Marshman, and Ward, the first three Baptist missionaries, were listed as 'planters' by a helpful official: in E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p. 171.
96. S.R. Mehrotra, op cit, p. 79-80.

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while retaining their different identities, found enough common ground to meet for the Decennial Missionary Conferences⁹⁷ which are our primary source. Insuperable differences however existed with the 'high' Anglican Church whose missionaries stayed away from the conferences⁹⁸. The Roman Catholics were, almost by definition, excluded from the Conferences, which devoted full sessions to discussing the Romanist threat⁹⁹.

II. NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIA

What did nineteenth century India mean for the missionary? In this section we will trace some of the ways the colonial milieu in which he lived affected the missionary's outlook; The aspects we look at are British India as a society based on racialist assumptions, which also provided the missionary with remarkable freedom to preach his message; at some details of life as a missionary in this India ; and at some of the ways in which the missionary was distanced

97. See records of attendance, A.M.C., 1872, B.M.C., 1892.

98. G.A. Oddie, op cit, p.37.

99. For instance, B.M.C., 1892, p.252ff.

from the 'native'. We will thus try to lay out some aspects of reality which were basic to the missionary's attitudes.

The most outstanding fact about colonial society was its racialist character. This needs emphasis because, in the twentieth century, in an independent India, it is difficult to understand the crippling negative attitudes that Indians had to cope with in the colonial nineteenth century. Fear was a very real aspect of the relations between the 'white man' and the 'native' ¹⁰⁰. On the other side, there was a thoroughgoing contempt for the Indian and his aspirations ¹⁰¹, which religion added to, instead of lessening ^{101a}.

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100. As Rammohan Roy testifies : "In Bengal where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name of Englishman is sufficient to frighten people..."; in Preface to the "First Education of the Brahmunicipal Magazine: or The Missionary and the Brahmin, being a vindication of the Hindoo Religion against the attacks of Christian Missionaries", 1824 : in K. Nag & D. Burman (eds), The English Works of Rammohun Roy, Vol. II, p.
101. "... for history will show them that certain peculiarities of physical as well as moral organisation, neither to be strengthened by diet nor improved by education have hitherto prevented their ever attempting a national independence...". in the words of an ex-Indian civil servant. Sir Henry Elliot, Preface to the Biographical Index of the Historians of Mohammedan India; cited by Barun De, "A Historiographical Critique of Renaissance Analogues for 19th century India" : in B. De (ed.) Perspectives in Social Science, Vol. I, p.197.
- 101a. "The natives are, to many misjudging men, not only black fellows, liars, and rascals, but enemies of God. The odium theologium envenoms the hostility arising from difference of nation and of class...". F.H. Robinson, 1853: cited in S.R. Nehrotra, op cit, p.81

The racialism underlay a situation of subjection¹⁰², which was accepted as Divine Providence by many (including Indian leaders like Rammohan)¹⁰³. This acceptance was to make for a late recognition of national aspiration as valid, by most missionaries¹⁰⁴. The acceptance was perhaps made easier by the fact that the situation gave great freedom and security to the missionary to preach his message : there was a near absence of attacks on the person of the missionary (with significant exceptions like the 1857 uprising) in a land where his preaching was hardly welcome¹⁰⁵.

Social reality for the missionary in nineteenth century India also included further aspects. In the hierarchy of colonial society, the missionary's place was somewhat marginal¹⁰⁶, his contacts limited to the more devout in the expatriate community, to those not quite 'in society', and

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102. Baptist Missionary Joshua Marshman wrote to his parents: "It is true that the Europeans are lords of this country and not a dog dare move his finger against one of them." B.M.S. MSS, 17th August, 1800 : cited in K.P. Sengupta, op cit, p.81.
103. K.N. Panikkar, Presidential Address, Section III, Indian History Congress Proceedings, (Aligarh, 1975)p.16.
104. J.C.B. Webster, op cit, p.87
105. S.R. Mehrotra, op cit, p.95ff.
106. J.C.B. Webster, op cit, p.43.

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to the occasional function. This is not surprising, if you consider the class differences between most missionaries, and the public school civil servant. Yet given the assumption of 'white' community in colonial India, it is unexpected. The net result of this was that despite close identification with the government in Indian eyes, what the missionary actually got was some friendships and support from the expatriate community, and a generally favourable official climate. We will examine the political context a little more closely in the next section.

It is only late in the nineteenth century that communications had improved enough to make possible periodic (meaning every ten years) ¹⁰⁷ home leave. In the nineteenth century, coming out as a missionary was usually a life-time's commitment. Of the earliest missionaries, very large numbers did not - and perhaps did not expect to - ever return. The three pioneer Baptists mentioned above ¹⁰⁸ are a case in point. In those days prior to modern medical science, the climate and disease combined to take a fearful toll. The Presbyterian Mission in India began with two married couples - the Lowries, and the Reeds ¹⁰⁹. Reed fell ill

107. M.E. Gibbs, op cit, p.211.

108. E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p.18f.

109. J.C.B. Webster, op cit, p.13.

as soon as they landed, and they were forced to turn back. He succumbed to his illness on the return voyage. Lowrie's wife fell ill soon after, and died, leaving him as the sole survivor in India out of the four who had come out. This proximity to illness and death, and the remote possibility of returning home alive, which was part of the experience of most Europeans till late in the nineteenth century, is a material factor to keep in mind when exploring their attitudes.

The compensation for death and discomfort, for most Europeans in a colony, was money to some and ideological satisfaction to some others. For most missionaries, as for most other Europeans, the life-style in India was fairly luxurious compared to home. It is not easy, of course, to calculate the relative values of climate and cash. However, the London Missionary Society between 1835 and 1861 did require all its candidates to answer the question, "Does the desire of improving your worldly circumstances enter into the motives of this application?"¹¹⁰ Missionary bungalows, many of which are still intact, around the country are witness to the infrastructure of missions. While not extraordinary by expatriate standards, they could seem palatial to the native. Similarly, while missionary salaries were low in comparison

110. D.B. Forrester, op cit, p.

to those of the Civil Service, they were astronomical compared to what the same mission paid its Indian employees ¹¹¹.

The significant point is that what was only normal, or less than normal, by colonial standards was out of proportion by the standards of the Indian. The discrepancy which the missionary societies accepted in their salaries to their 'native' employees provided a peculiar context for the message of the equality of all believers before God. Such issues were to figure prominently when the Indian church found its voice, distinct from that of its foreign missionary leaders ¹¹². The colonial incongruity extended through the realms of clothing and food. It was an article of the colonial white man's faith, that tight pantaloons were essential to his dignity. Another ex-Indian civil servant ¹¹³ opined that,

"I am convinced that the natives of India cannot respect a European who mixes with them familiarly, or especially who imitates their customs, manners, dress. The tight pantaloons, the authoritative voice, the procurante manner, and the broken Hindustani impose upon them - have a weight which wit and courage have not..."

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111. Figures in a missionary annual report are (in the 1850s):
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|---------------------------------|--------|----------|
| "... Missionary - Salary | Rs.170 | As. 00 |
| House maintenance | " 10 | " 8 |
| School Master (Native) - Salary | " 2 | " 0 |
| " Mistress " " " | " 1 | " 0 ..." |
- U.S.P.G. : Indian Missionary Archive, Madras 1852-8, Report from F.H. Suter for 1857.
112. U.T. Sathianadhan in a paper on "The Native Church" : "The policy now adopted by several Missionary societies tends to lower the influence of the Native ministry by lowering the scale of salaries paid to them." in A.M.C., 1872, p.256.
113. Richard Burton, Pilgrimage to Al Madinah and Meccah, 1855, p. : cited in B. De, op cit, p.197.

In a colonial milieu, with very little give and take, such extraordinary notions survived and thrived ¹¹⁴.

III. COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

In this section we will consider the missionary vis-a-vis the colonial government. Many from the time of A.J. Mayhew ¹¹⁵ many have commented on the correlation between colonialism and Christian missions in the nineteenth century. A historian, writing of Africa, ¹¹⁶ unambiguously summed up his conclusion on the connection :

" Christian missions have thus been sometimes the forerunners, sometimes the followers of colonial government, and frequently an enlightened and liberal controlling influence, but never permitted by events to have much lasting influence beyond the colonial frontiers."

Our interest in attitudes, however, makes it necessary for us to probe beneath the 'nett results' as presented above. Any thorough view of colonialism will recognise that it integrated diverse impulses, such as the three synopsised in the slogan, often associated with imperialism, 'For Gold, Glory,

114. For some consequences, see Chapter Three, below, p.80.

115. Arthur Mayhew, Christianity and the Government of India, (London, 1929).

116. A.W. Southall (ed) Introduction to Social Change in Modern Africa, p.3 : cited in H.A.C. Warren, op cit, p.29.

and for God'. While the distinctions between them were often blurred, there were clearly different priorities and perspectives implicit in the attitudes of the missionary and the government in nineteenth century India.

The blurring of distinctions was perhaps innate in the conjunction (discussed in section I above) of the Industrial Revolution and the Evangelical Era during the period of British expansion in India. This expansion was often seen as analogy to the extension of the Kingdom of Heaven ¹¹⁷.

Angry reactions to the 1857 uprising could completely merge political and religious issues, as British Rule and British Christianity ¹¹⁸ said :

"Their abominable treachery and cruelty exhibited moreover in the eyes of the world, the real characteristics of their religions, and plainly showed that Christianity was a necessity for India if its inhabitants were ever to be elevated to the dignity and happiness of constitutional freedom, and until they were regenerated by Christianity to some considerable extent, they must be governed by the strong hand of power."

This was perhaps not surprising, considering that many colonial

117. Rev. R.A. Hume D.D?, A.B. Ahmednagar, "Closing Address" : M.H.C., 1902, p.210. Also see Chapter Three Section II below, p. 86

118. Joseph Kingsmill, British Rule and British Christianity, (Lond, 1859) : cited in D.B. Forrester, op cit, p.51-2.

officials felt they were in their jobs carrying out a divine duty ¹¹⁹, even if they did not actually actively engage in preaching and converting, like the 'Missionary Colonel' S.G. Wheeler ¹²⁰.

Conversely there is truth in the label sometimes given to the missionary, 'The Cultural Arm of Imperialism'. The missionary's civilizing and educational role did contribute to the functioning and legitimation of the Raj. The story of 'one missionary who was worth a regiment in keeping a Pindari region peaceful' is typical of the sort of testimonial

119. An attitude that is explained thus :

"... a galaxy of able administrators with noble earnest hearts, in Mr. (afterwards Sir Donald) McLeod, Major (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes, Mr. Arthur Roberts, Mr. Edward Thornton, Major (afterwards General) Lake, Mr. R.N. Cust, Major (afterwards General) Reynell Taylor, and others. They were men who honoured God and were themselves honoured of God; and they speedily rose to great distinction. They were men, who, in their simple faith towards God, never as a rule asked for any office, and never declined one; whose chief desire consisted neither in personal profit nor pleasure, but in the performance of duty."

R. Clark, op cit, p.3-4.

120. "Part of my conscientious duty towards my heavenly superior" was how he justified his endeavour : in S.R. Mehrotra, op cit, p.96-97.

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Pindari region peaceful' is typical ¹²¹ of the sort of testimonial District officials have been known to give missionaries. In retrospect as it becomes clear that the coercive strength of British rule was effective within the context of its 'benevolent rationality' ¹²², the missionary role emerges as invaluable. His inculcation of concepts of right and wrong, equality, and justice, (whose fountainhead the British government was) brought about changes even in states not under direct British rule ¹²³. Even groups which were dissident in Britain, like the Baptist missionaries, were unswerving in their loyalty to the British government

121. While this story is apocryphal, S. Manickam, The Social Setting of Christian Conversion in South India, Heidelberg 1977, p.195, cites a letter,

"Your people at Talavapatnam were, a few years ago, among the most notorious criminals in the District... but in the past two years I have had only one case reported to me", Sandford to Findlay,

122. "... Putting the Natives of India in possession of such privileges as their forefathers never expected to attain even under Hindu rulers" as Rammohun Roy saw it : in K. Nag and D. Burman, op cit, Vol IV, from "Appel to King-in-Council against Press Regulation, 1823".

123. Robin Jeffrey, The Decline of Nayar Dominance : Society and Politics in Travancore 1847-1908, (New Delhi, 1976), p.265, illustrates one case,

"The missionaries, with their emphasis on the equality of men before God, their involvement with the lower castes and their willingness to challenge the Travancore Sirkar, lent impetus to this process. Without them the impact of British suzerainty would have taken much longer to be felt in a princely state like Travancore."

in India ¹²⁴.

Where the above label is clearly inadequate is when it leads to the assumption that the missionary's perspective and priorities were identical with that of the colonial government. The nineteenth century missionary was concerned with religion, to be more precise, to change the religion of India to Christianity. We shall see this when we explore his attitudes in Chapter Three. By and large, the strength and stability of British rule was secondary to the cause of religion. We are told that, "the missionary despised the government's nervous reluctance to assume a reforming role; they regarded as nothing short of apostasy any government support for specifically Hindu institutions or practices; and toleration they sometimes misrepresented as sponsorship" ¹²⁵; A quotation from an 1836 biography of William Carey ¹²⁶ expresses well how far removed from the government view, the missionary attitude could be:

"The conduct of the British authorities in India, upon the subject of religion was strangely anomalous and absurd; arising partly from ignorance of the true genius of Christianity and the legitimate means of diffusing it; partly from a profane indifference to the spiritual welfare of the millions they governed, and a repugnance and hostility to whatever might seem only to interfere with their own secular ambition and cupidity."

124. E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p.213.

125. D.B. Forrester, op cit, p. 24.

126. Eustace Carey, Memoir of William Carey, 1836: cited in E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p.169.

The government, on the contrary, was officially always committed to religious laissez-faire. The East India Company had to begin with, banned the entry of missionaries (along with all unauthorised foreigners) into its territories. Despite mounting pressure from the Evangelicals in Parliament, towards the end of the eighteenth century, this ban lasted effectively till the Charter of 1813. It was only now that Societies officially began to send missionaries to India. Even then, the possibility that evangelism might interfere with law and order (and with commerce), provoked a Court of Directors ruling in 1838, with a reminder that, "as these (ecclesiastical) authorities are aware of our positive orders for abstaining from any interference with the distinctions of caste, we are content to leave the subject in their hands, trusting that they will not take any measures that are likely to require the aid of civil authority" ¹²⁷.

The divergence in opinion, was most clear after the 1857 crisis. Many missionaries felt that the events of the Mutiny were the consequence of the government's inactivity against heathenism's evils, and the moral was to now prosecute their duty more vigourously ¹²⁸. The government, however,

127. cited in D.B. Forrester, op cit, p.

128. See S.R. Mehrotra, op cit, p.123.

thought that missionary activity had played a considerable role in provoking the insurrection. The Queen's proclamation of 1858 ¹²⁹, clearly stated the limits beyond which the government was not prepared to tolerate proselytism.

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith and observances, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure."

In discussing missionary relationships with the government, one aspect that needs to be mentioned is finance. There was a charge on the revenues of the government of India for ecclesiastical affairs ¹³⁰ which paid for the salaries of bishops and chaplains of the Church of England in India, and the building and maintenance of churches for the use of the

129. Cited in D.B. Forrester, op cit, p.

130. E.A.C. Warren, op cit, p.22.

European population ¹³¹ i.e. basically non-missionary items of expenditure of what was only one of the denominations functioning in India. Despite Anglicanism's official status in Britain, in India it can be called only 'Quasi-Established' ^{131a}. The missionary effort of this and other denominations was funded through the efforts of their missionary societies in their home country.

The interaction of the colonial power structure, its parts not always pulling together, can be seen in the two well known instances of the imprisonment of the Rev. James Long, ¹³² and the Tinnevely Riots of 1845. In the former case, Long offended the indigo planters of Bengal, by translating 'Neel Darpan'. The planters sued him for libel, and consequently he was imprisoned in 1861 for a month. In Tinnevely ¹³³, the intervention of the Governor of Madras with the District

131. *ibid.*

131a. *ibid.*, p.16.

132? G.A. Oddie, *op cit.*, Chapter 6.

133. S.R. Mehrotra, *op cit.*, p.39; and R.E. Frykenburg, "The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform upon Society in South India during the Late Company Period" : in C.H. Phillips and M.D. Wainwright (eds) Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernization.

judicial authority's reversal of a local magistrate's injunction was to attract considerable attention in Madras, where the issue was taken up and an agitation launched against missionary interference in a matter of native social custom, and official collusion. In the former case, commercial interests used Colonial authorities to strike at the missionary who happened to side with the natives; in the latter, missionary and colonial authority were pitted together, against a group of natives. For what it is worth, the only constant in the two cases above, is the missionary espousal of the lower class cause.

The task of fitting the missionary into the politics of the Raj is not a simple one. If loyalty to the colonial government was one of his traits, and only a tiny minority actually championed Indian nationalism ¹³⁴, the missionary as target for cultural defenders did provide a chink in the armour of British rule. From Rammohun Roy's polemic with Joshua Marshman ¹³⁵, to Arya Samaj diatribes against missionaries and their religion ¹³⁶, lay the foundations of cultural defence

134. C.F. Andrews is one of the few names, and he was no Evangelical. Ashis Nandy, op cit, p.37.

135. H.M. Thomas, The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance, (Madras, 1970).

136. J.T.F. Jordens, Swami Dayanand Saraswati : His Life and Ideas (New Delhi, 1978).

that were the first inklings of full-fledged nationalism. By their tactics of publication to arouse opinion ¹³⁷, they showed the way to Indian intellectuals who were to form an important section of the national movement. This slight ambivalence in the missionary position is evidence that, by implication if not by direct action, the missionary role was not entirely a contribution to colonial rule.

IV. THE 'NATIVE' VIEW

Tradition ¹³⁸ has it that St. Thomas, the Apostle, from whom the Syrian Church of Kerala claims descent, was killed by some irate Brahmins near Mylapore in Madras. That perhaps is the earliest reported Indian reaction to a Christian missionary. Not all was only reaction there must have been response too, if Thomas did in fact establish the seven churches he is said to have done. The Jesuit missionary Roberto de Nobili who sought to live as a Christian sannyasi in the 16th century in Madurai ¹³⁹, was trying to break out of the existing stereotype of Christianity, as a 'paragi' creed fit only for the low castes. The Syrian Church in Kerala had a fairly stormy relationship with the foreign missionaries of the modern era ¹⁴⁰.

137. B. Daniel Potts, op cit,

138. L.W. Brown, op cit, p.51-2.

139. I. Hirudayam, Christianity and Tamil Culture, (Madras, 1977), p.17.

140. L.W. Brown, op cit, p.138.

not the least because of difficulty in seeing eye to eye over the issue of caste.

An essential aspect of placing the missionary in the setting of colonial India, is to look at him from the point of view of the 'other half' of the colonial world - from the 'native' perspective. How sharply this could differ from the missionary perspective is illustrated by an incident unearthed in the course of research ¹⁴¹ into the Adi Dharm, a socio-religious movement in the Punjab. Mark Jurgensmayer in interviewing Mangoo Ram, the still surviving leader of the .Dharm, found a totally different picture from that reported by the local missionary. In an account of a rally sponsored jointly by the Presbyterian Mission and the Adi Dharm in Jullundur in 1937, the missionary Rev. Lochlin reported that the gathering had been sponsored in order to encourage the Adi Dharm to convert en masse, whereas Mangoo Ram's version was that it had been convened to encourage the Christian community to support demands which the Adi Dharm was making to the government on behalf of the lower castes. Whichever was true, ¹⁴² it is clear that it is necessary to take some stock of the non-missionary view, to get a full picture of the missionary in colonial India.

141. N. Jurgensmayer, op cit.

142. A forty year old memory is liable to have the wisdom of hindsight added.

The 'native' view of the missionary comprised two groups, the Indian Christian and the Hindu (or Muslim). The former ¹⁴³, speaking from within the missionary's community, were by and large not critical. They saw the missionary in terms akin to the way he saw himself. Differences, when they began to be articulated within the framework of the church, were constantly with the consciousness of the self-sacrifice and benevolence of the missionary. The missionary was so much symbolic of the faith, epitomising the ideals of the religion, that to criticise him would be to criticise the structure of faith. Criticism such as A.C. Ghose's ¹⁴⁴ was not gentle, speaking of the "aloofness" between the Indian Christian body, and the Missionary body :

"... there are cases where there is love of the strongest kind between missionaries and Indian Christians, but in spite of all this when I speak of the class to which I belong I feel justified in saying that the attitude which ought to have existed between missionaries and us is more or less absent. Had this attitude existed we would have been the slaves of missionaries..."

Later were to come to the issues of missionary ~~injustice~~ over

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143. Rev. K.C. Chatterjee, A.P. Mission, Hoshiarpur, Paper on "Relations of Missionaries to Converts in Secular Matters" : in A.H.C. 1872, p.337.
144. A.C. Ghose, "Indian Christians : Attitudes to Missionary work and Relations with Missionaries", (Cambridge, 1896) : in Cambridge Mission to Delhi Occasional Papers, Vol. I, Paper No.24.

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salaries and appointments, and consciousness of the Western character of the Christianity they preached. In the theology of Sadhu Sundar Singh :

"India wants people who will not only preach and teach, but workers whose whole life and temper is a revelation of Jesus Christ... Indians greatly need the Water of Life but they do not want it in European vessels." 145

The other major group of 'natives' were the Hindus (also the Muslims; here we concentrate on the former) variously responding to and resisting the missionary. We just cite two examples here. Keshub Chander Sen is the first commentator, from his lecture 'India Asks : Who is Christ?'¹⁴⁶ ;

"... If unto any army appertains the honour of holding India for England, that army is the army of Christian Missionaries, headed by their valiant chief, their invincible captain, Jesus Christ. Their devotion, their self-abnegation, their philanthropy, their love of God, their attachment and allegiance to the truth, all these have found, and will continue to find, a deep place in the gratitude of our countrymen..."

Keshub's response was exceptional, and he was thought often to be on the verge of converting to Christianity¹⁴⁷. But he remained a Hindu with a highly developed Christology. The reason becomes apparent, as he continues in the above lecture¹⁴⁸ ;

146. In David C. Scott, (ed) Keshub Chander Sen, (Madras, 1979), p.199-200.

147. Ibid, p.200.

148. Ibid,

145. R.H.S. Boyd, An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology, (Madras, 1969). pp.105, 109.

"... It is true that the people of India have been satisfied in some measure with what they have heard and read of Jesus, but they have been disappointed in a much greater measure... Our countrymen find that in this Christ, sent by England, there is something that is not quite congenial to the native mind... It seems that the Christ that has come to us is an Englishman, with English manners and customs about him, and with the temper and spirit of an Englishman in him."

It was not many who were able to combine a nationalist outlook with such an openness to the missionary, or his Master. For most others, like P.C. Mozoomdar, the second that we examine here ¹⁴⁹, the critique of the missionary commentator was total.

"(The Christ that the missionary preaches) insists upon plenary inspiration, becomes stern over forms, continually descants on miracles, imports institutions foreign to the genius of the continent, and in the case of non-compliance with whatever he lays down, condemns men to eternal darkness and death. He continually talks of blood and fire and hell. He considers innocent babes as the progeny of sin: he hurls invectives at other men's faith, however truly and conscientiously held. No sacred notions are sacred to him, unless he has taught them. All self-sacrifice, which he does not understand, is delusion to him. All scriptures are false which have grown up outside of his dispensation, climate, and nationality. He will revolutionize, denationalize, and alienate men from their kith and kin. Wherever he goes, men learn to beware of him. He is a Mlecha to Hindus, a Kaffir to Mohammedans, a rock of offence to everybody. He is tolerated only because he carries with him the Imperial prestige of a conquering race."

149. P.C. Mozoomdar, The Oriental Christ, (Boston, 1898).

It is this critique, that we need to keep in mind, as we undertake our exploration of the missionary perspective. One man's gospel was not always good news to another; this it would seem was the case in colonial India.

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CHAPTER THREETOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE MISSIONARY

The foreign missionary has attracted attention out of any proportion to his numerical presence in the history of modern India. The reason for this lay partly in the threat, at a very basic social and cultural level that the missionary posed by his attitudes and activity. His sharp critique of 'heathen' culture and society, made it incumbent on the subjects to defend themselves, or to face ideological annihilation. This threat would not have been so seriously regarded had it not been for the conversions that accompanied missionary activity. These conversions in numbers of varying insignificance, nevertheless held out the possibility of the ultimate extinction of the indigenous religions ¹⁵⁰. Another part of the reaction to the missionary originated in the ambivalent position he occupied, in relation to the Raj. As has been referred to earlier ¹⁵¹, he was usually identified with the British colonial government without being identical with it. This gap, made it possible to criticise the British missionary and his faith when it was not possible to breathe criticism of British

150. Kenneth Jones, Arya Dharm : Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab, (New Delhi, 1976), p.11.

151. See Chapter Two above, p.49.

rule ¹⁵² . This critique provided a starting point for the cultural defence that was to become an important part of nationalism.

The extra attention should have made study of the missionary easier, but for the fact that controversy has shrouded so much of him. The controversy has been both historical and historiographical. Historically, the missionary himself often spared no effort to generate controversy, in public preaching and in print, as part of his work. As we shall see later ¹⁵³ this approach was based both on highly critical views of the 'heathen' religion and an idea that frontal attack was the strategy best calculated to rouse the native mind from its intellectual sloth. While these attitudes will be re-examined in the contexts of the missionary faith and work, the point here is that attacks and counter-attacks have surrounded a great deal of the missionary's activity.

Historiographically too, the missionary has managed to

152. In the writings of Rammohan, K. Nag and D. Burman, op cit, above p.44 , British Rule is 'Divine Providence'; however, ibid, above n.100, the missionaries "... encroachment upon the rights of her poor and timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act."

153. See section II, below, p.90.

generate controversy as we saw in Chapter One. Forrester¹⁵⁴ felt the need to respond to an "over-critical assessment" of the missionary attitude towards caste¹⁵⁵. On the contrary Sengupta¹⁵⁶ feeling that earlier historians had not been critical enough, felt that the conversion motive and the attitude towards the natives, of the missionaries had not been emphasised enough¹⁵⁷. Outside of the literature we examined there are instances too : Sengupta himself comes in for criticism from Manickam¹⁵⁸ for his reluctance to grant credit even where it is due¹⁵⁹; the problem seems widespread enough to be considered chronic to the subject. The source of the divergence of assessment seems to be the fact that it is difficult for historiography to be neutral in this field where judgments are so 'value loaded' - either eroding or buttressing a corollary belief structure. In reading Potts¹⁶⁰ and Sengupta¹⁶¹ comparatively we had seen how the former emphasised the transformation that conversion

154. D.B. Forrester, op cit.

155. *ibid*, p.156.

156. K.P. Sengupta, op cit.

157. *ibid*, Preface.

158. S. Manickam, op cit.

159. *ibid*, p.178-9.

160. E. Daniel Potts, op cit.

161. K.P. Sengupta, op cit.

had brought about, the latter emphasised the morally debased nature of the converts ¹⁶².

The implication that different belief structures are involved in the controversy surrounding the missionary and his historiography makes it of interest to study the belief structures as a means of understanding both the missionary and the controversies. Thus, in this study we take up the religion of the missionary, following a broad definition ¹⁶³ of religion as 'personal or communal perceptions about ultimate verities, especially as these relate to immediate behaviour, customs, and institutional life'. It is noteworthy that both the attitudes and activity which we drew out as having contributed to the missionary's reputation (at the beginning of this Chapter) were directly related to his religion : his attitude towards 'heathenism', his proselytising activity, and his differences with the colonial government were, as we shall see in this Chapter, integral parts of the missionary's belief structure.

We are thus focussing on the religion of the Evangelical missionary in nineteenth century India. To obtain an understanding of his perspective, we will examine first his attitudes concerning his faith, in Section I, and then his attitudes regarding his work

162. See Chapter One above, p.27.

163. Following R.E. Frykenburg, n.6 above, ()

in Section II. We will be basing the study primarily on Decennial Missionary Conference Reports from 1862-1902 ¹⁶⁴, with supplementary material ¹⁶⁵ from the earlier part of the century, along with contributions from existing scholarly work in this and related fields. In a sense, the whole of this Chapter taken together, is an illustration of the ways in which faith and work were seen and related together by the missionary, in the milieu of colonial India.

I. THE MISSIONARY'S FAITH

The view we have had, in this study, of the attitudes, activity and position of the missionary have revealed the centrality of the missionary's faith to his life. The proof for this really lies in the second section as we examine 'The Missionary's Work' and the attitudes with which he approached it. In this section we will highlight certain basic features of the missionary's faith under four subsections, namely 'Theology', 'The Life of Faith', 'Cultural and Work Implications', and 'Religion as Priority', trying to indicate how this faith led to

164. P.M.C., 1862; A.M.C., 1872; C.M.C., 1882; B.M.C., 1892; and N.M.C., 1902.

165. Indian Missionary Archive - U.S.P.G. : Madras 1852-58; Dnyanodaya : Vol I, 1845;

the missionary's work.

Theology

Basic to understanding the missionary's faith is some familiarity with his theology, the crux of which is the gospel (or good news) of Salvation in Jesus Christ, which was the essence of religion, for the missionary ¹⁶⁶. 'Salvation' was to escape from the 'sinful' state in which all men were hopelessly lost; Jesus Christ was the 'redeemer' God had provided, 'the only begotten Son' who had died to atone for all sin; 'Salvation' was only possible by faith in Jesus Christ. If the benefits of redemption in Christ were in principle available to all, the eternal destiny of millions ¹⁶⁷ depended on their appropriation through faith of these benefits. It is thus that the preaching of the gospel becomes an imperative for the missionary.

The missionary's theology had an exclusive and singular concept of truth ¹⁶⁸, based on the belief that outside of faith in the gospel he preached, no salvation was possible ¹⁶⁹. This was in marked contrast to the Hindu understanding of the possible

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166. Rev. H.H. Mody, Independent Missionary, Bombay, in the Discussion on "The Jesuit Advance in India" : in B.M.C., 1892, p.252.
167. Rev. Robert Bruce, C.M.S. Diehta Ismael Khan, in an essay on "Itineration" : in P.M.C., 1862, p.82.
168. Expressed insistently as 'THE ONE THING', which India needed. Bengal Hurkaru, 17 October 1861 : cited in S.R. Mehrotra, op cit, p.123.
169. The Gospel according to St. John, Chapter 3 verse 18, The New Testament, p.184.

multiplicity of truth ¹⁷⁰, and morality ¹⁷¹ - which added no end to the difficulties of mutual understanding. The exclusiveness resulted in a dogmatic narrowness which found it difficult to accept other sects from within the Christian fold. The problems which came up were those of rivalry between different missions with complaints of 'intrusion' ¹⁷², and cases of 'sheep stealing' ¹⁷³ (where converts 'converted' from one mission to another for less than 'unworldly' reasons). These necessitated elaborate agreements on "missionary comity", ¹⁷⁴ wherein missions undertook not to interfere with each other's territory or converts.

A basic distinction which the missionary carefully made was between 'faith' and 'works', seen in the explanation differentiating between the "religion of work" ¹⁷⁵ and true faith.

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170. Ralph Nicholas, "Understanding a Hindu Temple in Bengal" : in A. Mayer (ed) Culture and Morality speaks of 'multiple dictionaries'.
171. Klaus Klostermaier, Hindu and Christian in Vrindaban, (trans. London, 1969); p.112.
172. Keshri Prasad Shinde, Rahuri in Ahmednagar District, Report dated July 31, 1898 : in Indian Missionary Archive - U.S.P.G., Reports 1898-1900.
173. Delhi Mission News, February 12, 1896, p.2.
174. M.M.C., 1902, p.158.
175. Rev. H.H. Mody, op cit.

The former's basis was 'to obtain merit from God' for doing so much, whilst the latter was based on "the forgiveness of sins in this world..."¹⁷⁶. This emphasis on belief rather than action originated in the context of Christianity's emergence within Judaism with the critique that rules and rituals (viz action) had almost completely obscured the values they sought to enshrine¹⁷⁷. For the missionary, Hinduism or 'Romanism' (which was frequently equated with the former in its qualities¹⁷⁸) at best were creeds founded on the principle of 'work'. In the discussion on 'The Jesuit Advance in India' at the 1892 conference¹⁷⁹, a missionary expressed his views, disagreeing with an earlier speaker's appreciation of a 'Romanist' missionary and equating him with any "earnest" religious person in India:

"... I am very surprised to hear the name of Francis Xavier brought forward. His greatest quality is depicted as earnestness. It is true he was earnest, but do we not know of the earnestness of fakirs, sadhoos, and other religious people of the various religious systems we have in India? If any wants to know, let him come with me to some of the Brahmins, fakirs, & c., and he will be startled by the earnestness with which they try to earn the merit of God." 180.

176. ibid.

177. The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, Chapter 2, verses 17-29, and Chapter 3 verse 28, The New Testament, pp. 300-1, 302.

178. Rev. H.H. Mody, op cit.

179. B.M.C., 1892, p.252 ff.

180. Rev. H.H. Mody, op cit.

But these, in the missionary's view, had nothing to do with 'faith'. More usually, 'Romanism' or 'Heathenism' were seen not as creeds of 'work', but as idolatory and gross superstition ¹⁸¹.

The concern to distinguish 'faith' from 'work' was to have various implications for the missionary's work. The feeling that the missionary's concern for the souls of people somewhat exceeded that for their bodily welfare ¹⁸², has arisen from the opposition of 'work' to 'faith'. Works of succour were undertaken only to facilitate the preaching of the faith ¹⁸³. There was great care that there should be no compromise with what the missionary knew as truth. As a missionary speaking of 'zenana' work ¹⁸⁴ (lady missionaries going into the zenana to teach ladies, and also preach the gospel to them) emphasised,

"... caution may well be used at first, as to Christian instruction, caution without compromise. It is TRUE wisdom to disarm prejudice by kind acts by showing interest in a family; and, as opportunity arises, as questions are asked, truth may more fully be declared, and books more decided, introduced." ¹⁸⁵

In this singular concept of religious truth, even good works could be a betrayal of 'truth', by being a compromise with a

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181. See Section II. The Missionary's Work, below.
 182. Peter W. Fay, "The French Catholic Mission in China during the Opium War", Modern Asian Studies, (Vol 4, 1970), p.125.
 183. Rev. R. Thackwell, on the purpose of mission schools : in P.M.C., 1862, p.47.
 184. Rev. J. Mullins, in an Essay : in P.M.C., 1862, p.67.
 185. *ibid.*

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full and unambiguous declaration of the truth that was the missionary's purpose.

A feature which marked the missionary theology was its strong sense of direct divine intervention as the source of faith. The missionary was of course engaged in human effort to spread the 'light of Truth', but despite that and despite willingness on the part of the convert, divine consummation was essential for 'salvation'. As they were reminded at the 1862 Conference :

"However thoroughly they may be instructed in the Bible, and however amiable their dispositions may be, without converting grace they cannot be saved. Christ must be formed in them. This is a divine work and we should be engaged in intercessory prayer on their behalf." 186

The missionary considered the truth of his faith as "revealed, religion" against which he held up "the philosophical speculation which learned Hindus mistake for religion" ¹⁸⁷. This belief that 'true faith' came 'from above' caused a devaluing of human institutions traditionally held to foster religion such as good works and sacraments. The resulting spartan creed,

186. Rev. C.W. Forman, Essay on "Schools" : in P.M.C., 1862, p.38.

187. Rev. John Newton, A.P. Mission Lahore, Essay on "Preaching to the Heathen" : in P.M.C., 1862, p.5.

faith purified from human accretion will be examined in 'Work and Culture'.

Life of Faith

In this creed, where birth, tradition, ritual, instruction, and inclination did not add up to faith, conversion was of prime importance, as the only passage into the life of faith. Conversion could mean either the "conversion of a non-Christian to Christianity, resulting in his baptism and membership of the Christian Church"¹⁸⁸, or in a sense used mainly by the Evangelicals, "the awakening to full realization of the meaning of Christian discipleship of a person who has been brought up as a Christian, and generally baptized in infancy"¹⁸⁹. (In a predominantly non-Christian land like India, it generally meant the former). The missionary with his commitment to spread the faith, was greatly concerned with conversion, in both its senses (for there were also missionaries working back at home, in Britain¹⁹⁰). It was constantly reiterated that the

188. M.E. Gibbs, op cit, p.x.

189. *ibid.*

190. This was the basis of criticism of 'Hindu Missionary Activities' by Rev. K.S. McDonald, in Appendix on "Religious Movements among Hindus in Bengal during the Decade 1891-1901" : in M.M.C., 1902, p.272.

great, the only, object of missionary endeavour was the conversion of India. The missionary was clear that, despite his diverse efforts, ultimately "... we cannot be satisfied with any amount of mere civilisation, enlightenment, or general elevation, of character, united with the profoundest respect for Christianity." ¹⁹¹, for neither respectability nor respectfulness, could be equated with the life of faith.

Faith had a rationality of its own. It didn't necessarily coincide with the "shallow judgment of the world", to which the "light of Truth" was opposed ¹⁹². Conversion, in the classic mould of the apostle Paul ¹⁹³, was generally seen as a sudden and fairly dramatic impulse, symbolising the incursion of divine initiative. This was in keeping with a trait of the 'inner directed' men (that the missionary body mainly comprised of ¹⁹⁴) described as an "overwhelming compulsion to do things which seem wildly inopportune, extremely dangerous and subversive to natural order" ¹⁹⁵. The decision to come out as a missionary could be impulsive as illustrated by the story of the young man, who in the middle of ploughing a field, stopped, thought to himself, turned and walked off the field

191. Rev. C.W. Forman, Essay on "Schools", : in P.M.C., 1862, p.31.

192. Bishop Whitehead, "Welcome Address" : in M.M.C., 1902, p.6.

193. 'The Acts of the Apostles', Chapter 26 verses 12-18, in The New Testament, p.291.

194. M.A.C. Warren, op cit, p.42.

195. ibid.

to spend the rest of his life as a missionary ¹⁹⁶.

By definition, the missionary was one who was 'sent' ('missio' is Latin for 'send') to 'conquer new lands for Christ'. This included being 'sent' to work for the faith in your home country ¹⁹⁷, in places like the 'inner' parts of the new industrial cities where the population was not served by the existing church. The New Testament tradition was familiar with missionaries going to strange lands : the apostle Paul, a model for many nineteenth century missionaries ¹⁹⁸, had recorded travelling widely in the Mediterranean area. But there were important differences for the nineteenth century missionary. In the story above of the young ploughman turned missionary, what was left out of the account were the missionary meetings he must have attended at his local church. These meetings, where missionary reports ¹⁹⁹ were presented, generated funds and support for the Societies which sponsored missionaries. Thus while there was the aspect of being divinely 'sent' (as in the case of the young ploughman above)

196. *ibid.*

197. Rev. K.S. McDonald, *op cit* n.190.

198. P.M.C., 1862, p.79.

199. This was one purpose of reports such as those in the Indian Missionary Archive, *op cit*.

in being a missionary, there was also the organisational support making it possible.

Work and Culture

The missionary's attitudes towards how he worked, and towards culture (his own and Indian) were formed by aspects of his faith. A central aspect of his faith was the significance of the 'Word' of God. There were several levels to this significance. One stemmed from the identification in the 'gospel according to St. John' of the Logos ('word' in Greek) with the Christ ²⁰⁰. Another stemmed from the centrality of scripture as 'God's divinely inspired word' to the Evangelical Christian faith : rituals and icons and a religious hierarchy having been done away with in the Protestant Reformation, the Bible moved to the centre of faith ²⁰¹. The words of scripture became essential to faith, as the sole medium of divine presence. As William Carey defined it, in the course of haranguing a brahmin about faith, "... you can have no faith ... for faith is believing some words..." ²⁰². This understanding of faith, with its scriptural emphasis, was reflected in the

200. The Gospel According to St. John, Chapter 1 verse 14, The New Testament, p.180.

201. M.M.C., 1902, p.181.

202. B.M.S. MSS, Carey's MSS Journal, January 25, 1795 : cited in E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p.214-5.

central place given to the teaching of the Bible. in missionary endeavour ²⁰³. The great effort expanded in the fields of literacy, printing, journalism, the development of the vernacular press - all major areas of missionary work - grew out of this concern to make access to the 'word of God' possible.

Embedded in the example of Jesus their master, and in his call to "deny self and take up your cross and follow me" ²⁰⁴, lay a theology that incorporated suffering and self-denial as parts of the life of faith. We had earlier ²⁰⁵ discussed how hardship, death and disease were woven into the material fabric of the missionary's life in nineteenth century India. There were other difficulties inherent in being a foreigner in the land, which a native pastor ²⁰⁶ summed up in the course of elucidating some reasons for the missionaries' limitations :

"... difference of nationality, difference in circumstance, inability to say the right thing at the right time arising from the difficulty of attaining a thorough mastery over a foreign tongue, the impossibility of residing in most of the places where churches have been founded.." ²⁰⁷

203. P.M.C., 1862, pp.44, 45; B.M.C., 1892, pp.418; and M.M.C., 1902, p.180 f.

204. The Gospel According to Saint Mark, Chapter 8 verse 34, The New Testament, p.88.

205. See Chapter 2, Section II, above.

206. Rev. Surju Coomar Ghosh, Pastor of the Native Church, Bhowanipore, Calcutta, A.M.C., 1872, p.280.

207. Paper on "The Native Church in Bengal" : in *ibid.*

These were real enough problems, which the missionary opted for, in coming out to work in India in the nineteenth century. This fundamental part of the outlook of the missionary is perhaps what gave his endeavour some of its nobility - howsoever tarnished by the history of colonial India. A kernel of truth resides in Lord Lawrence's observation that, "... their earnest zeal, untiring devotion, and the excellent example which they have I may say universally shown to the people that, I have no doubt, whatever, that in spite of the great masses of the people being intensely opposed to their doctrine, they are as a people remarkably popular in the country." ²⁰⁸

We saw earlier how the colonial milieu produced some insular cultural attitudes ²⁰⁹. There were aspects of the missionary faith too (like the separation of true faith as divine with no place for human accretion, and the suspicion of 'works' as tainting faith) which resulted in a fairly spartan creed with a defensive and negative attitude towards cultural artefacts. This characteristic of Evangelical missionaries ^{209a}

208. In "Life of Lord Lawrence" Vol II, p.609 : cited in Rev. Robert Clark, op cit, p.6.

209. See Chapter 2, Section II, above.

209a. Roman Catholic missionaries, like de Nobili, Beschi, Ziegeubalg, seem to have been much more adaptive of Indian culture. See I. Hirudayam, op cit, pp.17, 27-28; and Robin Boyd, op cit, p.88.

was not confined to the colonial situation : Potts ²¹⁰ tells us regarding the Baptists in Britain that they disapproved of plays, music, and balls as distractions emanating from the Devil. This attitude, in nineteenth century India, was suspicious of "the pomp and the tinsel, the noisy orgies of heathenism (which have too much that pleases the fancy and gratifies the depraved sense" ²¹¹, and smugly content to maintain very English ways. In clothing, for instance, they insisted on wearing black English woollen clothes (as per missionary Society instructions) in the heat of Bengal ²¹². The general attitude, reminiscent of Richard Burton ²¹³, was brought out by the case of one missionary : William Bampton of the G.B.M.S. ²¹⁴, who sometimes 'adopted native dress to facilitate his travels and to conciliate the people', needed his co-worker Peggs to convince fellow Europeans that he (Bampton) was compus mentis. The combination of censure, and example, by the missionary must have contributed to the native converts'

210. E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p.

211. James F. Kearns' Journal, Indian Missionary Archive - U.S.P.G. : Madras, 1852-8.

212. E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p.210.

213. See Chapter Two Section II above, n.113.

214. E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p.210n.

unenviable reputation for westernness 215.

Religion the Priority

The missionary believed he was 'sent', as we have seen 216,
on a religious mission. It was a matter of no small importance

215. Brahmabandhav Upadhyay in "The Tablet", 3 January 1903 :

"Christianity... is too much mixed up with
beef and pork, spoon and fork, too tightly
pantalooned and petticoated to manifest its
universality."

cited in Martin Jarrett-Kerr, Patterns of Christian
Acceptance : Individual Response to the Missionary
Impact 1550-1950. (London, 1972) p.217; and Keshub
Chander Sen, Lecture "Jesus Christ : Europe and Asia";
5th May 1866 :

"They deliberately and voluntarily cut themselves
off from native society as soon as they are
baptised, and as an inevitable consequence,
come to contract a sort of repugnance to
everything Oriental, and an enthusiastic
admiration of everything European. They seemed
to be ashamed of their country and their
nationality. They forget that Christ their
master was an Asiatic, and that it is not
necessary in following him to make themselves
alien to their country or race".

in David C. Scott (ed), Keshub Chander Sen, (Madras, 1979)
p.64-5.

216. See above, Section 'The Life of Faith'.

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to him that this should be recognised. The possibility that he would be viewed as a mere government servant was serious enough for the missionary to consider ²¹⁷ not accepting government grants-in-aid to run his schools. As Rev. Forman observed at the 1862 conference :

"It is much to be regretted that Government agents should have a right to visit, examine and report on our schools officially and authoritatively. It seems to place us in a false position before the native community. We appear to them to be Government servants under these officers, and our schools I fear lose something of their character as institutions supported by Christian benevolence."²¹⁸

He agreed that Government aid, "enables us materially to enlarge our educational operations", ²¹⁹ but not without the dilemma that characterised the missionary's involvement in a secular enterprise ²²⁰.

The missionary's own essentially religious outlook was expressed in his assessments. Social and economic change for him began with change, especially religious change, in the

217. Rev. C.W. Forman, Essay on "Schools" : in P.M.C., 1862, p.38.

218. *ibid.*

219. *ibid.*

220. See Section II 'Education' below.

individual ²²¹. Contemporary movements seemed unmistakably religious in inspiration to him. In an appendix to the 1902 Conference Report (Rev. K.S. McDonald surveying 'Religious movements among Hindus in Bengal during the Decade 1891-1901' ²²²) the utilitarian arguments of an appeal in defence of the cow, are seen as not being the real grounds for the movement, while religion is :

"The writer of this appeal took his stand simply on the utilitarian platform. But the real basis of all the reverence for the cow is religious. The cow in her own person is divine, a goddess... It is their religious instincts which are touched by the cow slaughtering Mussalman. Hence the religious fanaticism which the Gorakshini Sabhas called forth, and the riots, religious disturbances, and acts of violence..." ²²³.

Similarly, in keeping with the temper of the age, when the life of the rat was argued for ²²⁴ on (fairly specious) scientific grounds - and his sacredness to ancient sages thus explained, - the missionary commentator opined ²²⁵ that the 'Science' sprang from the sacredness, rather than as was being made out, the sacredness springing from usefulness. It

221. J.C.B. Webster, op cit, p.266.

222. In M.H.C., 1902, p.266.

223. *ibid.*

224. *ibid.*, p.269.

225. *ibid.*

is useful to remember that any utilitarian aspects to missionary work (education, medical care, printing) were carried out in the furtherance of an essentially religious purpose ²²⁶. What is also noteworthy is the serious notice that the missionary was now taking of the native religions. This was part of a general change in the earlier belief that Hinduism was on the verge of collapsing ²²⁷.

In our examination of 'The Missionary's Faith' certain things have emerged which lead us in our study of 'The Missionary's Work'. Our examination of the missionary's theology indicated how preaching the gospel was an imperative for the missionary. We saw how the centrality of the 'Word of God' in the Evangelical faith, made the teaching of the Bible the cornerstone of his work. The kind of life of faith that the missionary saw as model, and the sources of his attitude towards cultures are also significant in our survey of his approach to his work. The dilemmas provoked by a religious priority in a secular world for the nineteenth century missionary too will be studied, as we explore the ways in which 'faith' and 'work' are linked. Together, the two sections give a picture of the nature of the missionary religion.

226. E. Daniel Potts, op cit, p.48.

227. Rev. E.M. Lewis, Speech on "Preaching to the Heathen" : in CLM.C.; 1882, p.25.

II. THE MISSIONARY'S WORK

"... for the purpose of this Conference we must limit the name of missionary to those whose whole time is given to the setting up of the Kingdom of God and bringing men to reconciliation with Him, without having to think of and labour for, a provision for themselves and their families, and we must limit the term missionary agency to those modes of life and work which they freely choose as most conducive to the success of their aim..." 227

Thus did a speaker at the 1892 Conference define a missionary. In the Section that follows we too shall seek to partially define the missionary's religion by studying his attitudes towards work. We shall do so in the course of four sections which will examine 'Preaching', 'Controversy', 'Paternalism', and 'Education'. respectively.

Preaching

If a single word were required to convey the sum and substance of missionary work, the word would be 'preaching'. The missionary charter, their original command, the 'Great Commission' was "Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature" 228. In the century of British expansion worldwide it was hard, as we have seen earlier 229,

227. Rev. A.B. Wann, Paper on "Missionary Education" : in B.M.C., 1897, p.440.

228. The Gospel, according to St. Mark, Chapter 16 verse 15, The New Testament, p.109.

229. See Chapter Two, Section I, above.

not to believe that the whole world might be evangelized, and within the generation. The missionary ambition for India, and the background of British conquest against which it was set, were both expressed, in the 'Closing Address' ²³⁰, at the last Conference that we looked at :

"Nor will the Indian church be perfect till all the Hindus and Muhammadans are gathered into it. But this day is coming. When Ranjit Singh of Punjab was pointed out the red spots of British rule on the map of India, he said that that day would come when it would all be red. So when we look at the map of India, and at our mission stations and statistics, we can say, "it will all be Christian," ²³¹

To understand this hope and ambition, we need to look back at the great sense of responsibility, almost of guilt, that the missionary attitude was made up of. The Rev. Robert Bruce ²³², speaking of the urgent need for 'itinerant' preaching, said that he was "overwhelmed by shame" ²³³ at the unevangelized state of "the thousands eye millions of prepared hearers on all sides" ²³⁴ in the district that he worked in. This combination of ambition and guilt seem to lie at the core of the missionary's

230. Rev. R.A. Hume, op cit n.117.

231. *ibid.*

232. op cit, n.167.

233. *ibid.*

234. *ibid.*

zeal to preach.

In a country that was largely illiterate, in the days before electronic media, the only way to reach the mass of 'prepared hearers' was through public preaching. The missionary recognised this ²³⁵, while also feeling that "when we are brought face to face with the people that our characters and motives are best understood" ^{235a}. In a country of villages, this also meant 'itineration'. These preaching tours were called "the chief work of the missionary" ²³⁶, and there are frequent references to the pleasures of itinerating, "an actual enjoyment and even exhilaration" compared to the "plodding" work of the school missionary ²³⁷. At the 1862 Conference, an educational missionary commented on how much he would have preferred itineration to the school work he felt duty-bound to do ²³⁸.

As preaching was the essence of missionary work, so was itineration the classic missionary activity : account of a typical preaching tour is appended to the dissertation ²³⁹, for the flavour it manages to convey of a mode of life in a bygone

235. Rev. C.W. Forman, AP Mission Lahore, Essay on "Preaching to the Heathen" : in C.M.C., 1882, p.4.

235a. *ibid.*

236. Rev. Robert Bruce, *op cit* n.167, p.77.

237. Rev. J. Vaughn, CMS Calcutta : in A.M.C., 1872, p.134.

238. Rev. C.W. Forman : in P.M.C., 1862, p.84.

239. See Appendix I, below.

era. Despite all the paraphernalia that went on tour with the missionary - even if only a fraction of the list for the Bishop of Calcutta's 1860-61 tour ²⁴⁰ - for the foreigner, itinerating except in the cold weather, was hazardous enough to provoke warning ²⁴¹ from the more experienced. But, itinerating only in the winter seemed to defeat its purpose : the cold weather tours it was feared were somewhat unconvincing. A speaker at the 1862 Conference ²⁴², advocating systematic visits to every village instead of long marches, argued that :

240. "The following "Correct list of our cortage" was whimsically given by (Bishop) Cotton:

1 prelate	4 masalchis (8 cullions)
1 prelate's wife	10 bheesties (water-carriers)
1 prelate's daughter	8 sweepers
1 chaplain	8 sowars (horsemen)
1 doctor	80 sepoy
1 captain of escort	31 dooly bearers
1 nurse	1 moonshie (clerk)
31 servants	55 kelassies (a class of servant)
10 elephants	65 camels
14 horses and ponies	16 bullocks..."

: in M.E. Gibbs, op cit, p.207.

241. D.F. Mehead, Esq. : P.M.C., 1862, p.94.

242. Rev. Robert Bruce, op cit n.167, p.81

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"The natives throughout the whole district would then become acquainted with his life, and feel that he was in truth seeking their salvation; whereas they now look on our cold weather tours, as pleasure trips of haking, sair ke wasté." 243

The missionary's reflections on the lack of response to preaching efforts, is interesting for its revelation of the missionary solution to problems : while one suggestion had to do with a matter of style, the other two reasons advocated closer adherence to the faith as the answer, perhaps out of the conviction that those not destined for 'salvation' would find "the preaching of the cross" meaningless²⁴⁴. Rev. C.W. Forman, was the one who suggested²⁴⁵ that the missionary should change his style, and be more varied in his preaching :

"... give the people more variety and they will obtain better congregations. When the people know that they are to hear truths they have heard a thousand times, in almost precisely the same language, it is not to be wondered at that they will not stop to listen." 246

The other two comments concentrated on religious solutions.

243. *ibid.*

244. The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, Chapter 1 verse 18, The New Testament, p.325.

245. Rev. C.W. Forman, Remarks on "Itineration" : in P.M.C., 1862, p.13.

246. *ibid*

The missionary who proffered them in an Essay on 'How Can (Preaching) Be Made More Efficacious than it Generally Has Been in this Part of the Country' was Rev. John Newton ²⁴⁷. He felt the answer lay in purging the content of preaching, of any possible heathen influence, saying that "Doubtful terms ... ought to be carefully and frequently explained." ²⁴⁸ His other suggestion was that putting enough of the 'revealed religion' into the subject matter was essential for efficient preaching :

"It is religion, therefore - revealed religion, - that must constitute the subject of our instructions; not those subtleties of philosophy which learned Hindoos generally mistake for religion." ²⁴⁹.

Controversy

In our discussion so far, we had seen at various places how and why the missionary had become the centre of controversy historically and historiographically. Controversy enters our study of the missionary's attitudes towards his work because it constituted an important aspect of his work. It is this that we try to understand here.

A thorough going attack on the native faiths, especially 'heathenism', formed the main plank of missionary preaching.

247. Rev. John Newton, op cit n.187.

248. *ibid.*

249. *ibid.*

Even much later, in this century, there was surprise at public preaching which didn't include 'controversy' ²⁵⁰. Although there were warnings against brash young missionaries engaging in controversy ²⁵¹ without recognising that the natives' perspective could see the 'evident absurdity' very differently ²⁵², the missionary belief that their's was the "only true religion" ²⁵³ meant that they basically agreed with the judgment of Hinduism as absurd or worse. The fairly strong language that missionaries used in their descriptions expressed the strength of their conviction. A native missionary ²⁵⁴ explained the numerous bad traits of converts by their exposure at a young age to the "soul destructive influences of a most debasing heathenism" ²⁵⁵. The missionary saw his duty and destiny as the 'killing' of the native religions ²⁵⁶, of which as the 'Reis and Raiyyat' said ²⁵⁷, (despite the charm that the Upanishads might hold for those such as Annie Besant), "abomination worship is the main ingredient"

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250. P.K. Sircar, My Two Worlds : The Vicar from India, (London, 1962), p.81.
251. A Thomson, Remarks on "Controversy" : in P.M.C., 1862, p.29.
252. *ibid.*
253. A.E.B. Leachy, Bombay, Report of October 31, 1898 : in Indian Missionary Archive; U.S.P.G., Reports 1898-1900.
254. Rev. Surju Coomar Ghosh, *op cit*, p.280.
255. *ibid.*
256. Bishop Welldon, Speech on accession, in Annual Reports of the S.P.G. 1898 : cited in C.F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. (London, 1901).
257. 'Reis and Raiyyat' 16.3.1895 : cited in Rev. K.S. McDonald, *op cit* n.190, p.271.

of modern Hinduism" ²⁵⁸. The description ²⁵⁹ in a missionary report from the 1850s, is expressive of the view of heathenism as a monster :

"The fact is that although direct antagonism with heathenism drags the slimy monster out into the blaze of day and exposes its deformities, it as often shrinks again into its dark abode rendered fierce by the rough handling it has received at the hands of an enemy too powerful for its imbecilities to cope with. This makes it stubborn". ²⁶⁰

The anger and indignation that underlay 'controversy' must have had some of its roots in the bafflement that the missionary felt when confronted by the cultural contrast of a religion with its "... Lack of 100000 Gods... whether God, or Man, or woman, or Tyger, or Jackal." ²⁶¹ as William Carey recorded in his journal. This bafflement deepened, when confronted by the 'native' easily assenting to the complete truth of what the missionary preached, but with equal equanimity feeling no obligation to change his beliefs. The same report from the 1850s ²⁶², continues,

"I know that it must appear strange to many in England, that people who do not only see their absurdities exposed, but actually assent to the truth of every argument brought to show the absurdity, should nevertheless remain in their idolatry." ²⁶³

258. ibid.

259. James F. Kearns, op cit n.211

260. ibid.

261. William Carey, op cit n.202.

262. James F. Kearns, op cit n.211.

263. ibid.

This puzzlement perhaps led him to conclude that the native faiths were so strongly deserving of condemnation. His response was to preach aggressively, as William Carey continued, against "all such foolish worship (that) was unworthy of either God or Men... pointing out the Justice of God, and the Gospel way of salvation by Christ." 264.

Despite the recognition that the strategy of attacking the native faiths was backfiring, it was persisted with, partly as we see, because of a sense of duty, and partly because it was felt that this was what the 'native mind' needed. At the 1862 Conference, a speaker on the benefits and modes of 'controversy' 265 pointed out that an unfavourable reception was being accorded to such evangelism : he reported meeting a pundit who said that he threw away Christian tracts unread nowadays because of their attacks on Hinduism, and a Brahmin who complained of native preachers' verbal attacks "in season and out of season" 266. It is interesting that the apostle Paul's exhortation to preach the gospel 'in season and out of season' 267

264. William Carey, op cit N.202.

265. Capt. C.A. McMahon : in P.M.C., 1862, p.16.

266. Capt. C.A. McMahon, Essay on "Hindoo and Mohammedan Controversy..." : in P.M.C., 1862, pp.16, 18.

267. The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to Timothy, Chapter 4 Verse 2, The New Testament, p.415.

had become a non-stop attack on the native faiths, in nineteenth century India.

The rationale underlying this mode of proceeding was explained, in the discussion on 'Hindu and Mahomeddan Controversy' at the Punjab Conference ²⁶⁸, thus :

"The controversialists consider the heathen to have fallen into such a state of apathy and indifference on the subject of religious truth, that every exertion must in the first instance be made, with this view of arousing them from this condition of intellectual sloth" ²⁶⁹

The view of the 'native' intellect as slothful seems to have been a widely shared premise of the era. D.F. McLeod, at the same Conference ²⁷⁰ spoke of "the course pursued by our secular educationists generally, of regarding the Native mind as a 'tabula rasa' - ignoring all the learning of the East as valueless and commencing on a wholly new foundation; ..." ²⁷¹, though he himself thought it a view lacking in "charity as well as ... wisdom" ²⁷². These underlying premises about the native mind (and the security of 'Pax Britannica') made possible a policy of controversy that verged on the abusive.

268. Capt. C.A. McMahon, op cit n.266, p.13

269. *ibid.*

270. P.M.C., 1862, p.135.

271. Essay on "Native Pastorate", *ibid.*

272. *ibid.*

Missionary 'controversy' found a target, other than the native faiths, in Christians of the 'Romanist' persuasion. The nature of the Evangelical missionary faith, and its background in the Protestant revolt against the Roman Catholic church in Europe predisposed it to this confrontation ²⁷³. In nineteenth century India, with the most fundamental criticism against Hinduism being its image-worship, the basis for conflict with the 'Romanists' was even greater. When a missionary came up against the practices of 'Romanist' Paravar fishermen ²⁷⁴ the inevitable reaction was, "Let the Romanists say what they will, this was image worship, or the Hindus are not guilty of idolatory." ²⁷⁵ To Kearns, that these 'Romanist fishermen' were in the same state of uneducation as before ("like the Irish") ²⁷⁶ was proof of the missionary contention, expressed by the Rev. H.H. Mody at the 1892 Conference ²⁷⁷ that,

"... it is difficult to make any choice between Jesuitism, Romanism, and Rationalism. They all belong to one stock. Each of them does work for the others." ²⁷⁸

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273. See Chapter 2, Section I, above.
 274. James F. Kearns, op cit n.211.
 275. *ibid.* Emphasis added.
 276. *ibid.*
 277. Rev. H.H. Mody, B.M.C., 1892, p.252.
 278. *ibid.*

Paternalism

Apart from his primary calling as an evangelist, which we have discussed in the first two parts of this section, the missionary's work also included responsibilities towards those who had heeded the call and come within the mission fold, "...to seek and promote their temporal welfare as much as their spiritual good and be to them as a father to his children."²⁷⁹ as K.O. Chatterjee said, in a paper on 'The Relations of Missionaries to Converts in Secular Matters' at the Allahabad Conference²⁸⁰. This paternalism had both a material and a cultural aspect to it, as Rev. Chatterjee made very clear :

"When a Hindu or Mohammedan embraces the Christian religion, the missionary has in most cases to provide him with a house to live in and get him some means of subsistence. He has to educate his converts and their children. He has to teach them good manners, self reliance, and industry."²⁸¹

This was apart from the basic, wherein 'he instructs them in the knowledge of Christ, and builds them up in the faith and hope of the Gospel'.²⁸² Chatterjee was defining a role which the missionary had come to play in the course of the

279. Rev. K.O. Chatterjee, A.P. Mission Hoshiarpur, Paper on "The Relations of Missionaries to Converts in Secular Matters" : in A.M.C., 1872, p.337.

280. *ibid.*

281. *ibid.* Emphasis added.

282. *ibid.*

nineteenth century.

The paternal role of the missionary found institutional expression in what were known as 'mission compounds' and 'Christian villages' ²⁸³. There were varied opinions, even within the missionary world, about these ghettos insulated from "a nation still the slaves of diabolical superstition and sitting in heathen darkness." ²⁸⁴ A paper at the 1872 Conference ²⁸⁵ expressed one existing view that these 'mission compounds', "not only spoil them (the converts), but a great deal of money is wasted in making them fine houses and feeding them unnecessarily" ²⁸⁶, though the speaker's own feelings, "being a native and having the feelings of a native (not) unacquainted with the many difficulties and temptations which a convert has to face in a country like this..." ²⁸⁷, were that "the plan was judiciously adapted by some of our experienced missionaries... and has proved a blessing" ^{287a}. These community structures enhanced the paternalistic relationship between the missionary and the native converts.

283. Rev. D. Mohun, C.M.S. Allahabad, Paper on "Christian Villages" : in A.M.C., 1872, p.356.

284. *ibid*, p.357.

285. *ibid*.

286. *ibid*, p.356.

287. *ibid*, p.357.

287a. *ibid*, p.356.

The origins and implications of the missionary's paternal role are significant. We have seen how this paternalism was a combination of the ethical and the material. The former originated in grave suspicion about native customs and practices which prevailed amongst converts which missionaries had tried to purge, amongst the Kerala Syrian Christians for centuries ²⁸⁸. This suspicion led to the various religious, cultural, and social prescriptions, such as those against 'kudumis', 'bindis', and 'garlands at weddings' which Potts ²⁸⁹ spoke of. It also led to comic situations, like the one in which a convert was made to stand in the porch of the church for four Sundays during worship ²⁹⁰, in a bid to enforce the norm of marriages within the 'fold'. The material aspect of the paternalism originated in the relative plenty of missionary resources ²⁹¹ in nineteenth century India, and the often severe needs ²⁹² of converts.

288. L.W. Brown, op. cit, p.36ff.

289. E. Daniel Potts, op cit,

290. F.H. Suter, Quarterly Report dated July 23, 1857 : Indian Missionary Archive, U.S.P.G., Madras 1852-58.

291. See above, n.111.

292. Usually the converts were from the depressed classes, and social ostracism and expulsion from caste and family were often consequences of converting:

"... a Hindu or a Mohammedan may believe what he likes, he may be a Christian in heart; but let him pass the Rubicon, let him only go through the waters of baptism, let his relatives and friends only know that he has been with the Missionary and joined the faith of the Feringies openly, from that very moment his trials and sufferings begin..." :

Rev. D. Mohun, op cit, n.283 p.359.

The implications of paternalism can be seen both in the dependent character of the 'native' church (especially once the missionary resources were withdrawn), and in the impact on social welfare which the missionary has had. At the 1872 Conference, Surju Coomar Ghosh felt ²⁹³ that some part, definitely, of the difficulties which the native church was having in becoming self supporting could be traced to the fact that,

"Not only was the inculcation of the duty of giving neglected but the spirit of dependence was largely fostered by the earlier missionaries helping their converts especially in the agricultural districts with donations in the shape of money and other things." ²⁹⁴

Oddie's study ²⁹⁵ would be in line with the contention that it was this paternalism, not any concern with social reform per se, which saw the Evangelical missionary (not renown for his commitment to a 'social gospel') to become involved in the welfare of the depressed groups his work took him amongst. ²⁹⁶

The missionary paternalism also expressed itself in the sense of duty towards colonial India that the missionary felt. We have already seen ²⁹⁷ how the missionary's priority

293. Rev. Surju Coomar Ghosh, op cit n.206, p.284.

294. *ibid.*

295. G.A. Oddie, op cit.

296. *ibid.*, p.246.

297. See Chapter Two, Section III, above.

for India was particularly religious. While there was identification with the "better government... and a civilisation under which the powers and energies of her peoples may develop" that British rule was giving India, there was also concern that "India will be left at the last as a country without God" in the speech of a bishop on his accession late in the nineteenth century ²⁹⁸. From this he felt sprang the primary obligation lying upon the people of this country to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ in India ²⁹⁹. This duty was also seen as being to stem the tide of race hatred that was rising due to officials who neither knew, nor loved Indians ³⁰⁰. A speaker at the 1872 conference felt that only the missionary stayed on in India long enough to possibly do something to alleviate this hatred ³⁰¹. Thus, there was a sense in which the missionary saw a complementary role for himself in the situation of British rule.

Education

In nineteenth century India, the missionary did enjoy predominance in the field of western education. Figures

298. Bishop Welldon, op cit n.296.

299. *ibid.*

300. Mrs. Winter, wife of S.P.G. Missionary Delhi, Paper on "Missions to Women" : in A.M.C., 1872, p.151-2.

301. *ibid.*

for 1855 ^{301a} indicate the position : against 404 government schools and colleges with 25,362 pupils, there were 1,668 missionary schools and colleges with 97,177 pupils. Despite what a missionary at the Punjab Conference ³⁰² called, "Christianity('s)... supremacy as a teaching power" ³⁰³ this branch of missionary work was subject to much questioning as to whether it was diverting the missionary from his real purpose. The views we examine defending and criticising the involvement in education, express the dilemmas inherent in a religious agency trying to 'be in the world, but not of it'.

The view which felt that education was a diversion from, not a part of, the missionary task, held that teaching was taking the missionary away from his 'calling' to preach the Gospel. It was opposed by pointing out that the fruits of such "home labour" were "effeminate, delicate, and worldly" rather than "good stewards of Jesus Christ" ³⁰⁴. For the opponents of missionary involvement in education, its only justification was as the means to an end. ³⁰⁵ This negative view of teaching

301a. M.A.C. Warren, op cit, p.104.

302. Rev. J.S. Woodside, A.P. Mission Kapurthala : in P.M.C., 1862, p. 48.

303. *ibid.*

304. Rev. Robert Bruce, op cit n.167, p.78.

305. "The teaching of the Bible is, therefore, the primary end of mission schools, while instruction in secular subjects is given simply with a view to this end...". Rev. R. Thackwell: in P.M.C., 1862, p.47.

which saw education as the bait for the scripture lesson, was based on a fear of the rival attractiveness of secular learning, to the Gospel. The temptation of secular education ³⁰⁶, was not only for the students but for the missionary as well. Rev. C.W. Forman ³⁰⁷, in his essay on "Schools" in the 1862 Conference explained :

"The desire to see our pupils make progress in secular knowledge, and compare favourably with those of other schools, the interest we ourselves see in Science, literature, etc., and the desire to see the number of our pupils increase will all combine to tempt us to neglect this one grand object for which our schools were established..." ³⁰⁸

The origin of these fears lay in the missionary's attempt to delineate the religious character of his work, against absorption by the all encompassing 'secular knowledge'.

As the Rev. J. Barton of St. Johns College, Agra ³⁰⁹ put it :

"He should strongly object to anything that would bring his students into rivalry with those of the government schools, and make them think that the secular education was everything. This would tend materially to injure the mission character of such schools and secularize both missionary and teachers." ³¹⁰

306. "...pupils seeing that it is proficiency in the secular branches of learning only that leads to preferment, will pay more attention to those branches than the Bible." *ibid.*

307. P.M.C., 1862, p. 32.

308. *ibid.*

³⁰
309. Rev. J. Barton, C.M.S. St. John's College Agra, Essay on "Schools and Government" : in P.M.C., 1862, p. 54.

310. *ibid.*

It was in keeping with this outlook that there was concern³¹¹, that missionary schools should not appear to be government schools. Concern for religious influence was also the cause of the reported³¹² closure of twenty village schools by a Bengal mission, when it was felt that the influence of the 'heathen pundits' exceeded that of the few Christian teachers.

The view that education was a valid part of the missionary endeavour evidently prevailed, for as Rev. Forman³¹³ reported at the 1862 Conference, "schools continue to absorb much of the energy of missionaries, and of their best educated assistants... (despite) yielding but little fruit in the way of actual conversions"³¹⁴. The missionary explained his involvement in education as being despite his own inclinations, in view of the "peculiar circumstances in which missionaries are placed in India"³¹⁵. Rev. W. Keene³¹⁶ of the C.M.S. felt that

"an obligation lay upon the missionary body to take an active personal part in the work of Christian instruction. Were they to hold aloof, the rising generation in India would receive a European education but one wholly devoid of the religious element..."³¹⁷

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311. See above, n.217.
 312. Rev. J. Barton: P.M.C., 1862, p.39.
 313. Rev. C.W. Forman, Essay on "Schools" : in P.M.C., 1862, p.31.
 314. ibid.
 315. Rev. John Barton, in Discussion on "Itinerations" : in E.M.S., 1862, p.87.
 316. Rev. W. Keene, C.M.S. Amritsar, in Discussion on "Itinerations" : in P.M.C., 1862, p.88.
 317. ibid.

This view included a broader vision ³¹⁸ of the missionary object, not as bagging the largest number of souls, but to make India a Christian land. Rev. William Miller who expressed this view at the 1872 Conference ³¹⁹, saying that "in this schema ... education was vital", not under false pretences (what he ³²⁰ called 'exhortation under the guise of education') but in a preparatory, subsidiary role, like that of Sanitation to Medicine ³²¹. There also was the recognition that the emphasis on only religious education per se, was even from a missionary perspective, shortsighted. A speaker at the 1882 Conference said that even science and history and philosophy weren't merely secular subjects, but were a Christian view of the world ³²² : "surely it is a grand thing to be able to impart a Christian knowledge of science and history and philosophy, combined with direct Christian religion." ³²³

In the attitudes towards education, as towards other aspects of missionary work, there was a perceptible change ; the voices speaking of the change were the 'natives' in the ranks of the missionaries. The Rev. C.N. Banerjea ³²⁴ expressed,

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318. Rev. William Miller, F.C.S. Mission Madras, "The Place of Education as a Missionary Agency": in A.M.C., 1872 pp. 103-116.
319. *ibid.*
320. *ibid.*
321. *ibid.*
322. C.M.C., 1882, p.153.
323. *ibid.*
324. Rev. C.N. Banerjea, L.M.S. Calcutta: in A.M.C., 1872, p.120.

while not denying the place of the 'masses' in the Church,³²⁵
the need for educated converts :

"... he believed also that the educated converts were indispensable to the Church. They had a peculiar work to do in it and for it, in the land, and therefore he was decidedly in favour of Mission schools and colleges - which had produced them." 326

It required a 'native' at the 1872 Conference, Jagadeshwar Bhattacharjya³²⁷, to point out that Hinduism was far from tottering. Speaking on "Preaching to Hindus"³²⁸, he declared that, "faith in Hinduism is still very strong in the country."³²⁹

There was a growing focus on the 'native' Christian, which A.E.B. Leachy in a report³³⁰ elaborated on, explaining that "the people are not at all anxious to listen to the religion of the 'Sarkar'"³³¹;

"... consequently I have devoted myself to the elevation and better instructing of existing Christians, rather than to direct evangelistic work hoping that by the good example set by the native Christians, those among whom they live might become desirous to seek information and eventually be grafted into the only true religion." 332

325. ibid.

326. ibid.

327. Jagadeshwar Bhattacharjya, Paper on "Preaching to Hindus" :
in A.M.C., 1872, p. 35.

328. ibid. Emphasis added. Note the change (from 'Heathens'.

329. ibid.

330. A.E.B. Leachy, op cit n.253.

331. ibid.

332. ibid.

A reflection of the new focus, was the emergence of deliberations at the Missionary Conferences on the issue of relationships between the foreign missionary and his 'native brethren'. The session devoted to the issue at the Punjab Conference, curiously entitled "Sympathy and Confidence"³³³, uncovered a whole Pandora's box of disaffection. The disturbance caused to the missionary Conference can be judged by a statement of regret³³⁴ which Rev. Forman read out, which expressed the lacunae in the relationships even more :

333. The introductory paragraph explained:

"In the proposal of the subject for the consideration of the Conference, there is an implicit confusion that, foreign missionaries have failed, in a great degree to secure the sympathy and affectionate confidence of their Native brethren. It certainly is not intended to imply that in every case there has been failure... but it must be painfully evident to everyone acquainted with our missions, that as a general thing there do not exist between the native and foreign members of our mission churches, the affectionate freedom, the warm, confiding, brotherly feeling, and the intimate and sweet communion, which should be found among brethren in Christ." :
in P.M.C., 1862, p.159.

334. Preface to Seventh Session : in P.M.C., 1862, p.189.

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"... all who heard the remarks of the Native brethren, must have been grieved; and none more so than the missionaries. He was happy to say however that he had had a long conversation with all but one of those who had spoken, and that they all seemed sorry for what had passed. They confessed that they had made a one sided statement; and he was sure that all present would have been cheered, to see how heartily all responded to the assertion that the Native Christians did love the missionaries." 335

We conclude with this brief look at a question that became the centre of attention only in the next century. The Conference Committee of the 1902 Decennial Missionary Conference removed the term 'Native' from its report ³³⁶. Thus while the infrastructure, some personnel, and several attitudes would persist well into the twentieth century, the century of the foreign missionary had come to an end.

335. *ibid.*

336. Note prefacing Remarks on "Resolutions on 'The Native Church' : in M.M.C., 1902, p.19.

C O N C L U S I O N

In this dissertation, we have tried to present an understanding of the Evangelical missionary religion through a study of his attitudes towards his faith and his work. In taking up a study in the realm of the history of mentality and religion, we have drawn inspiration from Karl Mannheim's conception ³³⁷ of a 'verstehenden' approach towards characterizing a human situation. It is hoped that this method will add to the historical perspective on one aspect of nineteenth century India. The major primary source, for the attitudes which we have studied, are the verbatim reports of the Decennial Missionary Conferences held in India from 1862 - 1902, supplemented by some other sources, especially for the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Given the vast resources of missionary writings and archives, this is a limited exploration of the possibilities for reconstructing the missionary 'weltanschauung'.

At the outset we undertook a survey of the existing historiography of the missionary in modern India. We examined the place the missionary has typically occupied in 'mainstream' history, and tried also to place the 'church history' tradition in relation to our discipline, noting the possibilities and efforts that exist for an interaction between the former and the latter.

337. Karl Mannheim, op cit n.3.

Our main interest was in taking a close look at the ways in which the missionary has already been studied by historians. The review revealed that the missionary has been a somewhat controversial subject for study, not the least because of the controversy he consciously tried to generate as part of his work. The roots of both the historiographical controversy, as well as the work which the missionary did, seemed to lie in the missionary's religion. The review also reiterated that any study of the missionary in nineteenth century India must place him very squarely in the context of colonial situation in India.

In studying the context of the missionary in colonial India, we traced the influence of the contemporary European background, as a significant factor in shaping many of the missionary's premises. Then we considered how the realities of the missionary's life in colonial society affected these. In comparing the missionary's perspectives with those of the colonial government we outlined the ways in which they fitted together or were contradictory. Finally, in our examination of a small cross-section of the 'native' perception of the missionary we found some very vital considerations to give us a perspective of the missionary.

Thus we proceeded to study the missionary's attitudes towards his faith and work in the nineteenth century. In examining his 'faith attitudes' we found that his theology was

fundamental to his life, characterised as the 'life of faith'. This theology had clear implications for the missionary's priority to scriptural work, and his somewhat negative cultural attitudes. Underlying all these was a strong feeling that religion, and his identity as a 'Christian worker', were crucial. His 'work attitudes' flowed from his 'faith attitudes'. Preaching was his all important duty, and controversy often the only means of achieving it. The missionary role in nineteenth century India often took on a very paternalistic character, which was significant in his work. Education, a very important area of missionary activity, is examined in our study for its illustration of the dilemmas which accompanied the missionary's relations with the 'secular' world. At the end we had a glimpse of how missionary work was increasingly taking note of its 'native' half, an augury of the latter's emergence to significance and leadership in this century.

APPENDIX IAN ACCOUNT OF ITINERATION

"... You might have seen a missionary, a few hours before sunrise, groping his way in the dark through deep sand and over impassable roads, fording unbridged rivers, and pushing on as fast as possible to reach the next city, before the sun became too hot for travelling. After many exertions he reaches his encamping ground at 9 or 10 in the forenoon, covered from head to foot in dust, and bathed in perspiration. He has contracted a bad headache, and feels much fatigued. He is tired by the laziness and stupidity of his servants, who have chosen the very worst place for pitching the tent. The driver may have upset the hackery and broken the chair and bedstead, no tent has been pitched, no breakfast cooked. Or, to crown his misery, he may find the hackery a few miles from his encamping ground, with a broken wheel, the servants and driver sitting by the side of the road smoking, and waiting for qismat to send them assistance. Now it must be borne in mind that the missionary is a man of like passions with others. Is it ^awonder that he felt, physically and mentally, as unfit for his work as can well be imagined?

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In the afternoon, he manages to go into the town to preach. Every step of his way is retarded by ill behaved boys, clamorous for books, no matter whether they can read or not. Arrived at an open space in the bazaar he begins to read a passage, but before he has read two verses, an illwilled Mahomedan from among a noisy crowd, who is quite innocent of overpoliteness begins to oppose him and to make objections, that have no connection whatever with the passage he has been reading. While he tries to answer his opposer, a second, and a third, interrupts him with other quotations. Their object of course is simply to keep up the disturbance, and to prevent him from quietly delivering his message. He silences one and another, and nearly succeeds in obtaining a hearing, when there is another shout for books, and another objection. The approaching, darkness closes the scene, and half-disheartened, and half-hopeful that some good has been done, he makes his way back to his tent. The next morning finds him again toiling along the road to the next town, 12 or 15 miles further on. In three or four weeks he has traversed a large district; he has visited a dozen or more large villages, and as many towns; he has passed by hundreds of villages within easy reach of the road which he has travelled. He reports to his Society, and

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most truthfully too, that he has carried the Gospel to places which the missionary's foot had never trod. This he called an **itineration.**"

- Rev. A. Rudolph, A.P. Mission, Ludhiana, on the practice of missionaries in years gone by, in a paper on, "Itinerations : Their Importance, and the Best Means of Conducting Them" : in P.H.C., 1862, p.69-70.

APPENDIX IIA RECORD OF MISSIONARY CONFERENCES

Place or Name	Year	Members	Societies	Days	Papers	Report
Calcutta	1855	55	6	4	14	183 pp.
Benares	1857	36	"	4	14	All destroyed at Mutiny
First South India	1858	32	"	17	27+30	387 pp, out of print.
Second South India	1879	118	25	8	46+	2Vols, 500pp each.
First Decennial	1872	136	19	7	41+2	548 pp.
Second Decennial	1882	475	27	7	30	492 pp.
Liverpool	1860	126	25	4	12	428 pp.
Mildnay	1878	158	34	4	23	634 pp.

(Table in : G.M.C., 1882, p. ix)

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