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REFORMERS IN INDIA

1793-1833

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORK OF
CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES ON BEHALF
OF SOCIAL REFORM

BY

KENNETH INGHAM

M.C., M.A., D.PHIL.

*Senior Lecturer in History at Makerere College
The University College of East Africa*

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PREFACE

The recording of Christian missionary activity in India in the earlier part of the nineteenth century has depended very largely upon the writings of active members of missionary societies or of equally active discreditors of missionary work. In this book I have attempted to describe what the missionaries did rather than what they hoped to do or what they ought or ought not to have done. I would say at once, however, that I have written only of the missionaries' more strictly social work, since I believe the extent of their success or failure in their work of evangelism to be beyond human assessment. At the same time, I have tried constantly to show how the virtually subordinate schemes for social reform which the missionaries undertook derived their strength and their impetus from the main task of attempting to spread the Christian teaching.

¶In order to see the missionaries' activities in their true perspective it has been necessary to set them not only against the background of Indian life, but also against that of the rapidly increasing influence of British authority in India." With that aim in view, the years 1793 and 1833 were singularly appropriate limits for a book. In 1793 the first agents of the newer missionary societies arrived in India. In the same year the East India Company's Charter was renewed but the Act of Renewal omitted the House of Commons Resolution which had urged the Presidency Governments to take steps for the improvement of the education and social conditions of their Indian subjects. The year 1813 aptly marks the middle of the period. For, with the further renewal of the Company's Charter, missionaries who hitherto had obtained a licence to enter India from the Court of Directors only with the greatest difficulty, and who had in consequence frequently entered the country without permission, were now able to appeal to the Board of Control against an unfavourable reply to their

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applications from the Court of Directors. By 1833, the missionaries' work had made great progress, and as if to mark the new status they had gained, the East India Company's Charter Renewal Act of that year declared that they were no longer required to possess a licence in order to set foot in India.

To give cohesion to this study I have, throughout, treated of missionaries generally, discriminating between the work of individuals and of different societies only where some one of these has differed in opinion or behaviour from the rest or has been outstanding in any particular branch of the work. In view of the cordial relations and unanimity of purpose which prevailed among members of the various societies this appears to me not inappropriate. I have also tried to consider India as a whole, rather than as comprising a number of distinct mission fields, although frequently differences between peoples and Presidencies have made this impossible.

In the process of this work I have studied the official correspondence relating to India between 1793 and 1833, and have also made very full use of the original manuscript letters, journals and reports of individual missionaries and of missionary societies. I should like, particularly, to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Librarian of the Commonwealth Relations Office (B), and the Librarians of the Indian Institute, Oxford, for their kindness in permitting me to use their archives. A detailed bibliography of unpublished and printed sources and also of secondary authorities is included at the end of the book. I should also like to express my sincere thanks to Dr C. C. Davies, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Indian History at the University of Oxford, for his advice and direction and also for his assistance in enabling me to gain access to various manuscript sources.

Appendices B and C, comprising a list of missionaries engaged in work in India between 1793 and 1833 and a map showing the mission stations in India during those years with the dates at which they were founded, are both the result of an extensive

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study of the manuscript sources already mentioned. There has never, hitherto, been any similar compilation. I am indebted to Mr A. B. Serubiri of the Department of Geography, Makerere College, for the original draft of the map which faces page 136.

Finally I should like to thank my wife, whose co-operation throughout the writing of this book has been of the greatest value.

K.I.

MAKERERE COLLEGE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- (1) Abbreviations occurring in both text and footnotes:
- B.M.S. Baptist Mission Society.
C.M.S. Church Missionary Society.
L.M.S. London Missionary Society.
S.P.C.K. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
S.P.G. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- (2) Abbreviations occurring in the footnotes only:
- Bodl. Bodleian Library.
C.R.O. Commonwealth Relations Office.
M.R. Missionary Register.
P.P. Parliamentary Papers.
P.Deb. Parliamentary Debates.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The most modern transliteration of Indian words and names is employed throughout the book except in the case of quotations, which on every occasion retain the original spelling. In order to facilitate reference to the authorities which have been used, the spelling, often extremely varied, employed by the writers of original MSS. is retained in the footnotes.

INTRODUCTION

The growth of Indian nationalism has tended to obscure the contribution of external forces to the development of India. In the field of social progress emphasis has been placed upon the activities of the Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and more recently the Congress Party, rather than upon the work of Europeans in India. But the history of Christian missionary achievement is older than any of these indigenous movements, and prepared the way for them to a degree far greater than the number of Christians in India might now suggest. Conversions to Christianity were proportionately few, but the influence of missionaries upon social conditions was outstanding.¹

¶ Towards the end of the eighteenth century Christian missions in India appeared of minor importance. The activities and influence of the Roman Catholics had declined appreciably, to be revived only in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ They had suffered considerably as a result of the suppression of the Jesuits by the Pope, and the French Revolution followed by the Napoleonic wars had an adverse effect upon vocations to the mission field amongst the Christians of Europe. Left largely in the hands of Indian converts, the Roman Catholic missions exercised little influence. The Protestant missions could quote a number of famous names at this period, Dr John, C. F. Schwartz and J. C. Kohlhoff, but they were too few to make any widespread impression upon the vast population of India. To the Indians these men were important as individuals rather than as representatives of any unified body. By the East India Company they were tolerated because they were so few in number and often proved useful in a secular capacity. Conservatism in every aspect of Indian life was the natural outcome of the prevailing religions, and the Company's agents appeared unwilling to disturb the existing system. Yet in 1833, when the last restriction upon the free entry of missionaries into India was removed, evangelism was in progress in many parts of the country and

¹ Rev. J. C. Houpert, S. J., *Catholic Church History, India and Ceylon A.D. 50 to 1930*. Trichinopoly, 1932.

numerous reforms were on foot or already completed. For those reforms Christian missionaries were largely responsible.

At the end of the eighteenth century the break-up of the order formerly maintained by the Muhammadan rulers had opened the way to corruption and local struggles after power. The Hindu religion, which dictated the pattern of life of the greater part of Indian society, was the chief indigenous influence possessing the authority to restore order and to set India on the road to progress. But it proved incapable of fulfilling the task. Many perversions had crept into its practices, and the rigidity of its laws tended to encourage a static or even a retrogressive condition of society. Reform was only possible through the infusion of new ideas from outside. The East India Company, which was already becoming the dominant political force in India, hesitated to use its knowledge of the social and technical changes which had been introduced into Europe. Many of its members attributed the decline of Portuguese power to the fact that the early Portuguese settlers had intended to make India an outpost of their home-country by imposing their religion, manners and laws upon the inhabitants. Not surprisingly the English were nervous of that precedent. Their tendency was to regard the Company's government as a superstructure imposed upon Indian society by the requirements of trade. The Indians had their own social organization, and the Government's duty was primarily to maintain the peaceful conditions in which that organization could work and trade could prosper.

In that setting the advent of the evangelical Christian missionaries, which began in 1793, had a stirring effect.

Not long before, a few zealous men of both clergy and laity within the Established Church of England and outside it had begun to recognize their responsibility for spreading the knowledge of Christianity more widely throughout the world. They met with little support from their fellow church-members. When William Carey, who later became the greatest of the new missionaries, first raised the question at a meeting of Baptist ministers he was silenced by his more experienced colleagues. Hitherto the only contribution to missionary work in India made by England had been of a monetary character. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had taken over financial responsibility for the work of the Danish Mission which had spread

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beyond the Danish territory of Tranquebar. But the only English missionary to travel to India was the Rev. A. T. Clarke, sent by the S.P.C.K. to Calcutta in 1789, and the following year he forsook the work for a Government chaplaincy. The appointed field of the S.P.C.K. and of its sister society the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the British colonies, not the non-Christian world at large.

The period of hesitation lasted some years more until the evangelicals could remain quiescent no longer. The Baptist Missionary Society was founded in 1792, and its first agents, William Carey and John Thomas, landed at Calcutta late in 1793. From there the work of the Society extended chiefly along the Ganges and also into East Bengal and Orissa. The London Missionary Society followed in 1795. Its sponsors included Anglicans, Independents and Presbyterians, but it was mainly an organization of Congregationals. Nathaniel Forsyth began his work on behalf of the London Society in the Calcutta area in 1798, but for some time the Society concentrated upon southern India and the Carnatic where its first representatives arrived in 1804. Only after 1812 were there large developments by the L.M.S. in Bengal and along the Ganges.

The Church Missionary Society was established in 1799 by a group of evangelical clergy and laity of the Established Church. It had no official patronage and sent no missionaries to India until 1814. After that date the Society had representatives in both southern India and Bengal. It is an indication of the absence of enthusiasm for this venture among Anglican clergy that a large proportion of the Society's missionaries were Germans of the Lutheran Church.

The Church of Scotland did not officially embark upon¹ missionary work until 1830 when Alexander Duff, the great educationalist, became its first agent in India. The Scottish Missionary Society, however, which began its work in the Bombay Presidency in 1823, ten years later than the American Baptist Mission, was largely supported by the evangelical section of the Church of Scotland.

Also in the 1820's the Wesleyan Missionary Society sent its first representatives, chiefly to southern India. Meanwhile, the S.P.C.K. continued its work on a small scale until its missionary commitments in India were taken over by the S.P.G. in 1825.

These two societies, the official missionary and evangelizing instruments of the Anglican Church, gained a more authoritative status with the founding of the Calcutta Diocese in 1814. Other societies also benefited, in spite of the initial hesitancy of the first bishop, T. F. Middleton, in granting public recognition to their agents. Later he adopted a more openly friendly attitude and his successors showed a keen interest in missionary work by all denominations.

One more society must be mentioned. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804 to provide Bibles in different languages. Although it was not in the full sense a missionary society it played an important part in promoting reforms in India.

In spite of this remarkable resurgence of missionary activity the number of men actually engaged in the work was never very large. The apathy of the British people in the early years has already been noted. The geographical difficulties arising from the Indian climate and the vast distances to be covered by the most primitive means of transport were factors of which today we are well aware. The high death-rate from tropical diseases resulted in the loss of many missionaries before they had been long enough in the country to begin effective work. Language difficulties, when the aids to acquiring a knowledge of Indian languages were few, limited the work which a handful of men could do.

Though relatively few in number the missionaries' abilities were exceptional and their enthusiasm never flagged. Because their main object was evangelization they could not remain aloofly uncritical of the Hindu religion and the social system which it engendered. Not only considerations of humanity but the very progress of the Christian gospel demanded that Indian society should be purged and renovated. This spirit generated in the missionaries a violent sense of urgency. To their evangelical ardour they added numerous additional qualifications which often even the members of the East India Company's Government lacked. They were able to devote their whole time to the problem of reform; their finances could be diverted to that task with the full approval of their societies in England; they had no official responsibility for maintaining order; they were not required to produce plans applicable to a whole province at once

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but could proceed piecemeal to any extent which their facilities permitted, a factor of particular importance with regard to their educational work. Added to all these advantages was the support stirred up by their associates in Britain. With these attributes the missionaries were able to brave the opposition of the Government and to challenge Indian conservatism.

CHAPTER I

THE MISSIONARIES AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

It is inevitable that the activities of Christian missionaries in India between 1793 and 1833 should be contrasted with those of the East India Company since they were the two most important European influences at work in India at that time. It is possible now, however, to avoid turning that contrast inevitably to the disadvantage of one or other of the two parties. Separated by more than a century from the magnificent urgency of the missionaries and the official conservatism of the East India Company's representatives one can note the not infrequent recklessness of the former group and the feebleness so often displayed by the latter in their true perspective as the normal offshoots of the combination of enthusiasm and steadiness which makes for lasting and valuable progress.

If one is to appreciate the value of the missionaries' activities one must, nevertheless, see these men as their contemporaries did, uncertain of the response not only of the Indians but also of those Englishmen whose authority in India was greatest; uncertain too of their legal right even to set foot in India, since many of them entered the country without a licence from the monopolist East India Company.

The uncertainty was not due to any fixed policy of opposition on the part of the East India Company's officials. Many indeed were staunch supporters of the missionaries' work. But the problem of peaceful government was serious, and the missionaries required strong characters if they were to run contrary to the opposition which did frequently arise, either from conviction, timidity, or self-interest.

The importance of individual personality in deciding the attitude of officials towards the missionaries was particularly noticeable among the Governors-General of the period. Sir John Shore, an admirable civil servant but lacking both the determination and the creative ability necessary in a powerful Governor-General, was encouraged by his evangelical sympathies to connive at the activities of the first Baptist missionaries

in Bengal in spite of their illegal entry into the country. Marquess Wellesley, although less interested in evangelical work, was supremely confident of his own ability to maintain order and in his private capacity always tolerated missionary activities. Indeed, he became so impressed by William Carey's learning and integrity that, while openly recognizing him as a missionary, he employed him as official teacher of Bengali to the junior servants of the Company at Fort William College.¹

Immediately upon Wellesley's retirement there was a complete reversal in the Government's behaviour although there was no change of a similar magnitude either in the political situation or in the nature and extent of missionary activities.² Before Lord Minto became Governor-General in 1807, however, there appeared for a time to be real grounds for questioning the effects of Christian evangelism. A mutiny amongst some of the Company's sepoys at Vellore was widely attributed to attacks upon the Hindu religion. Fortunately the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, Edward Parry and Charles Grant, both evangelicals, were able to write a convincing refutation of the missionaries' culpability in a letter to the President of the Board of Control dated 8 June 1807.³ Largely as a result of these two men's efforts to influence the debates in the Court the Directors eventually accepted the view that the incautious behaviour of the military commander and the failure of the Governor to check him were the fundamental causes of the disaster.⁴ Throughout the period of uncertainty Lord Minto's behaviour was that of the good-natured official, anxious for political stability but harassed when newly come to office by unexpected disturbances. His immediate reaction was in favour of a cautious policy of reassurance which naturally did not approve of violent missionary activity. 'The only successful engine of sedition in any part of India', he wrote, 'must be that of persuading the people that our Government entertains hostile and systematic designs against their religion. This persuasion, if it could be established

¹ *Memoir of William Carey*, ed. Eustace Carey, p. 453. London, 1836.

² Bodl. MSS. 'Correspondence on Missions in India, 1807', fo. 2.

³ Bodl. MSS. 'Correspondence on Missions in India, 1807': Letter of Edward Parry and Charles Grant to the President of the Board of Control, dated 8 June 1807.

⁴ C.R.O. MSS. 'Court Minutes', vol. 118, fos. 572-77.

in Bengal, would be as fatal there as on the coast.¹ He accompanied this statement with the imposition of severe restrictions upon the Baptist Mission Press at Serampore from which, unknown to the missionaries, there had recently issued a number of violent attacks upon Islam and Hinduism. It may be added that the restrictions were quickly relaxed when Lord Minto's attention was drawn to the hardships they would cause to the missionaries and he was greatly disturbed by the manner in which his words and actions had caused many in England to doubt his attachment to Christianity² and had convinced the missionaries of his hostility.³ When a sharp letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors warned him against tempting the Indians to confuse the acts of individuals with those of the government by falling into the same error himself,⁴ he realized that his anxiety for good order had unduly influenced his judgement. His attitude towards the missionaries became increasingly liberal. He openly praised their translations into Indian languages. He made a personal gift of money to forward their studies of Chinese, and finally took upon himself the responsibility for permitting two Baptist missionaries to proceed to Agra and Delhi.⁵

Lord Minto's successors did not adopt this more liberal attitude. Both Lord Hastings and Lord Amherst were obsessed with the fear of causing disaffection by interfering in Indian customs. Hastings, with the Nepalese war and the Pindari raids to trouble his administration, and Amherst, harassed by the king of Ava, felt they could not afford to risk disturbances nearer home by extending anything more than the most lukewarm support towards missionary enterprises. Each, on occasion, gave evidence of his personal regard for the missionaries and for their less controversial work. Hastings, like Minto, was fascinated by the vast amount of translation carried out by the Serampore Baptists,⁶ and the death of the C.M.S. missionary,

¹ *Lord Minto in India: the Life and Letters of Gilbert Eliot, First Earl of Minto*, ed. the Countess of Minto, p. 62. London, 1880.

² *Ibid.* p. 79.

³ B.M.S. MSS. 'Rev. J. Marshman's Correspondence, 1799-1826', no. 35: Letter of Hannah Marshman to Mrs Clarke, dated Serampore, 19 September 1807.

⁴ Bodl. MSS. 'Correspondence on Missions in India, 1807', fo. 14.

⁵ *Lord Minto in India*, p. 81.

⁶ *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, ed. the Marchioness of Bute, vol II, pp. 94-5, 2nd edition. London, 1858.

Christopher Schroeter, drew from the Governor-General an acknowledgement of his contribution to science and humanity. But Schroeter's desire to attempt the evangelization of the people in Titalyah on the borders of Nepal had been denied fulfilment by the government officer in that district without any comment from the Governor-General.¹ Amherst, too, sent his own surgeon to attend upon William Carey when the latter had a severe fall² but maintained an uncooperative attitude whenever the missionaries required support for their social reforms.

The calm adoption of a reforming policy by Lord William Bentinck when he became Governor-General in 1828 and his toleration of missionary activities only served to underline the extreme caution of his predecessors. In his case, too, caution might have seemed excusable since he had been recalled from the Governorship of Madras on account of the Vellore mutiny.

Fluctuations of this sort in the attitude of the highest authority in India had a dual effect. First, in England; in the Court of Directors, naturally more concerned with trading profits than with the irksome task of government, it produced increased caution and helped to sustain probably the most united body of anti-missionary sentiment then in existence. Already, in 1793, the Court had rejected a resolution of the House of Commons asserting the duty of the legislature to adopt such measures as might gradually tend to the religious and moral improvement of the inhabitants of British India.³ Stirred by the fears which had arisen as a result of the Vellore Mutiny, they hastened in 1808 to claim that although they had from time to time sanctioned the entry of missionaries into India, they had not intended to add the influence of their authority to any work the missionaries might undertake.⁴ In 1815 the same anxious, even hostile, spirit remained. The Board of Control found it necessary to intervene and score out from a dispatch to the Bengal Government many of the more virulent expressions employed by the Directors against two missionaries, Nott and Hall, who had not undeservedly earned the Court's disapproval.⁵

Instances of interference by the Board of Control in the

¹ *Memoir of the Rev. Josiah Pratt*, ed. J. and J. H. Pratt, pp. 210-11.

² *Memoir of William Carey*, p. 553.

³ Bodl. MSS. 'Correspondence on Missions in India, 1807', fos. 5-6.

⁴ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 68, fos. 727 *seq.*

⁵ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 64, fos. 8-12.

Directors' correspondence were frequent in the years which followed, and sometimes too, supporters of the missionaries within the Court were able to sway the debates. But, although the official attitude of the Directors might be liable to variation because of the influences to which it was subjected both from within the Court and without, the unofficial attitude of the majority was one of steady opposition which they scarcely attempted to conceal.

In general the Directors justified their views by stressing the need for a more tolerant attitude towards alien religions which the missionaries unfairly condemned without understanding them. To support their view they could resort to the many pamphlets written by the Company's servants at the time of the Vellore mutiny when missionary enterprise was in greatest disfavour, or to the succession of testimonies to the beneficial character of Hinduism made before the House of Commons in 1813 by large numbers of Company's officials. Although the Directors' attitude was often based on honest if uncritical conviction, equally often their apparent interest in religious impartiality served as a useful cloak for their greater interest in dividends.

Seeing the importance of financial considerations among the Directors the supporters of missions within the Court were quick to point out the danger of winning public disapproval when the renewal of the Company's Charter rested upon the decision of Parliament. The rapidly growing interest in missions, they declared, was evident in the fact that the Baptist Mission in Bengal was financed by the subscriptions of all denominations of Protestant Christians although Dissenters still laboured under various disabilities in England.¹ The Company, they affirmed, was already unpopular with a large part of the community because of its opposition to the House of Commons resolution in 1793. A great body of religious people throughout the island was already prepared to lead the attack on the renewal of the Charter if they believed the Company to be hostile to the principle of introducing Christianity into India.

The East India Company interest in the House of Commons was strong so that for normal purposes the Directors had little difficulty in imposing their views upon the House. If, however, a powerful influence could be brought to bear upon the members

¹ Bodl. MSS. 'Correspondence on Missions in India, 1807', fo. 5.

of Parliament it was conceivable that the majority, whose interest in Indian affairs was negligible, would vote against the Company. Moreover, the effectiveness of popular feeling had not been exaggerated by the evangelicals in the Court of Directors. In 1813 a flood of petitions to Parliament resulted in the inclusion of a clause in the Charter Renewal Act admitting the principle of missionary activity in India.

It would be inaccurate to regard the presentation of so many petitions as an entirely spontaneous gesture of public opinion. Evangelical fervour had prepared the minds of a large section of the population for an appreciation of missionary work, but the instigation of a few inspired leaders was necessary to produce an outcry large enough to influence Parliament.

In inciting public opinion and in convincing Parliament William Wilberforce played the outstanding part. In the House of Lords and as President of the Church Missionary Society Lord Gambier took upon himself a similar role. But it was Wilberforce who linked together the forces of the Established Church and of Nonconformity, convincing the latter that the campaign on behalf of the missionaries would not cease when the Anglican Church had achieved its primary aim of an ecclesiastical establishment for India. It was, too, his compelling voice in debate which undid the work of the innumerable opponents who had been brought by the Company to give evidence before the House of Commons.

The opposition in Parliament was not without its beneficial results to the missionaries. If the activities of the missionary societies stirred up the House, the sharply contested debate at Westminster in turn was responsible for encouraging public interest in missions. In consequence even the boldest opponents of attempts at evangelization were at times anxious to avoid the accusation of indifference towards missionary enterprise.

Nevertheless, Parliament as a whole evolved no consistent policy with regard to missions in India, since Indian affairs came only rarely before their notice. They expressed themselves continuously, as opposed to their occasional legislative intervention, through their agents, the Board of Control, and more particularly through the President of that body. This group, not so concerned as the Directors with dividends, maintained an impartial attitude towards the missionaries throughout this

period. But their effective control over the East India Company was extremely limited. Although the members of the Board of Control were the ultimate supervisors of Indian affairs they constantly lacked detailed and accurate information. They were compelled, therefore, to rely upon the decisions of the Company's agents in India and were unable to give a firm lead in moulding their policy.

The absence of any consistent attitude in England towards Christian missions placed an added emphasis in India upon the decisions of the Governors-General. The lack of any firm direction from this latter source inevitably produced the unco-ordinated behaviour evident among the Company's lesser officials. Those whose character was naturally cautious or who disliked the mixture of ardent Christianity with their daily work readily accepted the views of the majority of the Directors and derived illogical justification from accepting as the views of higher authority opinions which they themselves had helped to mould. Others helped the missionaries whenever they could while the attitude of the rest was determined largely by the impact made upon them by the personalities of individual missionaries.

Bengal and the neighbouring territories, where evangelical activity was more of an innovation than elsewhere in India and possibly more intensive, provided clear examples of those contrasting tendencies. Even before 1813, when the majority of the missionaries in that area were without a Company's licence, a number of the local officers with whom they came into closest contact were well disposed towards them. William Carey informed the Baptist Society in 1797 that both he and his fellow missionary, Mr Thomas, were respected by the magistrates although their errand was well known.¹ Eighteen months later he was able to declare that it was quite unnecessary to conceal the nature of their work except at the annual return of Europeans made by order of the Government.² These occurrences cannot be accounted for solely by the fact that before 1800 missionary activity was on a particularly small scale, nor yet on the ground that Carey himself, having won great estimation as an Oriental scholar, received special treatment. Others at a

¹ B.M.S. MSS. India (Serampore), 'Letters of William Carey and Others': Letter of William Carey to Mr Fuller, dated Madnabatty, 22 June 1797.

² Ibid. Letter of William Carey to the Baptist Missionary Society, dated Hoogly River, Near Plassey, 10 January 1799.

later date gained similar consideration. In a letter to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, William Lee, one of its agents, expressed his appreciation of the courteous treatment he had received from the acting Secretary to the Government at Fort William, by whose intervention he had been saved from considerable inconvenience and delay in travelling to Vizagapatam.¹

Expressions of goodwill of this sort were certainly not rare on the part of government officials, but the missionaries could not steadily rely upon them. By the whim of individual officers their situation was frequently rendered insecure. At times they were forbidden to travel about the country without any valid reason having been given to explain the ban.² In 1806 two new missionaries, Mr Chater and Mr Robinson, who arrived at Calcutta in an American ship to join the Baptists in the Danish settlement at Serampore, were detained and then ordered to leave the country.³ They were not, it is true, in possession of licences, and government officials justifiably argued that even though they stayed at Serampore their influence would be felt in British territory. Nevertheless, the Government's lack of courtesy towards a smaller power was evidence of their bitterness towards the missionaries at this time. The question of licences was also frequently used as an excuse by the ill-disposed for issuing threats. And even as late as 1831, when most of the missionaries were in possession of a licence, J. D. Pearson of the L.M.S. at Chinsurah expressed the view that the majority of the Company's servants in Bengal were decidedly hostile to missionary efforts.⁴

In southern India, where in the eighteenth century the Rev. C. F. Schwartz had done invaluable work as ambassador extraordinary at the Court of the Raja of Tanjore and had treated with Haider Ali and Tipu on behalf of the Company's Government, one might expect to find evidence of a more universal support for missionary activities on the part of government officials. Yet here again was the same mixture of friendliness and mistrust. Several small acts of consideration on the part of the

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: General', box 1, folder 2, jacket C: Letter of W. Lee to the Directors of the L.M.S. dated Vizagapatam, 10 August 1810.

² Bodl. MSS. 'Correspondence on Missions in India, 1807', fo. 2.

³ Ibid. fo. 4.

⁴ L.M.S. MSS. 'India: Bengal', box 3, folder 1, jacket D: Letter of J. D. Pearson, L.M.S., to the Rev. H. Townley, dated Chinsurah, 7 April 1831.

authorities received incidental notice in the official dispatches from England to India. The advance of an allowance of Rs. 200 a month to the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar when hostilities between Denmark and England in 1810 cut off their source of supply¹ was followed some years later by an order that the Company's surgeon should give medical assistance to the missionaries at Madras.² Sir Thomas Munro, Governor at Madras, is said to have given a friendly and encouraging reception to missionaries arriving in his Presidency,³ and Stephen R. Lushington who succeeded him in 1827 promised to follow his example. 'All my recollections connected with this momentous subject', wrote Lushington to the Secretary of the S.P.G. in June 1827, 'entirely confirmed the wisdom, humanity and true piety of the course which the Society has prescribed to itself, and it will be a matter of personal pride and gratification to me to pursue the example of Sir Thomas Munro by affording to the native Protestant Christians in the Peninsula and to their pious and benevolent Instructors, the same countenance and Protection'.⁴

Yet from all parts of southern India there were reports throughout the period of the unfavourable treatment meted out both to the missionaries and to their converts by English officials. The uncertainty of their position was particularly illustrated by the way in which the same missionaries were treated quite differently by different officers. Joseph Fenn of the C.M.S., writing at Quilon in Travancore in 1819, remarked that the previous Resident had regarded it as his duty to give his moral support to the diffusion of Christianity. His successor, however, was the decided enemy of missionaries, and had gone beyond the impartiality which he had at first professed in order to provide advantages for the non-Christians in the district.⁵ Ten years later, at Neyyur, Charles Mead of the L.M.S. testified to an equal disparity in the behaviour towards him of the Resident and the Acting Resident.⁶ The injudicious publications of the

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Madras Despatches', vol. 45, fos. 223-4.

² Ibid. vol. 67, pp. 972-3.

³ *M.R.* 1827, p. 100.

⁴ S.P.G. MSS. Dio. Madras: Letter of Stephen Lushington to the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, dated 25 June 1827.

⁵ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, fo. 66, and vol. 2, fo. 8.

⁶ L.M.S. MSS. 'Travancore', box 1, folder 4, jacket B: Letter of C. Mead to the Rev. W. Orme, dated Neyoor, 22 June 1830.

missionaries appear to have been at times the cause of friction with authority.¹ But the Madras Government Regulation of 1816 which retarded the success of missionary endeavour by indirectly placing restrictions upon the appointment of Indian Christians to government posts and forbidding them to be employed in the army, was not due to any fault on the part of the missionaries or their converts.²

The Bombay area, though a less active mission field, provided as varied a reception as any other part of the country. A succession of Governors displayed friendship towards such missionaries as gained their approval. While on his way from England in 1812 Sir Evan Nepean wrote to the Directors of the London Missionary Society assuring them of his awareness of the advantages which would result from the extension of Christianity in India,³ and even the recalcitrant missionaries, Nott and Hall, testified to his kindness towards them.⁴ The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone and his successor Sir John Malcolm also displayed benevolent approval of missionary activity, each of them assisting with generous financial subscriptions.⁵ Here again, however, the lead given by the Governors was not always strong enough to impress itself upon lesser government officials. William Fyvie of the L.M.S. stated in 1818 that although the Europeans in the vicinity of Surat had little fear of an uprising because they were well acquainted with the Indians' character and with the behaviour of the missionaries it was still necessary for him and his colleagues to be watchful of their words and cautious in their proceedings.⁶

In the light of this widespread inconsistency in the treatment of missionaries by the agents of the East India Company it is interesting to consider briefly the reaction of the Indians to missionary activities and to try to discover how great was the danger of upheaval.

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, fo. 12.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Telugu', box 1, folder 4, jacket D: Report of W. Howell, L.M.S., dated Cuddapah, 21 February 1831.

³ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: General', box 1, folder 3, jacket D: Letter of Sir Evan Nepean to the Treasurer and Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Atsea, 1 April 1812.

⁴ Ibid. box 2, folder 1, jacket B: Letter of S. Nott to the L.M.S., dated Bombay, 22 December 1813.

⁵ *Memoir of the Rev. Robert Nesbit*, ed. J. M. Mitchell, p. 70. London, 1858.

⁶ L.M.S. MSS. 'North India: Gujarati', box 1, folder 1, jacket B: Letter of W. Fyvie to the Rev. G. Burder, dated Surat, 20 November 1818.

For more than a century the Danish mission at Tranquebar had pursued its course of preaching, itinerating, opening schools, translating the Scriptures and disseminating literature. Among the circle of Indians in the Carnatic with which the mission came in contact it had become a familiar institution. At no time had it given rise to any notable feelings either of mistrust or of widespread approval.

On the Malabar coast the record was similar. In recent years the reduced activities of the Roman Catholics had caused no uprising to trouble the various governments. Elsewhere in India missionary activity had for some time been on far too small a scale to arouse excitement.

The arrival of the Protestant missionaries in Bengal and southern India after 1793, however, drew new attention to missionary work in all its forms. The zeal of these men, the diversity of their talents, and the rapid expansion of their sphere of activity had not been equalled since the earliest days of the Jesuits in India. Thousands of Indians, both Hindus and Muslims, felt for the first time the impact of enthusiastic evangelism inseparably bound up with a programme of social and educational reform.

This new activity had a profound effect upon those who felt its impulse. Ram Mohan Roy, a reformer who had made a deep study of both Eastern and Western religion and culture before evolving his own eclectic version of Hinduism, was able to give his full support to many of the reforms which he regarded as necessary for Indian society, while at the same time attacking certain aspects of Christian doctrine. Other Indians, of a narrower and less profound education, found it difficult to discriminate so confidently. Members of even the most conservative castes were at times unable to avoid the stimulus provided by the missionaries' encouragement of indigenous literature.¹ But their instinctive approval was often tinged with suspicion. Unhesitatingly they rejected even benefits which they believed to be part of an open campaign against the religion upon which their privileged position depended.²

The missionaries made no attempt to conceal the true nature

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 5, fos. 15 and 91-2.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'Travancore', box 1, folder 3, jacket 2: Letter of Charles Mead, L.M.S., dated Neyoor, 30 June 1829.

of their campaign, however. The missionary societies issued injunctions to their agents to remember their sacred purpose and to avoid interference in political concerns.¹ But however desirous of subscribing to these orders the missionaries might have been, the fervour with which they undertook their work and the reservations they permitted themselves on the grounds of conscience² inevitably involved them in secular problems.

The missionaries did not deny that their activities provoked opposition. William Carey wrote to the Baptist Mission Society in England telling with unconcealed approval of a 'hard-mouthed attack on the Brahmuns', written by an Indian follower of his, which had aroused considerable ill-feeling.³ Joshua Marshman, Carey's fellow-evangelist, had himself been pelted with stones when attempting to preach in a village near Serampore,⁴ and appeals against him were made to the judge of the district by Brahmans who had been frightened by his teaching.⁵ Christian converts had, on occasion, been treated with far greater violence. They had been dragged from their homes and maltreated by Hindus and Muhammadans alike.⁶ Their possessions had been destroyed and their property rights ignored by their landlords.⁷ In southern India there were similar reports of the persecutions extending at times even to murder to which Indian converts to Christianity were subjected by their neighbours.⁸ And in places where less violence was shown Brahmans were often active in inducing the people to stay away from the missionaries.⁹

It was futile to seek a peaceful solution as some of the missionaries did by buying land upon which to found Christian villages.¹⁰ The converts who came to the villages were pitifully dependent upon their European protectors. Most of them were

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Kanarese', box 2, folder 4, jacket B: Admonitory Hints by the Directors of the L.M.S. (undated), and Periodical Accounts, vol. 1, p. 518.

² Periodical Accounts, vol. 3, p. 276.

³ B.M.S. MSS. India (Serampore), 'Letters of Carey and Others': Letter of William Carey to Andrew Fuller, dated November 1800.

⁴ B.M.S. MSS. 'Rev. J. Marshman's Correspondence, 1799-1826': Journal of J. Marshman for 30 January 1801.

⁵ Ibid. Journal of J. Marshman for 27 December 1803.

⁶ Periodical Accounts, vol. 4, pp. 357-60.

⁷ Ibid. vol. 2, p. 184.

⁸ S.P.G. MSS. 'C. India', II, 2, no. 34: Letter of the Rev. J. C. Kohlhoff to the Rev. Dr Gaskin, dated Tanjore, 8 March 1805.

⁹ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: General', box 2, folder 2, jacket C: Letter of William Lee, to the Rev. G. Burder, dated Ganjam, 4 October 1815.

¹⁰ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 5, fos. 3, 24 and 107.

from the lowest classes and had little education. There was small prospect that a strong communal life would develop in the villages because the inhabitants did not constitute a true cross-section of society. Confusion rather than a growing self-reliance was the outcome. Outside, antagonism instead of envy was the sentiment of other Indians as they saw their fellows deserting their religion and breaking their social ties to put themselves under the spiritual and material domination of foreigners.

Opposition of this sort was far from being universal, however. The lowest castes in particular were often well disposed towards the missionaries, and even a few members of the higher orders took a profound interest in their activities, both Muhammadans and orthodox Hindus occasionally giving support to certain aspects of social work. It is true the missionaries often acted incautiously. George Cran of the L.M.S., who had a profound respect for the Baptists at Serampore and for the work they were doing, frankly admitted that at times they displayed more zeal than prudence.¹ Some of the examples of the persecution resultant upon extreme enthusiasm have already been noted, but to conclude from these that a serious political disturbance was at any time imminent would be an exaggeration. In spite of the missionaries' European origins the Indians do not appear to have connected them closely with the East India Company's Government. The missionaries' activities and teaching might, therefore, have been troublesome to the Indians but the latter were free to refuse their co-operation. Joshua Marshman summed up the argument against the likelihood of a large-scale disturbance resulting from the missionaries' work. The Hindus, he said, were not so much afraid of becoming Christians as of being made to become Christians.²

This view was supported by a number of experienced government officials and was borne out by later events. Colonel Munro, whose testimony before the House of Commons was an outspoken defence of the policy of non-intervention in Indian customs, did not set the danger of rebellion very high. While admitting that for individual Europeans to attack the religious ceremonies and doctrines of the country was liable to cause local

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: General', box 1, folder 1, jacket D: Letter of George Cran, dated Vizagapatam, 29 September 1808.

² Periodical Accounts, vol. 3, p. 408.

dissatisfaction he did not anticipate that it would result in insurrection.¹ F. J. Shore, son of Sir John Shore, endorsed this view in 1835, citing the numerous occasions on which the prejudices and customs of the Hindus had been subjected to interference by both the Muslim and English Governments without any upheaval.² When Shore wrote he had already before him the evidence of a fairly widespread plot in 1832 by which the Muhammadans in various towns of southern India had tried to arouse animosity against Christian missionaries. The plot failed to gain any support from the very outset, in spite of the attractive though false charge that Christian missionaries had been guilty of defiling mosques by throwing into them the carcasses of pigs.³ Perhaps it was even more significant that after Bentinck had carried out numerous reforms along the lines advocated by the missionaries, when the Governments of the three Presidencies had shown favour towards the missionaries' educational work and the English Parliament in 1833 had sanctioned the free, unlicensed entry of missionaries into India, it was not to revolt but to their British rulers that the Indians of Bombay appealed for redress when, in 1839, they feared the encroachment of Christianity upon their religion.⁴

It was, therefore, in an unsettled though not wholly unfavourable atmosphere that the missionaries carried on their work between 1793 and 1833. Among the Indians generally, suspicion far outweighed the acquiescence—it can scarcely be described as anything more active—of some of the lower classes and the occasional support of a far smaller number among the higher castes. Sometimes, too, there was open hostility to individual missionaries. From the British Governments in India the missionaries might look in general for approval extending at times to active support, but an incautious step might produce immediate recriminations. Individual officers, from the most junior collector to the Governor-General, might give their assistance; yet a Company's Resident might equally effectively undermine the whole structure of missionary work in his district.

¹ *P. Deb.* vol 61, 11 March–10 May 1813, col. 786.

² F. J. Shore, *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol II, p. 413. London, 1837.

³ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Telugu', box 1, folder 5, jacket B: Letters of W. Howell to the Secretary and Treasurer of the L.M.S., and to the Rev. J. Clayton, dated Cuddapah, 22 June 1832.

⁴ *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1909, vol. xxix, 'Letters of a Governor of Bombay', p. 55.

CHAPTER II

CASTE

In the formulation and perpetuation of the Indian social order the caste system played the outstanding part. It was at once the product of Hinduism and its chief support. It maintained the unquestioned authority of the priesthood and ensured the survival of customs no matter how outworn or positively evil they might be. Conservatism was assured while caste prevailed.

To undermine its power became one of the missionaries' chief concerns. To ignore it was to render nugatory their other reforming activities. But caste presented them with problems of an extremely intricate nature and there was no consensus of opinion among them either as to its true character or its functions.

The agents of the Roman Church had arrived at no real uniformity in their views in spite of their centuries of missionary experience in India. Although the popes tried to insist that caste distinctions should be ignored the general practice even in the latter part of the nineteenth century was to regard them as civil or social in character rather than as religious gradations, and as such they were accepted. The Protestant missionaries in southern India noted this uneasy compromise with some disapproval but were themselves equally confused.¹

The missionaries' doubts are not surprising. Many writers have attempted to define caste. Recently Mr J. H. Hutton has provided an admirable analysis which, by its very comprehensiveness, has emphasized the complicated nature of the subject: 'There are thought to be some 3000 castes in India', he writes, 'and it would need an encyclopedia to deal with them all. Some are derived from tribal or racial elements, some are occupational, being of the nature originally of guilds of artificers or craftsmen, some are territorial, some religious, and so forth. The original bond which united members of a caste has often been different in different cases, but it is suggested that the society of that country as a whole has been built up by the integration of these different units into an organic community and one into which a new unit is fitted without difficulty, while any

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol, 3, p. 191.

group that breaks away from other units can easily form itself into a new cell within the structure, and will indeed find it almost impossible to do anything else.¹ The framework of Indian society becomes even more involved when one realizes that the more primitive elements, such as the hill tribes of Rajmahal, observe no distinction of caste, while in many areas, notably in Bengal, Muhammadans have adopted the caste system and adhere to it as firmly as do the Hindus.

Before 1793 there had been several attacks upon this structure which had met with varying success. At the end of the seventeenth century Govind Singh, a great teacher, organized the Akali Sikhs on a military and political basis. They repudiated caste and many of the traditional observances of Hinduism. But their recession from the main stem of the Hindu religion did not disturb the general outlines of Hinduism. Again, Tipu Sultan's forcible conversion of thousands of Hindus to the Islamic faith strengthened rather than weakened the adherence of other Hindus to their old beliefs.

The missionaries had no intention of employing Tipu's forceful methods, and they had no wish to set up a rival to the Sikh military community. But it was difficult to see how they should handle a problem so deceptive in character. They were attempting to undermine a system innately opposed to Christianity yet apparently capable of absorbing Indian Christians comfortably as a new caste within the amorphous Hindu polity; a system essentially changeless and incapable of remedy yet constantly changing to adapt itself more satisfactorily to some new situation.

In their uncertainty they might easily have been driven to accept the general view of Englishmen in India that caste was merely the equivalent of the European social order, conservative indeed, but only as befitted a predominantly agricultural and under-developed community. Had they brought to the problem a spirit of curious interest in a strange phenomenon instead of a burning faith in the transcendental nature of their own religion they might indeed have reached that conclusion; they might also have become better Oriental scholars, but they would have contributed less to social reform.

Here, as elsewhere, the work of the missionaries was comple-

¹ J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, p. 2. Cambridge, 1946.

mentary to that of the Government. The latter's well-established English policy of legalizing change when it had become inevitable, but never forcing it upon their reluctant subjects, ensured that caste would not be destroyed by ill-considered interference from above. Had it in fact been possible to destroy caste in this way anarchy would almost certainly have followed unless it could have been averted by the simultaneous introduction of a new morality and a new method of enforcing moral law. But the Government's cautious policy did not in itself encourage progress, and the stagnation into which Indian society had sunk meant that both impulse and example were necessary to make progress possible. The missionaries provided both, and were confident too that rooted in Christianity was a new social order which would more than compensate for the loss of the old. The fact that the Indians accepted a system which to the missionaries appeared so obviously faulty did not seem to the latter an adequate reason for approving it. The missionaries were convinced that the lower classes were attached to the caste system through the simple fear of losing the little material security and social standing which they possessed. They saw clearly, too, that for all its appearances caste differed fundamentally from the social order of any European country. Their conception of European society was based, it is true, upon an ideal rather than upon practice. Yet their ideal reflected centuries of western European tradition in which classical philosophy and Christian doctrine were closely mingled. Though the ideal had for long remained unrealized and was still frequently obscured and flouted it had remained the true basis of the social order. The anomalies of caste, on the other hand, carried with them the full sanction of Hinduism and thus barred the way to individual improvement and ultimately to the betterment of the whole Indian community.

Even the variety of the missionaries' views as to the nature of caste was turned to good effect in that they employed an equal variety of methods in their attempt to tackle the problem. It resulted also in a far more frequent and valuable exchange of opinions than was normally customary among them. These experiments and inquiries were often inconclusive and no large-scale defection from the caste system took place as a result of them. But experience enabled the missionaries to amend their

plans and pointed the way for future action in a much wider field.

One thing appeared certain. Neither public denunciation nor the arguments into which the missionaries and the Brahmans entered with equal zest could on their own turn the heart of more than an occasional person against the traditional organization of society. The profound ignorance of the vast majority of the people comprising that society militated too strongly against any wider success. It was in the schools that the first experiments must be made and it was there the approach of the different missionaries varied most.

Some were in favour of a considerable measure of tolerance in the hope that education would eventually change their students' outlook. The Rev. B. Schmid of the C.M.S. at Palamcottah and the agents of the London Missionary Society in Surat, though widely separated geographically, concluded almost simultaneously in 1822 that their mission teachers must preach the equality of castes. But because their pupils were still Hindus it was an obligation of Christian charity to accept their customary caste distinctions at least as a temporary measure.¹ Even the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius of the C.M.S., so vehement in his opposition to all things contrary to his faith, abandoned his original intention of excluding caste from his schools in Madras after only a year of experiment. In the initial fervour of evangelism with which they arrived in India both Rhenius and his companion, the Rev. J. C. Schnarre, had announced their intention of refusing to admit caste into their schools, even if it meant having as pupils none but pariah boys. 'We shall think ourselves bound not to deviate from that resolution', they concluded.² Yet on 3 September 1816 Rhenius wrote to the Rev. M. Thompson, Secretary to the Madras Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S., 'Experience during the existence of our schools has brought me upon the consideration that we should make a distinction between the Heathen and Native Christians, it being nearly impossible to demand that heathens as such should enter into the views and principles of Christianity, and that therefore in compliance with their prejudices we should yield to the desires of the heathen to have Pariah Schools and Tamul

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 164.

² *M.R.* 1816, p. 59.

Schools separately, lest we hinder them from enjoying the benefits of christian instruction by which they are first to be brought to think aright and liberally.¹

These were for toleration, and in their policy there might appear to have been little prospect of success. The standard of education reached by the children before they left school at the usual early age was of a most elementary nature. Little could be done in those brief years to instil into their minds a new range of values. But there were at least two results of some importance. The period of education, short though it was, enabled the children, in numbers often far greater because caste distinctions were permitted in the schools, to hear the doctrines of Christianity expounded. These, when taught on a broad basis, were more likely to appeal to their hearers than would an initial and specialized attack on caste, and in time they might to some extent succeed in weakening its religious authority. Absorbed once more on leaving school by the traditional social organization, the children frequently forgot the missionaries' teaching. But having learnt the elements of reading and writing they were capable of further reading when opportunity occurred, and the missionaries were at pains to distribute elementary literature of a Christian nature as widely as possible. The demand for the books suggests that the missionaries' hopes of success along these lines were not wholly without foundation.

Such concessions to caste won the complete approval of the non-missionary European population who considered them to be indispensable to the success of any educational scheme. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone gave expression in 1824 to a sound word of caution. Unless the missionaries were prepared to tolerate caste prejudices in their schools, he wrote, the result might well be that caste Hindus would ignore the educational opportunities they afforded and a class of pariahs would develop, superior to the rest in useful knowledge, but hated and despised by the castes.²

In spite of this widely held opinion some of the missionaries decided to risk the effects of an anti-caste policy in their schools,

¹ S.P.G. MSS. Box 'C. India', II, 2, no. 101: Letter of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius to the Rev. M. Thompson, dated Madras, 3 September 1816.

² *Selections from the Minutes and other Official Writings of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay*, ed. G. W. Forrest, p. 105. London, 1837.

and in certain cases the results justified the forebodings of the opponents of that policy. In 1821 John Devasagayam, the chief Indian Superintendent of C.M.S. free schools in the Carnatic, admitted that a number of the higher-caste boys had been taken from the mission school at Tilleyally, near Madras, because their parents considered they would be defiled by coming into contact with Sudras.¹ Similar results encountered by Rhenius in the same district a few years earlier have already been noted.

Elsewhere, however, the outcome was frequently very different. In the C.M.S. schools in Burdwan and the surrounding area the children knew of no precedence save that of merit.² At Serampore Mission College the pandits, after considerable objection, were induced to teach the sacred classics of Hinduism to a Sudra.³ The register of the boys in the free school at Benares, where no distinctions were permitted, contains the names of 142 pupils admitted between June 1824 and May 1833, and includes representatives of innumerable castes ranging from Brahmans to Sudras, Christians and Muhammadans, and even to Rajputs; who were most exclusive.⁴

From the Madras Presidency there is similar evidence that a calm persistence in refusing to admit caste distinctions did occasionally triumph and, most surprisingly, in a girls' school. The Rev. B. Schmid, like C. T. E. Rhenius with whom he was associated in his work, objected strongly to caste distinctions. In 1823, he had at Palamcottah a girls' school in which one of the twenty-three pupils was a Sudra, four were Shanans, a caste which made frequent though unavailing claims to be of high birth, and the remainder were of still lower castes. The missionary's views on caste had been explained to their parents, and the girls ate together and in all respects lived together as members of one family.⁵ The importance of this achievement is emphasized when it is recalled that in southern India the Sudras to all intents and purposes ranked next to the Brahmans, as few members remained of the castes which originally came between.

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol 1, fo. 560.

² M.R. 1819, p. 30. Survey of Missionary Stations, Burdwan, C.M.S.

³ J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, vol. II, p. 354. London, 1859.

⁴ C.M.S. MSS., package 156, North India. Ecclesiastical Papers, etc.

⁵ M.R. 1824, p. 367.

It is even more important in view of the intense opposition generally displayed by caste Hindus to having their daughters educated at all.

It would be a grave exaggeration to conclude from these or even from numerous other examples that a firm stand against caste in schools resulted automatically in its collapse. Yet there is no doubt that the temptations offered by the opportunities of education in mission schools went far to overcome the scruples which restrained caste from intermingling with caste.

The status of Indian converts to Christianity provided a different and three-sided problem. Whatever the feelings of the converts themselves, Hindus and Muhammadans refused to permit them to retain their former castes. At the same time, the Christians came to form in the eyes of others something in the nature of a new caste. Many of the converts, however, wished to retain their old distinctions, and so established what could only be termed a spurious caste system within their Christian communities.

Towards this as towards other problems the attitude of individual missionaries differed widely. In Bengal they appear to have met with the greatest success in spite of the numerous examples of the persecution of converts by their Hindu and Muslim families and of the frequent appeals to local European magistrates or district officers by incensed villagers.¹

William Carey had at first been prepared to tolerate caste among his converts. When he realized, however, that conversion and caste were incompatible in the eyes of orthodox Hindus, he took a firm stand against the admission of any distinctions of that nature among his Indian Christians.² His policy met with marked success. The scornful accusation that only the lowest castes or outcasts could be induced to accept a Christianity which abjured caste distinctions was completely refuted in the Serampore community. In 1802 a Brahman deliberately rejected his traditional status in order to associate with the Christians, as also did two other Indians of a slightly lower caste.³ These were not the only Hindus to embrace Christianity

¹ B.M.S. MSS. Journal of W. Ward, vol. 2, 12 November 1804 and 23 December 1806.

² Periodical Account, vol. 1, p. 361.

³ Ibid. vol. 2, p. 235.

as a result of the Serampore Baptists' teaching. An even more striking example of the way in which caste was set aside in that community was described a year later in the journal of William Ward, the associate of Carey and Marshman. One of their earliest converts, Krishna Prasad, a Brahman, had married Ananda, the daughter of another convert who had formerly been a Sudra. This alone, in view of the strict laws regulating the intermarriage of different castes, was of great significance. But the married pair then went on to set the seal on their renunciation of caste by eating their wedding supper at the same table as the English missionaries.¹

In southern India caste retained a firmer hold. The Roman Catholic missionary, J. A. Dubois, held the opinion that any attempt to persuade an Indian convert that all men are on an equal footing in the sight of God would inevitably meet with failure.² Certain of the Protestant missionaries were also inclined towards tolerance, but they refused to accept caste as a permanent feature of life in Christian communities. Charles Mead of the London Missionary Society at Nagracoil announced in 1819 that the initial demand that everyone wishing to become a Christian should renounce caste was both injudicious and unreasonable, and was the one sure way of preventing Indians from inquiring thoroughly about Christianity. His view, he said, had been borne out by experience at Vizagapatam, Bellary and elsewhere in the peninsula. It was far better to let Christianity win the battle of caste in the mind of the convert than to threaten a Hindu with the complete loss of his status on his first making inquiries.³

This was not a solitary opinion. The Rev. J. C. Kohlhoff, after years of experience, wrote to the Rev. James Hough, East India Company's chaplain, a profoundly reasoned argument in favour of his decision not to insist upon his converts renouncing caste at once. To have done so, he said, would have given rise to an inflated sense of importance and often to insolence among the lower castes of converts in their existing state of social and mental attainment. The higher castes, on the other hand, would feel

¹ B.M.S. MSS. Journal of W. Ward, vol. 2, 5 April 1802.

² M.R. 1816, p. 445. Extract from a letter of Abbé Dubois.

³ L.M.S. MSS. 'Travancore', box 1, 1817-31, folder 1, jacket B: Letter of C. Mead to the Rev. G. Burder, dated Nagracoil, 10 August 1819.

justifiably degraded and consequently resentful. This was more than an argument of expediency. Kohlhoff was as intent upon the brotherhood of his converts as was the most fervent evangelical. But he realized the unreal nature of any caste distinctions which the converts might attempt to retain when viewed in the light of orthodox Hindu opinion, and was therefore convinced that under the added impulse of Christian teaching this spurious caste must inevitably lose its hold.¹ His policy, as might be expected, did not meet with swift success. The restrictions upon intermarriage and on eating with different castes lingered on, but he could truly affirm that in all other respects caste was of little or no consequence amongst the Christian congregations of the Tanjore mission, and he held out high hopes of a further weakening in its observance in consequence of the methods he had adopted.

The Madras Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. respected Kohlhoff's opinion because they appreciated both his sincerity and the value of his experience. His influence was to be seen in the moderate and sympathetic attitude of the Committee towards the caste problems experienced by newly converted Christians. Firmly they urged the Rev. Thomas Norton, a member of their own Society, to bear in mind the social background of the female converts whose adherence to caste he so strongly deplored.² With concern, too, they denounced the action of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius in insisting that caste should be wholly excluded from the seminary for Christian students at Palamcottah and thereby causing all the pupils to leave. Although Rhenius's fiery evangelism had been tempered by experience to the extent of his having reluctantly admitted that leniency should be displayed towards recent converts, he firmly maintained that mature Christians and intending catechists must completely abjure caste distinctions. Moreover, in spite of the disapproval of the Corresponding Committee he persisted in his views and was, surprisingly, justified in the outcome. When it was realized by the Indians that he had no intention of making any concessions to their prejudices new pupils of various

¹ S.P.G. MSS. Box 'C. India', II, 3: Certified true copy by C. S. Kohlhoff of a letter from his father, J. C. Kohlhoff, to the Rev. James Hough, dated Tanjore, 28 July 1821.

² C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. I, fo. 597.

castes came to the seminary and a little later some of the ring-leaders of the revolt asked permission to return.¹

Rhenius's success, however, provided no criterion for caste policy in general in the missionaries' schools for Christians. The Madras seminary of the C.M.S. found it necessary to adopt a very circumspect attitude towards the question of their pupils' eating arrangements.² And even when Bishop Daniel Wilson had issued his regulation that caste should not be admitted into any Anglican community grave difficulties were encountered in the Christian schools in a number of districts. When the teachers were called upon to conform on pain of dismissal, many refused rather than lose their caste.³

Yet both the forceful and the tolerant methods met with some success in Christian communities. The examples were never numerous because the number of converts was never large within the period under consideration. But in the Christian communities it was possible to see most plainly whether a real renunciation of caste had taken place. Under the watchful scrutiny of the missionaries trends of opinion amongst their converts were immediately noted. When a schoolmaster of Sudra caste at Palamcottah offered himself voluntarily for baptism with a pariah washerwoman and her two daughters it was a clear triumph for the missionaries' anti-caste policy.⁴ And one of the most rigid rules of caste was publicly broken when a Brahman convert at Cuddapah married a pariah girl educated at the mission school.⁵

The obstacles to an Indian renouncing his caste were not wholly religious, however. Such a step meant inevitably that the whole social and material structure of his life must crumble away. Rejected by his family, he would also lose even his means of livelihood. If the missionaries hoped for any success in their campaign it was frequently essential that some means should be made available of providing employment and possibly even

¹ S.P.G. MSS. Extract from the Journal of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius, 13 February 1818, and C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 510.

² C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 3, fos. 326-33.

³ S.P.G. MSS. Box 'C. India', II, 4, no. 34: Letter of the Rev. E. J. Jones to the Rev. M. Campbell, dated Tanjore, 9 April 1834.

⁴ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 434.

⁵ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Telugu', box 1, folder 4, packet D: Letter of W. Howell to W. A. Hankey and the Rev. H. Townley, dated Cuddapah, 7 January 1831.

accommodation for their converts. The Serampore Baptists saw at once that to lose all for Christ had an extremely literal meaning for Indian Christians, and that it would be making too great a demand upon simple people to expect them to embrace poverty as well as scorn. During his first year at Madnabatty, William Carey realized the possibilities opened by the indigo factory of his employer and patron, Mr Udney, as a source of employment for those prepared to lose caste.¹ At Serampore, too, the missionaries' paper-mill and printing works offered a subsistence to some of the converts. The communal life adopted by the Serampore Brotherhood was particularly suited to the establishment of a self-supporting group, and although they formed a unit which could not expand indefinitely to accommodate new arrivals their community existence was undoubtedly one of the reasons for their early success.

The L.M.S. missionary, William Howell, also elaborated a scheme in 1826 capable of considerable expansion if judiciously handled. A factory containing a number of looms was set up at Cuddapah in southern India, two families were supplied with cattle and the implements of husbandry to cater for the basic needs of the factory workers, and the women in each family were provided with a spinning-wheel. No one was allowed to come and reside in this Christian community unless he could earn by his daily labour sufficient to provide himself with at least one meal a day.² This latter regulation was unfortunately necessary to check the practice of beggars and idlers attempting to impose upon the missionaries' charity by making a false profession of Christianity.

Unless the missionaries exercised the greatest caution they were always liable to be deceived by assumed conversions. Even when they were extremely careful they laid themselves open to the charge of winning only the lowest castes to Christianity, because the latter were thought to cherish hopes of bettering their material circumstances by associating with Europeans. In many cases the charge did not lack truth, for in attempting to assert that a man's status should be decided purely on merit they were advocating an impossible ideal. Nevertheless, it is an

¹ *Memoir of William Carey*, ed. Eustace Carey, p. 190. London, 1836.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Telugu', box 1, 1817-35, folder 3, jacket A: Letters of W. Howell, dated Cuddapah, 6 October 1826 and 3 October 1829.

inescapable fact that some members of the highest castes were prepared to renounce their distinctions and become Christians. Others who at first were loth to do so succumbed after a time to Christian teaching. In Tranquebar, as early as 1799, a leading member of the congregation proposed that there should be only one Communion cup instead of the customary two—one for the caste Christians and one for outcasts. After some objection his proposal was put into effect.¹

Since 1833 many factors have weakened the bonds of caste in India. Equality before the law, though it has not necessarily produced social equality, has gradually exerted an influence detrimental to the sanctity of the old distinctions. The desire to travel abroad has inevitably resulted in many caste observances being ignored. More extensive and more advanced education has done much to arouse disapproval of the more anomalous doctrines of Hinduism, among them the most rigid restrictions imposed by caste.

But the caste system is still widely prevalent even if frequently in a weakened form, and the missionaries' methods of attack were far from being universally victorious. The mass conversions to Christianity of low-caste groups which have taken place in recent years suggest that caste is still a dominant force. Certainly, by 1833, the missionaries' successes had been numerically very small. In 1830, A. Lacroix of the L.M.S. and formerly of the Netherlands Missionary Society was still writing that caste was the principal obstacle to conversion.² The resistance to Bishop Wilson's order that caste should not be observed in Christian communities was also evidence, along with the precedence which continued to be observed in the churches and even at the Communion table, that some of the converts themselves still clung to their old ideas.

To judge the missionaries' achievements purely by numbers, however, would be to underestimate their work most seriously. For it was they who, insistent upon the ultimately evil effects of caste, were the first Europeans to believe in the possibility of rooting out its more harmful aspects and to put their beliefs to the test. They proved that caste was not unassailable even in its

¹ Periodical Accounts, vol. 2, p. 28.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'India: Bengal', box 3, 1830-3, folder 1, jacket C: Letter of A. Lacroix to the Rev. W. Orme, dated Calcutta, 20 May 1830.

highest places, and they did so in the face of doubting and often unsympathetic Europeans and of steady opposition from the Indians. More than any other factor, the instruction they provided, which was far more extensive and original in character than that provided by any other European group during those years, was the deciding element in developing a critical approach to the implications of caste amongst the Indian population. Wherever Christian influence was most powerfully felt there was a conscious transformation of caste distinctions into something resembling the less immutable gradations of society recognized in Europe.

IDOLATROUS FESTIVALS AND THE PRACTICE OF 'SATI'

The attack on caste was a lengthy matter. Certain other problems, the missionaries felt, should be dealt with at once, and firmly. Amongst these were the great idolatrous festivals, involving both cruelty and extreme degradation, which were held at various religious centres, and the practice of *sati*. The tactics the missionaries employed in dealing with both these customs were very similar. They collected authoritative information relating to the evils they wished to counter. They presented it to the British public, both at home and in India, in a forceful yet scholarly fashion, and thus prepared the setting in which government action became inevitable.

The Presidency Governments had given their Indian subjects an assurance of protection in the exercise of their religions. To have attempted to do otherwise would have been neither just nor circumspect. The missionaries argued, however, that the attitude of the Governments amounted frequently not merely to tolerance but to the active encouragement of gross and superstitious practices which no plea for tolerance could ever justify.

IDOLATROUS FESTIVALS

The missionaries had constantly denied the harmless character of Hinduism, refusing to regard the degrading practices with which it had become increasingly permeated as either quaint, fascinating or even childish. But in order to overcome the uncritical spirit engendered by the policy of tolerance it was necessary for them to escape from the verbiage of political and ethical theory, and to concentrate their attack upon some visible evil.

The culminating error of the East India Company's policy, the missionaries thought, lay in their behaviour with reference to the pilgrim tax. The tax was levied by the Company's Government on the devotees attending certain of the more famous Hindu shrines such as those at Gaya and Allahabad. The object of the tax was to provide a sum of money for the

upkeep of the temples and the gods, and of the priests and servants who ministered on their behalf. Such interference, the missionaries maintained, was wholly incompatible with the duty of a Christian government or, to make the distinction stressed by several of the Company's servants, of a government composed of Christians.

The Government's position became even more anomalous in 1805 when they reimposed the pilgrim tax at Jagannath in the district of Cuttack. The sole dissentient voice in the Supreme Council at Fort William had been that of Mr Udney who had befriended the Baptist missionaries, Carey and Thomas, on their arrival in India. To reimpose the tax, he had argued, could only serve to perpetuate the horrible ceremonies at Jagannath by giving them the countenance and apparent approval of authority.¹

In England, Edward Parry and Charles Grant, having failed to impress upon the Court of Directors the implications of the Presidency Government's action, transmitted a memorandum to the President of the Board of Control on 26 August 1808.² In reply, Dundas denied any intention on the part of the Company's Government of encouraging idolatry, and insisted that at Jagannath as at other religious centres interference was necessary to fulfil the Government's obligation of maintaining order.

The financial benefit which the Presidency Government would derive from the transaction undoubtedly influenced the decision of those who imposed the tax and the reception it gained from the Court of Directors.³ Yet other considerations also played their part, and it is characteristic of the inconsistencies into which the East India Company was led in an endeavour to consult the interests of its subjects that it saw nothing retrogressive in reimposing the tax despite the fact that Wellesley had refused to do so when Cuttack was first captured in 1803.

The missionaries refused to be diverted from their object either by financial considerations or by a muddled conception of the duties of an enlightened government. If the East India

¹ *P.P.* 1812-13, vol. VIII, Papers relating to the Temple at Jaggernaut, p. 41: Minute of Mr Udney, dated 3 April 1806.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Home Miscellaneous Series', vol. 59, fo. 465.

³ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 56: Letter in the Revenue Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 30 December 1809, para. 132, and Bengal Despatches, vol. 57, fo. 518.

Company saw no reason to dissociate itself from idolatrous ceremonies the British public must be made aware of the nature of the practices which Englishmen were supporting either directly or indirectly. The Rev. Claudius Buchanan, although himself a Company's chaplain, was of a profoundly evangelical disposition and had always been closely associated with the work of missionaries in India. Indeed, he himself had undertaken something closely akin to missionary work in attempting to revive and purify the observances of the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast. He had been responsible, just before leaving India in 1805, for producing a *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India*, in which he had boldly presented his own appreciation of India's spiritual and material requirements. This book had produced a considerable sensation in England, and when Buchanan returned to that country he began a campaign of preaching and publishing in an attempt to stir public opinion still further. On 26 February 1809 he delivered his famous and widely publicized sermon, *The Star in the East*, in which he announced with prophetic authority that the time had come for the active preaching of Christianity in India. In 1811, his *Christian Researches in Asia* was published and aroused probably the greatest interest in Indian affairs that had ever been felt in England. The first edition of 1700 copies was soon exhausted, and before the end of the year three further editions had been printed. Supporting his views with evidence which he himself had collected, Buchanan presented a fearsome account of the ceremonies performed at Jagannath and of the behaviour of the priests and pilgrims. The condition of the latter, he said, was worse than anyone could conceive, many of them having travelled hundreds of miles without adequate subsistence. The idols were revolting in appearance, the songs and actions of the priests obscene, and still more terrible were the acts of immolation of the pilgrims who threw themselves to their death under the enormous wheels of the idols' cars.¹

Charles Buller, a former Commissioner at Cuttack, had also witnessed the ceremonies at Jagannath a few years later than Buchanan and refused to let the latter's statements go unchallenged. In a letter to the Court of Directors in 1813 he

¹ Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, pp. 17-30, 2nd edition. London, 1811.

endeavoured to refute Buchanan's attack upon the policy of the Presidency Government, maintaining that government interference did no more than regulate an otherwise chaotic assembly and protect the poorer pilgrims who might otherwise have died from lack of food.¹

Buchanan was not overcome, and continued to concentrate public attention upon the evil practices to which the Bengal Government gave protection. He, also, wrote to the Court of Directors, and in two letters ably defended all his previous assertions.² He had support from other sources. A number of articles on Indian topics were available, written by servants or ex-servants of the Company who had taken an enthusiastic and scholarly interest in different aspects of the life and customs of the Indian people. On many points these works fully substantiated Buchanan's statements.³ But these were primarily of academic interest and showed little concern for the horror they described.

To arouse their interest the British public required an equally accurate but far more propagandist method of exposition. In 1811 William Ward, the Baptist missionary, helped to supply that need with his exhaustive and scholarly four-volume work entitled *An Account of the Writings, Religion and Manners of the Hindus*. The frank object of the book was to present to the English public a full account of Hinduism and by so doing to win support for the missionaries' aims.

The missionary societies in England were active in other directions also. John Bebb, a former director of the East India Company and no supporter of missions, wrote two letters dated 22 and 23 April 1813 to the Court of Directors expressing his extreme consternation at the number of public meetings organized by the missionary societies to discuss the need for an actively Christian policy in India.⁴

The ardour of the societies at home was kept alive by a con-

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Court Minutes', vol. 121, fo. 129; and *P.P.* 1812-13, vol. viii, Temple of Jaggernaut: Letter from Charles Buller to the Court of Directors, dated 19 May 1813, pp. 1-3.

² *P.P.* 1812-13, vol ix, Idol Jaggernaut: Rev. Claudius Buchanan to the Court of Directors, 25 May 1813, pp. 1 *seq.*; and *P.P.* 1812-13, vol. x, Idol Jaggernaut, 8 June 1813, pp. 1-4.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v, p. 345; vol vii, p. 232; and vol viii, p. 62.

⁴ *P.P.* 1812-13, vol. x, Two letters from John Bebb Esq., dated 22 and 23 April 1813.

stant flow of information from their agents in India and by the inspiring leadership of men like Buchanan and Charles Grant. In turn, the information was passed on to the British public and resulted, as has already been seen, in numerous petitions to Parliament which induced that body in 1813 to recognize the importance of taking steps to amend the moral condition of their Indian subjects. For people residing in England to formulate plans for putting this decision into practice was an almost impossible task, however, and Parliament left that problem to the Government in India. The latter remained unconvinced of having in any way acted contrary to the dictates of humanity which they genuinely sought to observe, and continued to interfere in the conduct of the great Indian festivals with a steady blend of humane and profit-making motives.¹

During the twenty years which followed Parliament's decision certain of the Company's agents began to take exception to the policy of the Presidency Governments, but they were very few in number. In 1814 Mr Richardson, Commissioner at Cuttack, urged the abolition of the pilgrim tax.² Some years later, in southern India, Mr J. Sullivan and Mr Monro, at Coimbatore and Palamcottah respectively, refused to follow the official practice of compelling people to assist in drawing the idols' cars, maintaining that if the religion had any meaning at all the people would perform the service voluntarily.³ Even in the Supreme Council itself J. H. Harington recorded a minute in 1827 against the levy of the pilgrim tax anywhere in India.⁴ On the other hand, in answer to a government circular letter addressed principally to the officers in charge of districts where the pilgrim tax was collected and inquiring whether they considered it advisable that the imposition should cease, the replies were of a predominantly conservative character. Only three of thirteen officers who replied were decidedly in favour of abolishing the tax, and eight were decidedly against abolition.⁵ Even Lord William Bentinck, reformer though he was,

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 66, fos. 343-5; vol. 75, fos. 549-50; vol. 121, fos. 1241-50; and 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 75: Letter in the Revenue Dept. to the Court of Directors dated 1 November 1816, para. 88.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 121, fo. 1138.

³ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 3, fo. 168; and vol. 4, fo. 332.

⁴ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 121, fo. 1136.

⁵ Ibid. fos. 1140-1.

concluded in 1831 that it was his duty to afford every protection and aid towards the exercise of the more harmless rites associated with the religions of India and showed no disposition to interfere with the existing policy towards the pilgrim tax.¹

The Government at Fort St George held similar views. From various parts of southern India the letters of missionaries told regretfully of the Government's active encouragement of idolatry. 'Idolatry is so far countenanced and encouraged', wrote one missionary at Bangalore in 1830, 'that dilapidated temples are rebuilt—annual festivals of lifeless idols are officially attended by public functionaries—heathen priests receive regular stipends to sacrifice to devils and to keep up the obscene orgies of their pagodas—the immense offerings of infatuated devotees are periodically sold by public auction in the office of the collector of revenue—and their proceeds received into the treasury of a Christian Government!'²

In England the Directors were in sympathy with their agents' policy and the Court of Proprietors of East India Company Stock showed a similar disinclination to put an end to government protection of what were virtually the worst features of Hinduism. The influence of financial gain cannot be ignored when accounting for this attitude. After all charges had been defrayed the Company's treasury profited to the extent of £99,205. 16s. from the festivals at Jagannath in the seventeen years immediately preceding 1831. From Gaya and Allahabad respectively it had gained in sixteen years £445,941. 15s. and £159,429. 7s. 6d. At Tirupati £120,941. 2s. 6d. was collected in ten years, while in the seven years for which the returns were incomplete it was estimated that the income amounted to a further £84,658. 15s. 9d.³ There was some truth at least in the remark of a missionary of the L.M.S. in 1831 that so long as the Company obtained such a valuable revenue from Hindu temples they would be unwilling to change their policy. Action by Parliament, he added, held out the only hope of remedy.⁴

¹ Ibid. fos. 1181-94.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Kanarese', box 3, folder 1, jacket B: Letter of W. Reeve to the Directors of the L.M.S., dated Bangalore, 23 October 1830.

³ M.R. 1831, pp. 31-32.

⁴ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Tamil', box 4, folder 1, jacket A: Letter of W. Taylor to the Treasurer and Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Madras, 17 March 1831.

After their limited success in Parliament in 1813 the missionaries' campaign gained momentum. Daniel Corrie, a chaplain of the East India Company, took the opportunity of a visit to England in 1816 to preach a series of sermons urging the Christians of England to assist in remedying the deplorable conditions in India. He was followed in 1819 by the Baptist missionary William Ward, and in 1823 by Henry Townley of the London Missionary Society. In 1826 James Peggs of the General Baptist Mission also arrived in England and began to publicize conditions in India.

The reports of the various missionary societies had also helped to draw attention to the problems encountered by missionaries in India. To bring these facts to the notice of a wider public the reports of all Protestant missionary societies were now summarized in the *Missionary Register*, a monthly magazine produced by the Church Missionary Society. The editors frankly admitted that their intention was to put forward the missionaries' viewpoint and extracts from missionaries' letters and journals were freely quoted to add interest and vigour to the publication.

From 1817 onwards the *Missionary Papers* published for the use of contributors to the Church Missionary Society provided even more striking evidence of the degradation of nineteenth-century Hinduism. The text of the papers was simple and direct and engravings, made impressive by the ugliness and horror of the subjects they depicted rather than by any artistic merit, commanded the attention of the reader. The midsummer number for 1817 contained a sketch of Jagannath's car at Puri and described how it was pulled by human beings, some of whom voluntarily died under its wheels. This was followed in the Michaelmas number by a portrayal of the devotees in the act of drawing the car, many of them by means of hooks which were fixed in their flesh. And in the wake of the car lay the body of a man crushed by its wheels. The practice of swinging on hooks embedded in the flesh was also a regular spectacle at certain festivals and this too was illustrated in the missionary papers together with human sacrifices to the goddess Kali.

In 1828 James Peggs, who had spent some years at Cuttack, submitted to Lord William Bentinck a pamphlet entitled *The Pilgrim Tax in India*, which was later incorporated for more general distribution in his volume *India's Cries to British Humanity*.

Peggs's tone was that of an ardent propagandist, but the scholarly exposition of his views, his first-hand acquaintance with his subject and his exhaustive knowledge of official and private correspondence relating to Hindu practices countered any suspicion of casuistry to which the over-enthusiastic manner of his writing might perhaps have given rise. He forcibly asserted that the pilgrim tax enhanced the supposed value of the pilgrimages and thence of the places at which they were levied. Furthermore, the poverty, sickness, mortality and brutal sufferings resulting from the vast assemblies of pilgrims clearly demonstrated the harmful tendency of a system which regulated, supported and aggrandized such festivals. Not content with simply pointing out the need for reform, Peggs went on to demonstrate the ease and safety with which the Government could curb the practices to which he and other Christians objected so strongly. At Chandernagore, he said, the French had refused to allow Jagannath's car to be dragged along a newly repaired road because the priests could not pay for the damage which its large wheels would cause. Yet there had been no outcry or disturbance.¹

Peggs's arguments failed to sway Lord Bentinck but the power of their appeal to an English public recently aroused to some appreciation of the missionaries' efforts was evident from the appearance of a third edition of Peggs's book in 1832.

The contribution of the Serampore Baptists took the form of scholarly articles published in their own periodical, *The Friend of India*. The monthly version of this magazine first appeared in 1818 and from 1820 another periodical was published quarterly with the same title. William Carey and his fellow-contributors were acknowledged authorities on Indian society and customs and it was they who first drew attention to the stimulus given to idolatrous festivals by the British characteristics of regularity, activity and faithfulness displayed by the government officials in their attempt to administer the affairs of the Hindu shrines.

Reginald Heber, who became the second bishop of Calcutta in 1823, quickly added the weight of his authority to the missionaries' campaign. A man who possessed both poetic vision and a shrewd insight into practical affairs, Heber regarded himself as the chief missionary of the Christian Church in India.

¹ James Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, pp. 120 and 141-2, 3rd edition. London, 1832.

During his brief period of office he did his utmost to get to know his diocese by travelling extensively and meeting all kinds of people. Although he was not harshly critical his writings provided clear evidence of the squalor he encountered side by side with the façade of splendour by which the servants of the East India Company were all too often fascinated and deceived.¹

This weight of propaganda had a telling effect upon the consciences of thousands of Englishmen who hitherto had shown little interest in India. Although the Court of Directors continued firmly to uphold the justice of their former policy they were finally overruled by the Board of Control.

The vital part played by the missionaries in bringing about a change of policy was clearly demonstrated by a dispatch in the Revenue Department dated 20 February 1833 and addressed to the Governor-General in Council.² It was this document which contained the order which eventually resulted in the severance of the Government's connexion with idolatry. The original draft, drawn up by the Court of Directors, had been very different in character. The Board of Control, however, scored out the Directors' views and then went on to insert the opinions which the missionaries had been advocating continuously for thirty years. The smallest degree of interference by the Government in the religious affairs of their subjects, beyond the mere maintenance of order by means of a police force, they wrote, must inevitably be regarded by the Indian people as implying approval or even encouragement of their religions. For this reason, even the levy of a tax to be devoted solely to the payment of police was unjustifiable. They admitted having approved orders of a different character in 1814, but pleaded that more recent information and further consideration had provided adequate grounds for revoking their former opinion. In reaching this decision they had been inclined to minimize the arguments of those who supported the pilgrim tax because they felt that, however sincere the others' denials, they had not entirely avoided the influence of a natural desire to reap financial benefit for the Company. The Presidency Governments must, they believed, have felt some interest in the progress and

¹ R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, vol. 1, pp. 43-4 and 184, 2nd edition. London, 1849.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 121, fo. 1135 *seq.*

extension of the practices which brought in such an ample revenue. They were quite ready to agree with Bentinck that all religious rites and offices which were not flagrantly opposed to common humanity and decency ought to be tolerated. On the other hand, a government which believed those rites to be productive, even from a civil point of view, of serious evil was neither obliged nor at liberty to show any degree of positive sanction or encouragement. To employ the surplus tax, after payment of the police force, in the upkeep of temples and religious ceremonies was to advance far beyond the professed aim of neutrality. The Government was placed in an invidious position when men deliberately sent out by the Hindu priests to urge others to make pilgrimages and to conduct them to the shrines were incited and quickened by the assurance which the known good faith and exactness of the Government held out to them that their fees would be levied and paid with scrupulous punctuality. Furthermore, the feelings of the Board revolted at the idea of deliberately making profit from practices whose existence they deplored.

The fact that these arguments and even at times the very wording of them bore such a close resemblance to the missionaries' writings and sermons cannot be dismissed as a mere coincidence. The membership of the Board of Control would immediately discount such a theory. The President of the Board was the younger Charles Grant, and his brother, Robert, was another member. Both from their childhood had assimilated the ardent evangelism of their father, the elder Charles Grant who had exercised so important an influence on behalf of the missionaries a generation earlier. Both, too, had been nourished on the reports and propaganda of the various missionary societies and in particular of the C.M.S.

With such men on the Board of Control it is not surprising that the revised dispatch displayed such sympathy for the missionaries' point of view. It would, however, be wrong to assume that the missionaries' campaign had affected these men alone. In spite of Charles Grant's well-known and not always very fortunate predilection for acting on the advice of missionaries, it is certain that the Board of Control, whatever their sympathies, would not have dared to fly so boldly in the face of the unanimous opinion expressed by members of the East India Company had they not been sure of strong support from the

English public. Sympathy with the missionaries' campaign had, indeed, spread widely in the 1820's as could be seen from the great increase in the income of the various societies. Parliament, too, had frequently been called upon to hear petitions from missionary sympathizers urging that action should be taken to put a stop to government interference in Indian religious festivals. The missionaries' writings, also, had been extensively quoted in the House.¹

The result of the Board of Control's new policy was an order to the effect that the pilgrim tax should be everywhere abolished. All interference by British functionaries in the interior management of Hindu temples and in the arrangement of rites and ceremonies was to cease. Fines and offerings were no longer to be regarded as sources of revenue by the Government. No servant of the Company was to be engaged in the collecting, management or custody of anything in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatever title or in whatever manner they were collected. No Company's servant was to derive any emolument from any such source, and the maintenance of order by means of police was to be the only form of interference permitted.

The missionaries' victory was not complete, however. The Board of Control, more conscious than they of the administrative problems which their policy involved, modified their orders to the extent of admitting that they set forward a standard to which the Governments in India should ultimately conform rather than a rule which they must instantly adopt without respect of circumstances. The methods to be employed, whether swift or gradual, final or experimental, were left entirely to the decision of the Governments involved.²

With such latitude it is not surprising that the Governments were slow to carry out the wishes of the Board. In spite of steady progress it was some thirty years before the British connexion with idolatry was finally broken. But the dispatch of 1833 was a clear turning-point. Throughout the years which followed, the Board of Control, backed by Parliament and a strong body of public opinion, continued to insist upon the policy of non-interference in religious affairs.

¹ *P.Deb.* vol. 104, 21 December 1830—3 March 1831, cols. 60-3; vol. 121, 22 July-25 July 1833, cols. 490-2 and 527.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 121, fos. 1268-74.

'SATI'

Sati—the word describes both the Hindu widow who burned herself either on her husband's funeral pyre or with some of his personal effects and also the actual ceremony of burning—provided the missionaries with another campaigning ground. It was hallowed by long practice. Francisco Pelsaert, a member of the Dutch East India Company, wrote about it in 1626,¹ and before the end of the seventeenth century it had also attracted the attention of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, a French merchant who travelled extensively in India.² In the history of *sati*, however, these must be regarded as comparatively modern examples. It was usually a voluntary act, and so powerful was the women's belief that only by burning could they win eternal happiness and bring blessings on their family that it was a difficult matter to dissuade them.

Of the geographical extent of the practice there are numerous records. William Hodge Mill, first Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, found considerable evidence, at least of its previous existence, at the confluence of the Kistna river and one of its tributaries south of Satara.³ Four years earlier, the *Calcutta Gazette* for 30 April 1818 contained an account of another Marathi *sati* reported by an agent of the Company at Nagpur. The carved stones raised at the places of burning testify to its former prevalence among the Rajputs,⁴ and it was particularly common in Bengal.

Such a frequent spectacle did not escape the notice of the East India Company's servants, and unlike certain other practices against which the missionaries had spoken it aroused genuine horror among all classes of Europeans in India. At the same time, its frequency and the interest displayed in its performance by the Brahmans suggested to them the existence of some religious decree commanding the fulfilment of the rite. Conscious of their professed neutrality in religious matters the Company's Governments in all three Presidencies were un-

¹ W. H. Moreland, *Jahangir's India*. The *Remonstrantie* of Francisco Pelsaert, trans. from the Dutch by Moreland and P. Geyl, p. 79. Cambridge, 1925.

² J.-B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, trans. from the original French edition of 1676 by V. Ball, vol. II, p. 210. London, 1889.

³ Bodl. MSS. Private Journal of William Hodge Mill, 31 March 1822.

⁴ J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, p. 31. Cambridge, 1946.

willing to interpose their authority to put an end to *sati* without careful consideration. The practice was very far from being universal, however, even among any one caste or sect, and it is surprising that a government which had shown itself extremely willing to formulate regulations and draw up agreements to assist in putting an end to the custom of female infanticide should have shown such diffidence in their attitude towards *sati*. In 1798 Sir John Anstruther, the Chief Justice, had prohibited *sati* in Calcutta, and nine years before that the Collector at Shahabad had announced to the Government of Bengal that without authority he could not allow the practice to continue within the area of his jurisdiction.¹ Neither of these pronouncements formed part of any co-ordinated plan, however, and again it fell to the missionaries to stir the Government to effective action.

Their task involved two main problems: the first, to produce convincing proof of the absence of any irrefutable religious command that *sati* must be performed, the second, to provide conclusive grounds for its immediate abolition.

In 1803 the Serampore Baptists began their systematic campaign by deputing a number of Indians to travel from place to place within a radius of thirty miles round Calcutta and to report on the number of *satis* of which they heard. The following year they stationed ten agents within the same area for six months in order to carry out their object more efficiently. Simultaneously William Carey made use of his position as lecturer at Fort William College to collect from the pandits there various texts from the *Sastras*, the ancient Hindu writings, on which the practice of *sati* was based. These latter confirmed the missionaries' impression that the self-immolation of widows, though countenanced by Hindu law, was in no way commanded by it.

The returns made by the Baptists' agents were admitted to be incomplete, but when they were presented to the Governor-General together with William Carey's discoveries they created a sharp impression.² About the same time, Wellesley's attention was again drawn to the problem by a letter from

¹ P.P. 1821, vol xviii. Hindoo Widows and Voluntary Immolations, p. 2.

² J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, vol. 1, pp. 221-2. London, 1859.

J. R. Elphinstone, acting magistrate in Bihar.¹ In February 1805, therefore, he called upon the Nizamat Adalat, the supreme criminal court, to investigate the matter with a view to abolishing *sati* altogether, or if this proved impracticable, to the adoption of measures to prevent any undue influence being brought to bear upon the minds of Hindu widows.

In view of Wellesley's recent regulation prohibiting the drowning of children at Saugor there appeared to be a reasonable probability of his decisive intervention in this further problem. The Nizamat Adalat did indeed comply with his request that they should carry out investigations but Wellesley was recalled to England in the same year and no further official steps were taken for a considerable period.

There has been some divergence of opinion as to the importance of the next twenty-four years leading up to Lord Bentinck's Regulation of 4 December 1829 which prohibited *sati* in the Bengal Presidency. Noting the indecision of successive Governors-General, a comparatively recent writer has bestowed the whole credit for the prohibition upon Bentinck alone.² A hundred years ago, however, F. J. Shore expressed the view that the tide of opinion in India was so strongly opposed to *sati* that any Governor-General would have acted as Bentinck did.³ Neither view does full justice to the situation. To agree with Shore would be to overlook the fact that no one had supported a passive policy more consistently than Bentinck's immediate predecessor Lord Amherst. And it was upon Bentinck alone that the burden of responsibility would have fallen if his measure had resulted in the upheaval which many predicted. On the other hand, so swift and decisive a change in policy was evidence that considerable preparatory work had been done to overcome the former scruples of the Company's agents, even before Bentinck took office.

In a Minute dated 8 November 1829, in which Bentinck enumerated the factors upon which his decision had been based, he omitted any reference to the influence of Christian missionaries.⁴ Yet it was they who had consistently emphasized the

¹ P.P. 1821, vol. xviii. Hindoo Widows and Voluntary Immolations, pp. 23-4.

² Edward Thompson, *Suttee*, p. 77. London, 1928.

³ F. J. Shore, *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. II, p. 217. London, 1837.

⁴ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations', Lower Provinces, 4 December, part 1, 1829, fo. 555.

horrors of *sati* and concentrated public attention upon them. Their campaign had been well organized both in England and in India. They had had unique contacts with the Indian people. Their religion had given them a feeling of urgency. And it was these factors that had made the missionaries the most constant and powerful force in the fight against widow-burning.

The figures of the *satis* which took place in Bengal in 1803 and 1804, collected by the Baptist missionaries, may have been forgotten by the Presidency Government, but Claudius Buchanan quoted them in 1811 in his widely-read *Christian Researches in Asia*, and in 1813 he wrote to inform the Court of Directors that on the basis of further figures supplied by the Serampore missionaries and of the official estimates of the population of India he had calculated that some 10,000 *satis* took place annually.¹ The figure was almost certainly an exaggeration since it was based upon returns from an area where *sati* was particularly prevalent. But no one was sufficiently well informed to contradict it, and it remained to create an impression by its vastness. It might be added that Buchanan was probably no more aware of his error than anyone else was.

Further publicity was given to the Baptists' statistics in the House of Commons in 1813 when William Wilberforce included them in his speech on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. He also inserted in the printed record of his speech a gruesome account of a *sati* witnessed by Joshua Marshman, and expressed his regret for having failed to read it in the House.² Details of this nature, collected in Bengal, gave authority to the words of a gifted speaker who had not himself been to India, and enabled him to challenge the cautious advice of the Company's agents.

The outcome of the debate was inconclusive as far as *sati* was concerned, and it was necessary for the missionaries to publicize their information still more widely. As in the case of the pilgrim tax, the *Missionary Register* and the *Missionary Papers* circulated a series of authentic records of *sati* forwarded by the missionaries in India. The *Missionary Papers* in particular emphasized the horror of the ceremony with its vivid engravings of widows about

¹ *P.P.* 1812-13, vol. ix. Idol Jaggernaut, p. 5. Letter of Dr Buchanan, dated 25 May 1813.

² *P.Deb.* vol LXII, 11 May-22 July 1813, cols. 859-60.

to cast themselves into the flames.¹ William Ward's visit to England supplied personal confirmation of these accounts. And just before his return to India he made a further attempt to stir up public interest in the abolition of *sati* by describing the cruelties it involved in a series of farewell letters to friends with whom he had conversed on the subject during his stay in England.²

Although the Court of Directors was still inclined, under the influence of its agents in India, to doubt its right to interfere, the missionaries' efforts were beginning to take effect elsewhere. In 1821, Mr Fowell Buxton moved in the House of Commons for the publication of all correspondence relating to *sati* and his proposal was accepted.³ Mr J. H. Harington, a member of the Supreme Council in Bengal, confidently attributed the House of Commons inquiry to the interest aroused in one section of the English public,⁴ and there is no question that the missionary societies were the bodies responsible for stimulating that interest.

The increasing frequency with which *sati* was discussed in the House⁵ was a sure sign that more and more people were becoming conscious of the need to take steps to end the practice. James Peggs, who was so much to the fore in denouncing the pilgrim tax, was equally prominent in inciting public opinion against *sati*. In a pamphlet which demonstrated that *sati* formed no integral part of Hinduism he also stressed the tendency of partial restrictions to promote the practice by giving it in certain circumstances an appearance of legality. From various authorities also, he showed the ease and safety with which *sati* could be wholly prohibited.⁶ To give power to his statements he formed an association at Coventry under the title of The Society for Promoting the Abolition of Human Sacrifices in India. Its object was to circulate information on the nature and extent of

¹ *M.R.* 1820, p. 120; 1821, p. 116; and Missionary Papers, nos. II, xxvi, xxxii and xxxiv.

² *M.R.* 1822, pp. 263-4 and 422.

³ *P.Deb.* vol. 82, 3 April-11 July 1821, cols. 1217-22.

⁴ *P.P.* 1825, vol. xxiv. East India Affairs, p. 8: J. H. Harington's Minute, dated 28 June 1823.

⁵ *P.Deb.* vol. 82, 3 April-11 July 1821, cols. 1221-2; vol. 86, 1 May-19 July 1823, col. 1020; and vol. 90, 19 April-6 July 1825, cols. 1044-6.

⁶ J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, pp. 229 and 242, 3rd edition. London, 1832.

human sacrifices, including *sati*. Influential people in England and in India were approached by the Society and it was hoped that similar institutions might be established in other parts of the country.¹

Parliament was still nervous of taking the matter out of the Directors' hands owing to the conflicting views in India as to the possible outcome of legislative action. The Board of Control, although extremely anxious to put an end to *sati*, was equally handicapped by contradictory information.² The Court of Directors, too, still felt it expedient to leave the final decision to the Governor-General, although deeply stirred by the public interest which the missionaries had aroused, and anxious to support any methods which might be employed with safety to prohibit widow-burning. Thus Lord Bentinck went to India with the knowledge that both the Directors and Parliament actively desired the discontinuance of *sati*, and that the section of the English public which took any interest in Indian affairs was convinced that the prohibition of such human sacrifices was both a moral responsibility and a physical possibility.

India was not wholly unprepared for decisive action. The main obstacle to the prohibition of *sati* had been the caution of successive Governors-General. Each of them had deplored the practice of self-immolation, yet each in turn had clung to a policy of non-intervention.

Lord Hastings advanced and retreated in distressed uncertainty. The *sati* returns for the Lower Provinces of Bengal showed a marked increase in 1815 and 1816 and the Nizamat Adalat drafted a regulation for restricting the practice. In Hastings's absence in the Upper Provinces, however, it was considered inadvisable to promulgate the measure in the form of a regulation owing to the insufficiency and inaccuracy of the information at the Government's disposal. Although Hastings ultimately approved the order it is quite clear from official correspondence that it was never circulated. In 1819 the Governor-General even contemplated abolishing the existing restrictions.³ When, however, the *sati* returns for 1819 and 1820

¹ *M.R.* 1829, pp. 146-8.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bombay Despatches', vol. 53, fos. 705-8.

³ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 83: Letter in the Judicial Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 1 February 1820, paras. 52-61.

showed a marked decrease Hastings declared his entire confidence in the regulations as they stood, and felt that any more authoritative interposition, and particularly any attempt to prohibit *sati*, would only inflame religious fanaticism.¹ The impression made by such an indecisive policy upon the Hindus was clearly demonstrated when, on Hastings's departure from India, Rhadacant Deb, a professedly orthodox Hindu, proposed that the Governor-General should be particularly thanked for the protection he had afforded to the ancient custom of *sati*.²

Lord Amherst's attitude was grounded even more firmly on the fear that decisive action might cause unrest. Non-intervention he believed to be the one thing which reconciled the Indians to the Government. It was characteristic of the superficial thinking consequent upon the policy of toleration that both Hastings and Amherst feared the repercussions among the Company's sepoys of any attempt to prohibit *sati*. It was J. H. Harington who pointed out that the army was composed of just those classes which were almost entirely unaffected by *sati* and the returns of 1823 showed that only one *sati* in that year was the widow of a sepoy.³

Other people, it is true, were in favour of an extremely cautious policy. In 1823 the Bombay Government declared their approval of the existing regulations and expressed the view that the complete prohibition of *sati* might check the progress which was being made.⁴ Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose prohibition of *sati* in Delhi was frequently cited by would-be reformers in Bengal, also opposed sudden action lest it should cause unrest.⁵ And year by year the judges of the Nizamat Adalat disagreed over the attitude which they felt the Government should adopt. Even local officers who were in closer touch with the sentiments of the Indian people held views which varied in accordance with the prevalence of *sati* in their own areas.

¹ *P.P.* 1823, vol. xvii. Papers relating to East India Affairs, viz. Hindoo Widows etc., pp. 64-5.

² R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, vol. I, p. 55, 2nd edition. London, 1859.

³ C.R.O. MSS. 'Home Miscellaneous Series', vol. 541, fos. 412-14.

⁴ *P.P.* 1824, vol. xxiii. Papers relating to East India Affairs, viz. Hindoo Widows, p. 47. Bombay Government, 25 June 1823.

⁵ *P.P.* 1830, vol. xxviii, Hindoo Widows, pp. 214-15. Minute of Sir C. T. Metcalfe, dated 29 December 1827.

Nevertheless, the responsibility for inactivity must be laid increasingly upon the Governors-General, for among their subordinates the demand for prohibition grew as the years went by. The records of the times provide plentiful instances of magistrates and other officials using their discretion and satisfying their humanitarian instincts by checking *sati* within their own areas of jurisdiction.¹ But such actions were usually met by a warning from the Presidency Government against undue zeal. J. Wauchope, magistrate at Bundelkhand, and W. Bayley at Burdwan were more fortunate. As a result of their letters asking advice from the Nizamat Adalat more general action was taken to control the practice of *sati*. Yet even in this case the circular orders which were issued by the Bengal Government in 1813 and in 1814 amounted to little more than an interpretation of the Hindu law as it was gradually becoming known to the British authorities. In the former year magistrates were ordered to be diligent in obtaining information about *satis*, and to prohibit them when they were not voluntary, when the widow was less than sixteen years of age, or if force or intoxicating drugs had been employed to induce the widow to burn herself. The orders of 4 October 1814 were of a similar nature, and simply forbade a woman having a child under three years of age to become a *sati* unless someone entered into a formal agreement, on a stamped paper, to look after the child. Such regulations could only suggest to the Indian mind that any *satis* which did not contravene the official orders were regarded by the Government as entirely permissible. Even the Government's request of 21 March 1815 that the Nizamat Adalat should transmit for its inspection annual reports of *satis* was meaningless. For, as a result of the official policy of tolerance, no action was ever taken when the returns were made.

The isolated and uncoordinated efforts of the lesser officials could clearly have no decisive influence upon the Government's policy. There were needed a Governor-General sufficiently confident of the support of the British public for him to be able to take bold action and sufficiently strong proof of the wisdom of

¹ P.P. 1821, vol. xviii, Hindoo Widows and Voluntary Immolations, pp. 45-65; 1825, vol. xxiv, East India Affairs, pp. 166-202; and C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 83: Letter in the Political Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 15 January 1820, para. 174.

such action to greet him on his arrival in India. The part the missionaries played in influencing public opinion in England has already been described. In India they rendered equally important service. The value of their scholarship and of their half-way position between European officialdom and the Indian people, which made them an admirable link between those two groups and enabled them to act as interpreters of one to the other, was strengthened by the possession of several printing presses by means of which they could give wide publicity to their views. In 1815 the second edition of William Ward's *View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindus* was issued by the Serampore press. The book contained a chapter setting out the Baptists' figures for *satis* in the Calcutta area, together with extracts from the *Sastras* exposing the absence of any legal compulsion to perform *sati*. To these were appended accounts of some of the more outrageous cases of widow-burning known to the writer. The same standard of scholarship and the same incisive exposition were maintained in the Baptist periodical, the *Friend of India*, in which appeared at regular intervals learned articles undermining the whole basis of *sati* and demanding its abolition. The academic qualities they embodied and the careful investigations upon which their information was founded impressed the very highest officials. In compiling his influential minute on *sati* at the request of the President of the Board of Control in 1823, J. H. Harington drew most of his arguments from the *Quarterly Friend of India* for March 1821 and frankly acknowledged his debt. He was particularly impressed by the view, later reflected in Lord Bentinck's minute of 8 November 1829, that the Government's decision to execute Brahmans guilty of murder and their prohibition of infanticide provided adequate precedent for prohibiting *sati* without any fear of upheaval. A further suggestion of the *Quarterly Friend of India* for September 1822, that assistance at the rite of *sati* should be treated as murder, was also embodied in Bentinck's Regulation of 1829,¹ while W. Leycester, Chief Justice of the Nizamat Adalat, whose former behaviour had been particularly cautious, was stung into making a strong declaration against *sati* by an article dated 15 April 1828.²

¹ *Bengal Regulations and Acts*, vol II, 1806-34, pp. 878-80. London, 1854.

² *P.P.* 1830, vol. XXVIII, Hindoo Widows, pp. 229-30.

Other influences must also be mentioned, since Bentinck himself acknowledged them. Ram Mohan Roy published two pamphlets in Bengali and in English in 1818 and 1820 which contained all available quotations from the *Sastras* to prove that *sati* was neither compulsory nor even strongly recommended. They had an extensive circulation in those parts of the country where widow-burning was most prevalent, and made a deep, though not always favourable, impression on some of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.¹ On his arrival from England Lord Bentinck consulted the opinion of Ram Mohan Roy and there is no doubt that the Governor-General was greatly impressed by the fact that an Indian condemned *sati* with such authority. It should be added that it was through the medium of the *Missionary Register* that one of Ram Mohan Roy's pamphlets reached the English public, and Lord Bentinck acted on the missionaries' suggestion of immediate prohibition rather than adopting the more gradual policy advocated by Ram Mohan Roy.²

Mr W. Ewer, Superintendent of Police for the Lower Provinces, was another who must be credited with having steadfastly urged the immediate prohibition of *sati*, and to him also Lord Bentinck paid tribute. In 1818 Ewer wrote to the Secretary to the Bengal Government stating that *satis* were rarely voluntary in spite of the circular orders issued by the Government, and that financial gain rather than devout religion motivated the assistants at the ceremony. In permitting *satis*, he said, the authorities were sanctioning not a religious custom but the sacrifice of widows to their relatives. Not content with this letter, Ewer submitted in January 1819 the returns made to a circular letter on *sati* which he had sent to the magistrates in the area under his supervision.³ Although lacking the resources at the disposal of the missionaries Ewer undoubtedly followed their systematic approach more closely than did anyone else.

To refer to the work of others, however, only serves to

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'India: Bengal', box 1, folder 2, jacket A: Letter of J. Keith to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Calcutta, 22 May 1817.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations. Lower Provinces', 4 December, part 1, 1829: Minute of the Governor-General, dated 8 November 1829.

³ P.P. 1821, vol. xviii, Papers relating to East India Affairs, viz. Hindoo Widows, and Voluntary Immolations, pp. 227-40.

emphasize the importance of the missionaries by comparison. To Lord William Bentinck must be given the ultimate credit for prohibiting *sati* in British India by his regulation of 4 December 1829 which forbade widow-burning in the Bengal Presidency,¹ for the Governments of Madras and Bombay followed his example a year later.² But in preparing the way, both in England and in India, for those enactments, the Christian missionaries were the pre-eminent power.

The unrest so long predicted by some of the Company's servants did not materialize. A body of the more conservative Hindus merely adopted the formal measure of presenting a petition to the King in Council protesting against Bentinck's action, but it achieved nothing. The Regulations themselves did not bring *sati* to an end immediately, but their strict enforcement began to take effect and the Indians in British territory became steadily unaccustomed to the practice.³

¹ *Bengal Regulations and Acts*, vol. II, 1806-34, pp. 878-80.

² *The Regulations of the Government of Bombay, 1827-1850*, p. 372. Regulation xvi of 1830. London, 1851; and *The Regulations of the Government of Fort St George, 1802-1847*, pp. 496-8. Regulation I of 1830. London, 1848.

³ L.M.S. MSS. 'India: Bengal', box 3, folder 2, jacket A: Letter of A. Lacroix to the Rev. D. Paterson, dated, Calcutta, 11 July 1831.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

Whilst legislative action might be the speediest remedy for the more blatant evils of Indian society, the missionaries soon became aware that education rather than legislation was necessary to make the Indians themselves desire reform. Education also served their missionary purpose admirably. For in developing a critical appreciation of life it encouraged criticism of the religions by which the lives of the Indian people were ordered. The Rev. Benjamin Bailey of the Church Missionary Society reflected the view of all the Societies when he wrote to the Company's Resident in Travancore: 'We are anxious for the diffusion of knowledge generally, and shall be glad to do all in our power for the amelioration of the temporal and everlasting condition of all Castes of the Natives. While we are principally affected by the ultimate good, into which the Christian Religion introduces its disciples, we are not ignorant or careless of the innumerable temporal blessings which accompany it and are anxious to behold that improved state of Society which Christianity never fails of producing.'¹

It is unnecessary to rely solely upon missionary sources to reveal the inadequacy of the indigenous educational system. Those Europeans who were sincerely anxious not to disturb what, to their superficial consideration, appeared as the pleasures of a simple rural existence, believed the existing means of education wholly satisfactory. Colonel, later Sir Thomas Munro, giving evidence before a committee of the whole House of Commons in 1813, painted an attractive picture of village schools catering for the elementary requirements of an agricultural population.² But that idyllic situation, in whose existence, it may be added, Munro genuinely believed at the time, was wholly imaginary. When he himself instituted an inquiry into the state of indigenous education in the Madras Presidency some years later the returns to his circular letter showed that the existing schools were both few in number and

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, fo. 64.

² *P. Deb.* vol LXI, 11 March-10 May 1813, col. 786.

poor in quality.¹ A similar report was also made by various officers in the Bombay Presidency. Only a very small proportion of the population received even the most elementary education.² In most of the principal towns the children of the trading classes learned writing, reading, accounts and such parts of their religion as their caste permitted them, but there was no free instruction. The peasants from poverty and the casual labourers from indifference seldom if ever sent their children to school.³ Outside the towns the position was even worse. The number of villages without schools was far greater than the number which possessed them, and the academic standard reached by the masters was scarcely higher than that of their pupils.⁴

The institutions for more advanced learning appear to have been no better. William Hodge Mill, first Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, had the opportunity of visiting the Hindu College at Poona in 1822. He found the level of instruction there very low, and the elementary knowledge which was all that even the professors possessed had produced in them merely mental confusion.⁵

Before 1793 Europeans had played a comparatively unimportant part in educational projects in India. The Presidency Governments had made several attempts to provide instruction for the children, and more particularly for the orphan children of the Company's soldiers. The elementary education of Indians, however, in so far as Europeans played any part in it, was undertaken almost entirely by the missionaries. The S.P.C.K. in southern India and the Danish Mission at Tranquebar founded a number of elementary schools during the eighteenth century, and the Roman Catholics were noted for their educational work in various parts of the country. But these activities affected only a very small section of the population, and towards the end of the eighteenth century the hitherto pre-eminent work of the Roman Catholics declined so seriously

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Madras Despatches', vol 75, fos. 362-86.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bombay Despatches', vol. 54, fos. 543-4.

³ R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, vol. II, p. 107, 2nd edition. London, 1849.

⁴ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bombay Despatches', vol. 54, fos. 456-8.

⁵ Bodl. MSS. Private Journal of William Hodge Mill: 'Journey in the Peninsula of India, 1822'. Entry for 28 March 1822.

that even the instruction of their converts was neglected.¹ The bulk of elementary education was, inevitably, dependent upon the indigenous schools of which so bad an account was given.

Higher education had felt a mild impulse from the Company's Government. Roused by a petition from a considerable number of respectable Muhammadans, Warren Hastings had founded a Madrassa, or college, in Calcutta in 1781. The primary object of the college was to instruct the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen in Muslim law with a view to their filling appointments in the civil and criminal courts.² There were usually less than a hundred students in attendance and their ages ranged from seventeen to twenty when they began their course of studies. All were supported by the college for seven years, and if they stayed longer they were required to support themselves.³

Eleven years later, Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares, opened the Benares Sanskrit College, the aim of which was to preserve and cultivate the literature, laws and religion of the Hindus.⁴ During the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first twenty years of the nineteenth, however, the Bengal Government was regretfully compelled to admit that neither of these institutions was fulfilling the expectations of the founders.⁵

The prospect of an improvement in education seemed momentarily brighter in 1793 when the House of Commons passed the resolution urging that measures be adopted to promote the gradual advancement of the Indian people in useful knowledge. Opposing interests having proved too powerful, the resolution was excluded from the final draft of the Charter Renewal Bill, and a very genuine fear for the economic stability of the Company delayed the adoption by the Presidency Governments of the then revolutionary theory of the State's responsibility for the education of its subjects. At the same time there were, apart from the missionaries, few private individuals among the

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, fo. 275.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Home Miscellaneous Series', vol. 487, fos. 1-6.

³ *Friend of India (Monthly Series)*, no. 2, p. 30.

⁴ C.R.O. MSS. 'Home Miscellaneous Series', vol. 487, fos. 29-32.

⁵ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal. Letters Received', vol. 81: Letter in the Territorial Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 30 July 1819, paras. 230-8; and vol. 85: Letter in the Revenue Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 16 March 1821, para. 153.

Europeans in India to take upon themselves the educational duties normally accepted by private and corporate benefactors in England. The one important project before 1813 which did not originate from the missionaries was the establishment of a college by Marquess Wellesley at Fort William in 1800. Although the Governor-General's object was to equip the Company's servants more fully for their work by giving them a thorough preliminary training in Oriental languages and customs, his action had a salutary effect upon Oriental learning in a more general sense. It required the assembly in Calcutta of the best scholars available, and led to an exchange of ideas among them which had a revivifying effect upon a culture which had decayed from lack of patronage. It resulted also in the production of books which greatly assisted the understanding of the languages of India, and although both this effect and the previous one were subsidiary to the main intention of the college their value was considerable.

Even in this essentially governmental scheme, however, the missionaries and evangelical clergy were called upon to play an important part. The Company's evangelical chaplain, the Rev. David Brown, was selected to be Provost of the college. The Rev. Claudius Buchanan became Vice-Provost and Professor of Greek, Latin and English. Finally William Carey was appointed teacher of Sanskrit and Bengali, and when the disabilities of Nonconformists were later modified, he, also, became a professor.

The deadening effect upon the Court of Directors of an enlarged debt in India and the consequent depression in public credit was to be seen in their hesitancy in sanctioning such a salutary undertaking as Wellesley's college. Although the Directors had no desire to restrict measures of enlightenment, and frequently expressed their readiness to assist the progress of education in India to the extent of making considerable sacrifices, they were compelled to exert a close supervision of expenditure. For the Governor-General to inaugurate an expensive project without first seeking their approbation was a risk which the precarious state of the Company's finances could not permit them to condone.¹

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 37, fos. 59-60; vol. 66, fos. 235-6; vol. 95, fos. 1071-2.

After the departure of Wellesley the brief administrations of Barlow and Cornwallis produced no new idea upon the subject of education. Lord Minto gave the matter serious consideration, and his Minute of 6 March 1811 showed his awareness of the need for greater educational facilities. But he was unable to propose any original means of satisfying the country's requirements, and in spite of the overt failure of the Madrasa and of the Benares Sanskrit College his only suggestion was to try to improve them as much as possible and to set up similar institutions at Nadia and Tirhut, both in the Bengal Presidency.¹

As a result of the agitation of Parliament by various evangelical associations the Charter Renewal Act of 1813 contained a clause which stated that at least one lakh of rupees, about £7500, from the surplus revenue of the Company's Government should be devoted annually to the improvement of education. The novelty of the idea, which was not copied in England until 1833, found the Directors unable to propose any useful suggestion for implementing the order. Lacking any directive from England the Bengal Government was further handicapped by the absence of any assurance that even so small a sum as the clause required would be available as surplus revenue for several years to come.² It was not, in fact, possible to set aside the prescribed amount until 1823, although in that year the surplus was such that the allotment was back-dated to the financial year 1821-2 in order to have a working balance.

Before 1823 the Government's activities had been necessarily limited to small contributions in aid of various private schemes which met with their approval. They had dissipated some of their efforts in a fruitless attempt to improve the Madrasa and the Benares Sanskrit College by appointing European secretaries.³ More profitably, they had made a monthly advance of Rs. 600 in 1815 in support of the schools set up at Chinsurah by Robert May, an agent of the London Missionary Society, and shortly

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 66, fos. 232-3.

² P.P. 1831-2, vol. ix. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the East India Company. I. Public, p. xviii.

³ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 81: Letter in the Territorial Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 30 July 1819, paras. 230-6, and *Friend of India* (Quarterly Series) vol. iv, no. xii, May 1825, p. 116; and R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, vol. i, p. 169, 2nd edition. London, 1849.

afterwards the sum was increased to Rs. 800.¹ Lord Hastings, who had initiated this grant, was also directly responsible for enabling Jabez Carey, the son of William Carey, to open schools in Rajputana in 1818. To the sum of Rs. 3000 which the Nawab Vizier of Oudh had placed at his disposal for charitable purposes Hastings added an equal amount from his own private purse and employed the total to finance Jabez Carey's venture.² The Calcutta School-Book Society also benefited from Hastings's interest to the extent of Rs. 700 for its immediate requirements and a further Rs. 6000 a year towards its maintenance, and the Calcutta School Society received a similar annual grant.³ Still later, additional financial support was given by the Government to the schools at Chinsurah and in Rajputana.⁴

The Marchioness of Hastings, who had herself founded a school at Barrackpore for some eighty Indian boys and sixteen European and Eurasian girls, was amongst those responsible for creating the Calcutta School-Book Society, already mentioned, in 1817. The following year the Calcutta School Society was also founded by a group of private individuals. A number of inhabitants of the Madras Presidency followed the example set in Bengal by forming a School-Book Society in April 1820, while Bombay, which already had an Education Society established in 1815, founded a School-Book Society a few years later.

Although none of these enterprises was of missionary origin missionaries frequently made valuable contributions to their success. At the request of the Marchioness of Hastings the Rev. T. Thomason, an evangelical chaplain, and William Carey took part in the formation of the Calcutta School-Book Society to which the C.M.S. made a grant in 1820 of Rs. 1000 a year.⁵ The Rev. H. Townley of the L.M.S., together with William Carey, was a member of the committee of the Calcutta School Society, and to its upkeep his Society made a donation of Rs. 1000, the Serampore missionaries an annual subscription of Rs. 100 and the Baptists in Calcutta Rs. 50 a year. In the

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 80, fos. 627-9, and vol. 86, fos. 603-5.

² *The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, ed. the Marchioness of Bute, vol. II, pp. 346-7, 2nd edition. London, 1858.

³ *Friend of India (Quarterly Series)*, vol. IV, no. XII, May 1825, p. 126.

⁴ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 108, fo. 394.

⁵ C.M.S. MSS. 'North India. Letters', vol. I, fo. 19.

same way when, occasionally, Europeans founded schools in different parts of India the missionaries or their converts gave their services as teaching staff.¹

Important as these activities were, the work of the missionaries in establishing their own schools and in disseminating knowledge by their own methods far surpassed them. Because the spread of education was so vitally necessary to their evangelical purpose the missionaries were the one group of Europeans who were free to devote themselves unreservedly to the task. And because they regarded the conversion of every individual as of equal importance they could not rely upon some long-term plan of providing teachers for the next generation while neglecting the present. They felt it incumbent upon them to provide education immediately, at all levels, to the best of their ability. They were, in fact, the ideal pioneers of education, some of them men of outstanding scholarship and almost all of a reasonable academic standard, impelled by a grave urgency, willing to experiment at all grades in the educational ladder, and consequently providing an excellent pattern upon which the governmental authorities might ultimately base their own wider schemes when resources should permit. By travelling and preaching, in schools, and with the aid of school-books and tracts, the missionaries undertook to instruct all who would hear them.

These principles were evident even in the very modest endeavours which marked the early years of the period. Dr John's schools at Tranquebar were constantly developed by their founder as his own observations and his discussions with the Indian people made the needs of the latter clearer to him. William Carey demonstrated the impelling urgency of the missionaries by establishing a school at Madnabatty as soon as his command of the Bengali language would permit, which because of his incredible linguistic abilities was less than a year after his arrival in India. With the same desire to satisfy an immediate need the Benevolent Institution was founded in Calcutta in 1810. There were a great many Eurasians in the city who were nominal Christians. Deprived by their religion of the opportunity of attending even the indigenous schools, they had sunk lower in ignorance than the Hindus and Muham-

¹ *M.R.* 1822, p. 73, 1824, p. 49, and 1828, p. 112.

madans around them. The Benevolent Institution was established in the very centre of the Eurasian or, to the use the term more common at that time, Portuguese area of the city. There it provided for hundreds of children, who would otherwise have been neglected, instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, in English and in Bengali, and in the study of the Scriptures in both these languages. The aim of its founders was to educate the children without so radically dissociating them from their families that they would be unable to settle down in their own circle afterwards. No age limit was imposed, and students of twenty years of age were admitted.

Charles Lushington, Chief Secretary to the Presidency Government, wholeheartedly attributed the establishment of the Institution to the work of the Serampore missionaries. The latter, while expressing their pleasure at Lushington's appreciation of their efforts, hastened to acknowledge their indebtedness to Dr Leyden, late magistrate in the Company's service, for originating the idea which had been seconded by another educationalist, David Hare. It was, nevertheless, as the result of a sermon preached by Dr Marshman at the Lal Bazaar Chapel on 25 December 1809 that the first collection was taken to inaugurate the work.¹ The public were slow to respond, however, and within a year the Institution was so deeply in debt that but for the tremendous labours of Dr Marshman in arousing enthusiasm it could never have carried on its work.

Meanwhile, along the coast of the Carnatic, the London Missionary Society had also begun to promote elementary education, its annual reports providing an account of gradually widening activities. The charity school founded at Vizagapatam in 1805 was followed by another at Madras, and both schools proved a great success. Ringeltaube, another agent of the L.M.S., employed five or six Indian schoolmasters in various parts of Travancore, and further inland, at Bellary, a free school was established in November 1811 for the purpose of educating and in part boarding destitute Indian, half-caste and European children, speaking the English language.²

These endeavours, like their Baptist counterpart in Bengal,

¹ *Friend of India (Quarterly Series)*, vol. IV, no. XII, May 1825, p. 122.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Kanarese', box 1, folder 1, jacket A: Letter of W. Reeve to the Rev. G. Burder, dated Bellary, 13 February 1818.

continued for many years on a very limited scale. The renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, however, helped to remove the disabilities arising from the scarcity of missionaries in India by giving them freer access to the country. If the Court of Directors refused a licence of entry into India as they had frequently done before, after 1813 the missionaries could appeal against the decision to the Board of Control which gave them a more sympathetic hearing. The result of this change was to increase the number of missionaries belonging to the Societies already active in India and to induce other bodies, notably the Church Missionary Society, to send their representatives also. Educational projects developed rapidly. The American Board of Missions, the Scottish Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society established themselves in Bombay, and the Wesleyans and the Netherlands Missionary Society began work in the Madras Presidency. The L.M.S. in southern India and Bengal and the Baptists spreading westwards from Serampore were reinforced by the C.M.S.

In 1819 the Baptists already claimed 7000 children in their schools, whilst the C.M.S. estimated their numbers at 2500 pupils in the peninsula and 1800 in Bengal. The L.M.S. had 4000 children under instruction, and the American Board between 700 and 800.¹ Five years later, the Rev. James Hough, a former chaplain in the Madras Presidency, basing his figures on the most recent reports at his disposal, claimed that at least 39,000 children were receiving instruction in the various Societies' schools, and suggested that possibly 50,000 might be a more accurate total.²

From the records of the different Societies summarized in the *Missionary Register* even Hough's lower figure would appear to have been excessive, but the rapid expansion of the mission school system is undeniable. Between 1819 and 1826 the total of children in the C.M.S. schools alone increased from 4300 to over 7000. In 1831 the mission schools ranged from Chittagong through Dacca, Benares and Bareilly to Agra, even embracing a C.M.S. establishment at Gorakhpur for the backward tribes of the Rajmahal hills. From Delhi they extended through

¹ *M.R.* 1819, pp. 24, 106 and 107.

² James Hough, *A Reply to the Letter of the Abbé Dubois on the State of Christianity in India*, pp. 158-9. London, 1824.

Rajputana, where Jabez Carey had opened his schools a few miles from Ajmer, to link up with the developments in the Bombay Presidency. From Bombay the Scottish Missionary Society had projected their activities into the Concan, and further south, along the coast, the C.M.S. had caused a revival of interest in education among the ancient sect of Syrian Christians. The southern extremity of the peninsula had for many years experienced the activities of the S.P.C.K. With the arrival of the L.M.S. and the C.M.S., Nagercoil and Palamcottah became lively centres for the diffusion of knowledge. Madras saw the schools of several missionary societies established. In Pulicat and the surrounding country the Netherlands Missionary Society opened several Tamil elementary schools and also a more advanced school where English was taught. At Pondicherry the Roman Catholics still had an efficient school. Continuing northwards along the Coromandel coast, Vizagapatam had been one of the first towns to benefit from the work of the L.M.S. In 1816 the Church Missionary Society took responsibility for the schools founded by Dr John at Tranquebar and already by 1821 they had 1591 pupils there.¹ Inland at Bellary and Bangalore schools had been opened by the L.M.S. Still farther north, in Orissa, the General Baptist Mission had commenced its educational work at Cuttack. Thence the survey continues to Bengal where, at Burdwan, Chinsurah, Serampore, Katwa, Monghyr and Calcutta itself, the most intensive activity was to be seen.

From a purely quantitative point of view there was no parallel to these achievements in India at that time, in spite of the more regular campaign inaugurated by official circles in the 1820's. Even after 1823, when the General Committee of Public Instruction was set up by the Bengal Government to ascertain the state of public education in the Presidency and to submit proposals for its improvement, no great extension of the Government's educational work was anticipated or took place. Grants of money were still made to approved projects. The Calcutta School Society received a monthly contribution of Rs. 500 from the Government in 1823 because its policy of supporting and training teachers for the indigenous schools coincided with the

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, fo. 605; vol. 2, fo. 177; and vol. 5, fo. 155.

authorities' views as to the direction progress should take. The Calcutta School-Book Society was granted equal support. The Benevolent Institution also received the large donation of Rs. 13,000 in 1826 on William Carey's good report of the school's proceedings. The work of the Baptists at Serampore benefited in its turn by subscriptions towards the publication of elementary school-books. All these payments had the approval of the Court of Directors.¹

Recognizing that its resources were inadequate for more ambitious schemes of elementary education, however, the Government's efforts were concentrated upon what appeared to be the more feasible policy of providing teachers through whom knowledge could be diffused to the vast numbers of the uneducated. Consequently, support was still given to the Madrassa, the Benares Sanskrit College and, after 1823, to the Vidyalaya, a college founded in 1816 by a group of Hindus with the assistance of David Hare with a view to encouraging higher education along more modern lines than those adopted by the two colleges previously mentioned. The Government also established a new Sanskrit College in Calcutta and two others at Agra and Delhi.²

In the Madras Presidency official activities were equally restricted. In spite of the comprehensive plan drawn up by Sir Thomas Munro in the 1820's for establishing a central school for Hindus and another for Muhammadans in each Collectorate, and ultimately a school for Hindus in every Tahsil, or subdivision of a Collectorate, little progress was made. In 1833 only sixty-seven tahsildari schools were in existence, and thirty-eight teachers for the Collectorate schools were under instruction. Between the formulation of Munro's plan and 1833 a total of no more than 4467 children had passed through the schools, and many of them had left before making any appreciable progress.³ The central school had, up to that time, been a

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 90: Letter in the Territorial Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 30 July 1823, paras. 108-9, and 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 99, fos. 191-4; vol. 107, fos. 867-8; and vol. 118, fos. 364-5.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 90: Letter in the Public Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 31 July 1823, para. 75; 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 114, fo. 373; and L.M.S. MSS. 'India: Bengal', box 2, folder 1, jacket C: copy of a letter of Ram Mohan Roy to Lord Amherst, undated, but probably 1824.

³ C.R.O. MSS. 'Madras Despatches', vol. 75, fos. 388-94, and vol. 84, fos. 130-40.

complete failure. Most of its pupils had been admitted in 1826, but by 1833 only five had been considered qualified for employment as teachers and even they only after seven years of tuition. A summary of their attainments revealed that, apart from their acquaintance with the vernacular language, they had only a tolerable knowledge of English and enough mathematics to enable them to give instruction at an extremely elementary level. These faults were eventually traced by the Directors to inadequate supervision and to the lack of energy displayed by the local government officials. The Bombay Government also had evolved a relatively ambitious plan for the immediate establishment of a school in each of the principal towns, and, when these should have produced enough persons capable of teaching, in all the larger villages too. But there as in Madras the plan had proved ineffectual up to 1833.

Some appreciation of the pre-eminence of the missionaries' activities is possible from a study of the comparative figures of students in missionary and government schools. In 1852, when the Government's policy of concentrating upon training teachers should, if sound, have begun to take effect, the missionary schools contained four times as many pupils as the government schools. The latter, in 1854, had still only 12,000 students, a number exceeded by the mission school pupils a generation earlier.

The missionaries did not excel only in the numerical strength of their schools. The hierarchy of schools which they established in various parts of the country was unique, and gave to their educational policy a coherence and a capacity for improvement which no other system then possessed. Kottayam provided in the 1820's an excellent example of this scheme of graduated schools which was, however, duplicated in many other mission stations. In rather more than thirty elementary schools there were 800 pupils. Above them was a grammar school with forty pupils, and this provided a link with the more advanced work in the college which the C.M.S. had also established.¹ In this way the missionaries' centres of higher education were, to a large extent, filled by pupils from their own elementary schools. An educational cycle was created beginning with the elementary education of the pupil who might later, if his abilities permitted,

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 213.

progress to more advanced studies and in turn become a teacher himself. The missionaries, like the Government, were fully aware that if their educational work was to expand they would require large numbers of educated Indians to assist as teachers. As early as 1816 the London Missionary Society had a central school at Bellary where English was taught to the more promising pupils who had graduated from three Kanarese and Telugu schools. An almost contemporary foundation was the C.M.S. seminary at Palamcottah where in 1825 the pupils after a good grounding in Tamil had begun to study theology and the geography of Asia. Madras also had its L.M.S. central school. In northern India the Rev. Daniel Corrie, Archdeacon of Calcutta, attended the examination of the C.M.S. central schools at Burdwan in February 1822 and discovered that many of the boys were making progress in English, Bengali, Persian, geography, history and arithmetic. The importance to the missionaries of having their own central schools lay not only in the fact that they could ensure a reasonable standard of education, but also in their freedom to choose their own syllabus. As a practical example, the introduction of history and geography, taught in the light of Western knowledge, made possible an attack upon the cosmography of the Hindus and so helped to weaken the faith of the students in their traditional superstitions.

The missionary counterparts of the Madrassa, the Benares Sanskrit College and the Vidyalaya were the Serampore College, where the instruction in Sanskrit was combined with the teaching of European knowledge, and the Bishop's College, founded in Calcutta by the Anglican Church in 1820 to give instruction to Indian Christians in theology and to Hindus and Muhammadans in English, and to encourage the translation of the Scriptures and other religious books.

Even adult education was undertaken in certain areas. Often it began quite informally. The curiosity of the parents was aroused by the examinations which the missionaries held for their students, a curiosity which developed into genuine interest and sometimes into active participation by the parents themselves. When the Rev. G. T. Barenbruck examined a school in the Tranquebar area in 1824 so many adults attended that the schoolhouse would not hold them all, and they showed great enthusiasm for what was taking place. Seeing their advantage

the missionaries almost invariably took the opportunity on such occasions of addressing the parents who had flocked to hear their children catechized. The pupils, also, assisted in the diffusion of knowledge among their elders by recounting their most recent lessons on their arrival home. The Baptists, alert to recognize success, sought to carry this a step further by dictating to their more advanced students two books a month which they had to copy down and were permitted to take away with them. Filled with the novelty of what they had learnt the children willingly read the books to their parents and endeavoured to explain them.

Soon adult schools appeared. Some, in the Nagracoil area under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, were established by the Indians themselves from a desire to know the contents of the tracts which the missionaries had circulated. These were evening schools because the students were occupied during the day in manual work. To cater for the same class of people the L.M.S. founded an Adult Sabbath School at Kidderpore in 1826. But so great was the enthusiasm for instruction that at some stations adults attended the children's schools when time permitted.

To spread their work still further afield the missionaries relied largely upon occasional instruction carried out during their frequent tours in the areas at a distance from the mission stations, and upon the judicious distribution of books which would help to consolidate what their hearers had learnt. The missionaries' connexion with the Calcutta School-Book Society has already been noted, and the Society undoubtedly benefited from the advice of such accomplished linguists. But the missionaries felt that this did not entirely fulfil their requirements. Since the Society numbered among its patrons men who differed in their religious outlook it was felt that the only way to avoid all dissension was to refrain from publishing any works of a religious character, and this decision was included in its regulations.¹ In order to promote a more distinctly Christian education the missionaries compiled school-books of their own with great success. The works varied from a simple geography and a chronological outline of history in the vernacular tongues to a selection from Indian books of passages conveying just ideas on

¹ *M.R.* 1819, p. 108.

the duties of life and excerpts from the Scriptures setting out the basic system of Christian ethics.

The value of these activities was multiplied by the introduction of printing presses into the more important mission stations. Here, once again, the Serampore Baptists were the pioneers. In 1820 they had thirteen presses at work, but they were soon to be rivalled by the C.M.S. who in 1824 had three presses in Calcutta, two at Madras, two on their way out from England and two more on order. The S.P.C.K., anxious to make its own contribution, re-established its press at Vepery where, among other works, a series of books compiled in England by the recently formed National Society was published in Tamil and English. The London Missionary Society followed suit, and it was not long before printing presses were set up at Bellary, Surat and Nagracoil.¹

The output of the various printing houses was, for the early nineteenth century, very big. The Baptists at Calcutta claimed to have published 71,000 school-books in various languages by 1828, while 100,000 tracts were distributed in 1827 from Serampore. In 1828 the London Missionary Society stated that its press at Surat had printed 28,000 tracts and 20,000 school-cards, and its Bellary press 52,000 Kanarese and Telugu tracts in the previous twelve months.²

There was a great demand for these books in the mission schools but care was also taken to ensure a wider distribution. The energy and perseverance of the missionaries in travelling about the country was phenomenal. In spite of their numerous occupations in the mission stations they still found time to travel extensively, preaching, teaching and distributing their printed works to such people as could read them. Dr Claudius Buchanan set the example with his journeys in southern India at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but his successors were equally assiduous. From all parts of the country there came accounts of similar if less extensive journeys, from the American Board at Bombay, from the L.M.S. at Surat, and from Bellary where Joseph Hands attended the great Hindu festival and

¹ *M.R.* 1820, p. 39; 1822, p. 82; and 1824, p. 42.

² *M.R.* 1828, pp. 81 and 88; 1829, p. 109; and L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Kanarese', box 2, folder 4, jacket A: Letter of J. Hands and W. Beynon, dated Bellary, 10 October 1828.

distributed tracts among the crowds of worshippers assembled there. The Serampore Baptists had also adopted the method of mingling with the crowds of Jagannath worshippers in the vicinity of their mission stations in order to talk with them and to circulate papers, while the Church Missionary Society's agents attended the great fairs at Benares for the same purpose.

For the Indians to enter into discussion with the missionaries stimulated the former's stagnating spirit of enquiry. There was, also, a lively demand for the missionaries' books among all classes of Indian society, and there was evidence that they were carefully studied by those to whom they were given.¹ The books distributed in this way penetrated to the furthest parts of India. J. T. Thompson, a Baptist missionary at Delhi, told of his having taught at *melas*, or Hindu festivals, where he received requests for books from Indians from Jammu, 500 miles distant, and from others whose homes were as much as 1000 miles away. Such brief meetings could not bring about a great metamorphosis in the educational standards of the country. But their value as a means of drawing attention to a new learning was of considerable importance, and the books which were circulated remained as a permanent incentive to inquiry and discussion.

The S.P.C.K., whose object was to support missionary enterprises rather than to perform the work through agents of its own, made its contribution to the circulation of educational literature by establishing book depots in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Cawnpore and other important towns. In Madras a feature of its work was the setting up of lending libraries, particularly for Indian troops. In this latter work they were preceded by the C.M.S. which had obtained from England collections of sixty volumes comprising useful and popular works for Calcutta, Madras, and Kottayam. To these, other books were added in India, and new publications were sent from England.

Not only books but also financial aid came from England, where missionaries on leave succeeded in arousing considerable enthusiasm for their educational work. During his visit to England and America William Ward devoted much of his time to pressing the claim of the Serampore College to financial

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 101; and vol. 5, fo. 33.

assistance, and in Great Britain alone he raised £3000 by preaching and addressing meetings. The Rev. J. D. Pearson did similar work on behalf of the L.M.S. educational establishment at Chinsurah when he attended the anniversary of the Sunday School Union in 1824. The annual meetings of the various Societies also offered an excellent opportunity for spreading information about Indian education among people who knew little about the country.

The missionaries' experimental technique of exploiting every opportunity of development was of particular importance in their attitude towards the caste problem in education. The pupils of the government-sponsored colleges were almost exclusively of the highest caste. In the Sanskrit Colleges only Brahmans were permitted to study: the students at the Madrassa were, with few exceptions, Muhammadans; even the Vidyalyaya was closed to all except good-caste Hindus. Among a people who for centuries had believed education to be the exclusive monopoly of the highest castes the probability of a downward diffusion of knowledge for which the Government hoped was extremely remote. Even the Brahmans' traditional duty to teach had come to be regarded as applying only to the education of their own caste if it was observed at all. While the Government's limited financial resources precluded it from embarking upon any schemes of elementary education, its policy of supporting the indigenous teacher-training centres clearly held out little prospect of a wide diffusion of knowledge.

By opening their schools and colleges to all castes the missionaries did much to overcome this difficulty, and completely refuted the charge, so frequently levelled against them, of educating only the very poorest classes. Some opposition was evident among the Brahmans. At Tinnevely, at Cuddapah, at Vizagapatam and elsewhere, however, both Brahmans and members of other castes were present in the schools. Brahmans were also employed as teachers in a number of mission schools. A particularly striking example of this was recorded at Tinnevely where a Brahman of considerable learning was employed to instruct Sudras in an area where, only six years earlier, a young Brahman who had been constrained by poverty to become a schoolmaster had been so harassed by members

of his own caste because he taught Sudras that he had run away.¹

Muhammadans also were susceptible to the attractions of the mission schools. Like the Hindus they were refractory on occasion, and Bishop Heber remarked on their jealousy of the missionaries at Benares which resulted in only small numbers of them attending for instruction. In southern India, however, where their religious exclusiveness was no longer so strong, they were present in the mission schools in numbers which though small were proportionate to their representation among the population at large. At Madras the London Missionary Society opened a Hindustani school especially for Muhammadans in 1825, while in the Tranquebar schools under the direction of the C.M.S. Muhammadans mingled with Hindus of every caste. Even in Hindustan, where the missionaries' success was more limited, Muhammadans were to be found attending the Serampore College and the Free School at Meerut.

This practical attitude was extended by the missionaries to their treatment of the Orientalist-Anglicist controversy. Both Orientalists and Anglicists were agreed that vernacular instruction was essential for teaching the rudiments of knowledge.² The dispute arose over more advanced studies where both parties were again united in the opinion that the vernacular languages contained neither the vocabulary nor the ideas necessary to convey more profound learning, but disagreed over the language to be employed. The teaching of the Hindustani vernacular at the Delhi College was only an isolated case, and the general argument revolved about the respective merits of Sanskrit and English instruction.

The establishment of the Benares Sanskrit College and the proposal for colleges at Nadia and Tirhut laid the foundations of an Orientalist policy which, in view of the limited resources at the disposal of the Company's Government, was probably the only one it was at that time free to adopt. In the 1820's, however, the Court of Directors dispatched several letters to the

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 248; and L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Telugu', box 1, folder 2, jacket A: Letter of J. Gordon and J. Dawson dated Vizagapatam, 12 January 1824; and jacket C: Letter of W. Howell to the Directors of the L.M.S., dated Cuddapah, 21 September 1825; and *M.R.* 1826, p. 105, and 1829, p. 422.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 74, fos. 251-2.

Governor-General recommending the encouragement of English with a view to providing the Company with able public servants from among their Indian subjects. Of the Orientalist policy the Directors wrote in 1824: 'In professing . . . to establish Seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was merely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned.'¹ The study of English was, in the Directors' view, the surest means of disseminating that 'useful knowledge' which was rapidly becoming an obsession amid the material prosperity of nineteenth-century England.

This was a notable change from the Directors' earlier attitude and met with little response from the Governments of either the Bengal or Bombay Presidencies. Both the Committee of Public Instruction in Calcutta and Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, foresaw considerable difficulties in introducing English instruction. Each admitted the benefits to be derived from a study of European knowledge through the medium of a European language. But each declared that exhaustive inquiries had failed to reveal any demand for instruction of this nature, while the problem of providing suitable books and teachers would be a serious consideration.

As a result of this pessimistic view the supporters of an Orientalist policy tended to over-emphasize the value of traditional Hindu learning in an effort to dispel their own misgivings. In justice to them, however, it must be added that they were prepared to support English instruction if not to initiate it. The weakness of their policy lay in their acceptance of the inevitability of a slow progress in introducing new ideas.

Since the Anglicists only gained the predominant voice in the Presidency Governments in the 1830's their activities before that time were limited to the expounding of their views. But these were not undeserving of criticism. Conscious only of the contribution to be made to India by the introduction of European knowledge, they were inclined to set aside too carelessly considerations of the effect upon the stability of Indian society of uprooting traditional ideas without deliberately substituting a new order. Even had the official educationalists recognized

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 95, fo. 1075.

the need for swiftly implanting a new conception of society, the Government's professed neutrality in religious matters would have made such a scheme impossible.

The unfortunate results of adopting an extreme Anglicist policy were evident among the disaffected students of the Vidyalaya,¹ who learned to scorn their old beliefs without gaining sufficient education to enable them to create new standards of behaviour for themselves and without being introduced to a new ethic by their instructors. Even if the outcome should not be so serious there was the danger that education might become that purely negative thing, a technical accomplishment wholly divorced from the Indian way of life.

Apart from Charles Grant, President of the C.M.S. and former servant of the East India Company, and Alexander Duff, the great Scottish educationalist, both of whom were staunch Anglicists, the majority of the missionaries engaged in educational work in India favoured a more practical plan. It was a compromise between Orientalism and Anglicism which conceded nothing to the obscurantism of the former and sought to avoid the dangers inherent in the latter. With their main object of preaching the Gospel always in view the missionaries were aware that they had little to expect from contemporary Brahman ideology. But they readily made use of such portions of the classical Oriental writings as contained views in accordance with the Christian ethic. Many of them also recognized that if their students were to exercise any influence over their educated fellow-countrymen they must be as well versed in the *Sastras* as the Brahmans were. 'If the gospel stands in India', the Serampore Baptists wrote in 1818, 'it must be by native being opposed to native in demonstrating its excellence above all other systems.'² On this principle the Serampore College was established. An understanding of Sanskrit was made a pre-requisite there for those who wished to proceed to European studies. The efficacy of this practice, which was adopted elsewhere in India, was stressed by the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius who told in a letter dated 10 February 1817 of how an Indian Christian,

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'India: Bengal', box 3, folder 3, jacket A: Letter of G. Gogerly to the Foreign Secretaries of the L.M.S., dated Calcutta, 23 March 1832.

² *Prospectus of a College for the Instruction of Asiatic Christians and Other Youth in Eastern Literature and European Science at Serampore*, p. 5. Serampore, 1818.

through his knowledge of the Hindu writings, had been able to arouse the curiosity of a chief at Vadadelli, causing him to question the veracity of the Hindu gods and inducing him to give his support for the establishment of schools.

The Serampore missionaries also advocated the teaching of Sanskrit on the more disinterested ground of its importance as the source of many of the more colloquial languages of India. But to none of the missionaries was this any more than a step in their educational schemes. They uniformly recognized that only through a knowledge of some European language could the Indians come to a full appreciation of the Christian doctrines and Western learning which the missionaries wished to convey. Bishop Middleton wrote in 1818: 'I have, however, laid particular stress upon the teaching of English: if this were generally understood through the Country, it would, I doubt not, alter the condition of the people; it would give them access to our literature and habits of thinking; and the familiar use of it would tend very much to dissipate the prejudices and the indifference which now stand in the way of conversion.'¹

On these grounds the English language was included in the curriculum of two institutions as widely separated geographically as the Syrian College at Kottayam and the Serampore College. The same principle motivated the teaching of English in the central schools and the seminaries where the more advanced students from the elementary schools were being trained as teachers. In the case of prospective teachers the intermediate stage of learning Sanskrit was often omitted since they would not be required to take part in such profound discussions as those students who went out from the colleges as evangelists. As a long term policy, however, the omission proved to be a mistake as the advance from the vernacular tongues to the study of English was too great a step for the understanding of the normal Indian student. In consequence there was a tendency for them to desire only such a grasp of the elements of English as would enable them to leave school as soon as possible and to take up an appointment as a clerk or as a minor official of the Government. Nevertheless, the scheme did in some measure

¹ S P.G. MSS. Box 'C. India', 1, 1. Dio. Calcutta (exclusive of Bishop's College papers): Letter of the Rt. Rev. T. F. Middleton to the Rev. A. Hamilton, dated Calcutta, 16 November 1818.

achieve the missionaries' immediate object of providing for the elementary schools teachers whose training, abbreviated though it was, had involved sufficient acquaintance with European knowledge to enable them to impart primary instruction with some degree of enlightenment. The primary students under such guidance were better equipped than the pupils in indigenous schools to appreciate the next stages of their education, so that there was a growing tendency for the weakness at high levels to be rectified.

All these projects were not set on foot without opposition. The chief objection of the Indian people was to the introduction of Christian teaching and Christian books into the schools. By a judicious mixture of firmness and adaptation, however, even this difficulty was in many instances surmounted. At Benares a number of children were taken from the mission schools because the Scriptures were taught, but although Christian instruction continued prejudices gradually declined. The Baptists failed to establish a school at Ajmer owing to local disapproval; but they founded one only seven miles away and thirty pupils presented themselves for instruction. In 1814 E. Pritchett of the L.M.S. found it necessary to refrain from introducing Christianity into a new school which he had opened near Vizagapatam. But in time his fears of opposition grew weaker and in 1827 there were twelve schools for boys in that area, all of them teaching the Scriptures, and containing 525 students. Such was the reputation of these schools, moreover, that others could have been established if the means for their support had been available.

Similar examples of triumph over prejudice were to be found all over India; in Madras where the C.M.S. persevered in teaching Christianity in spite of the reduction it caused in the number of students in the school, and where, in 1821, the L.M.S. ordered its schoolmasters to receive Christian instruction; in Palamcottah where the Brahman children who left the C.M.S. school because of the employment of Christian books returned to their studies after only a few days' absence; in Bellary, and in Surat, where the L.M.S. sought to approach those who could not or would not attend schools, through the medium of tracts.

The inclusion of Christian teaching amongst the other topics of instruction might appear open to the charge of attempting to

further Christianity by bribery. A note by the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius gives some measure of authority to this view. 'The children's learning the religious Books by heart', he wrote, 'has certainly not pleased the Inhabitants of the respective villages; and in general we must say that they suffer it in a manner by constraint not being willing to deprive their children of the opportunity of learning to cypher, or the school-master of his salary.'¹ But such a conclusion was far from being universally true. The instruction provided by the missionaries was never limited to Christian children. Even in the Serampore College and the Bishop's College at Calcutta, both of which aimed primarily at training students for missionary work, provision was made for the education of Hindus and Muslims with no object beyond their secular advantage. At the Serampore College it was specifically laid down that no Indian youth should be required to perform a single act to which he attached any moral evil as the condition of enjoying the benefits of the instruction offered.² The explanation of the doubts to which the missionaries' actions sometimes gave rise lay in their inability to separate the concept of good education from Christian education rather than in an unprincipled opportunism. It is, moreover, a tribute to the quality of the missionaries' educational work, as well as an acknowledgement of the inadequacy of the indigenous schools, that at times even Brahmans were prepared to waive their religious scruples to the extent of sending their children to mission schools.

Other causes of uncertainty troubled the Indian parents, among them the fear that their children might be sent to join the Company's army as sepoys when they could read and write. Rumours of this nature, however, were usually spread by Indian schoolmasters who wished to prevent their pupils from deserting them to attend mission schools. It was not difficult for the missionaries to convince the Indians of their error.

But there remained many other obstacles of an origin more natural than those deliberately erected by the opponents of mission schools. The lack of suitable books was a problem which the printing presses were labouring to solve. The shortage of manpower also gave rise to complications which the missionaries

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 81.

² *First Report of the Serampore College*, p. 4. Serampore, 1819.

were ever willing to acknowledge. They themselves were too few in number to undertake the whole work of instruction. Indian teachers of sufficient qualifications were difficult to train, and many of them even after receiving instruction were found to be lazy and lacking in any sense of responsibility towards their work.

Even greater than the difficulties arising out of the actual prejudices of the people were those resulting from their insensibility to the higher purposes of education. The clamour for instruction in English was largely due to a desire to obtain more highly paid employment. Caution was required even in meeting the demand for reading matter. C. T. E. Rhenius noted in his journal for 1829 that tracts were being requested by Indians who could not read but who wished to use them as charms to keep the devils from their houses, and although this was probably an extreme case there were many others in which an idle curiosity or pure acquisitiveness was at the root of the request.

Upon even the limited ends of primary instruction the parents placed restrictions, often desiring to take their children from school as soon as they had learnt accounts. All too frequently actions of this sort were due to the extreme poverty of the parents who could not afford to keep their children longer at school because their help was needed in augmenting the family income. The combined reasons of irresponsibility and poverty resulted in the discouragingly irregular attendance of the pupils for instruction. Frequent Hindu festivals drew the children away from school without any consideration of the adverse effects upon their progress. At the times of planting and harvest every child was required to work on the land. The monsoons also hindered attendance, while epidemics of cholera often decimated the population of whole districts or caused the inhabitants to move away from the area. The Hindu marriage month regularly emptied the schools, as the students took part in the celebrations, and this together with the other social and natural phenomena made consistent progress extremely difficult. There is some indication of the severity of the problem in the far from isolated statement from the C.M.S. schools in Madras in 1819, that only 75 per cent of the children whose names were on the registers were present at any one time, and there was nothing to indicate that the same children attended daily.

In the face of these difficulties the missionaries displayed great skill in evolving remedies and putting them into practice. Their enthusiasm for their work took the form of a steady concentration on efficiency rather than of a desire for irresponsible extension. They were among the first to introduce into their schools the monitorial system originated by Bell and Lancaster which aimed at overcoming the problem of a lack of qualified teachers by using the more advanced pupils to assist the more backward. In this way one teacher could supervise a number of classes. Although Dr Bell had only published his ideas in 1797 and Joseph Lancaster his modifications six years later, the Lancasterian system was employed in the Benevolent Institution at Calcutta from the school's foundation, and the London Missionary Society introduced it into the schools at Madras and Surat in 1816. By 1818 if not earlier, the C.M.S. schools at Burdwan, the Society's greatest educational centre in India, had adopted the new method. The S.P.C.K., as befitted an Anglican society, introduced Bell's National System at Vepery, and even the more recently arrived Scottish Missionary Society gave a trial to the Lancasterian system at Bankot.

The limitations of the monitorial method are obvious. It amounted solely to a system of drill and mechanism whereby large bodies of children could be made orderly and obedient, and by which students who knew little were made to help those who knew less. The missionaries did not permit themselves to be bound too rigidly to the scheme, however, and were ready to make adaptations when circumstances made them necessary. Being fully aware that the children could retain far more than they could understand, the Rev. G. T. Barenbruck, of the C.M.S. at Tranquebar, was content to introduce the monitorial system gradually in order to make it comprehensible to the teachers before its capacity for expansion began to take effect. Some three years later, in 1827, the Rev. J. W. Doran of the same Society came to the conclusion that it would be advisable to delay the introduction of the new system into the Syrian College at Cochin lest its competitive basis should engender excessive feeling among the students.

Still with the object of overcoming the shortage of qualified teachers the missionaries often found it necessary to employ as schoolmasters non-Christians or former teachers at indigenous

schools. The Serampore Baptists even went so far as to give financial support to a number of these schools.¹ Both these actions, however, were regarded purely as emergency measures to augment their main policy of promoting their own system of teacher-training. Nor were they permitted to affect adversely the quality of the education provided. Characteristic of all the missionaries' educational schemes were the stringent measures they employed to ensure the efficient working of their institutions. Careful and frequent supervision was the root of their policy. Weekly or monthly the missionaries visited their schools and carried out examinations of the pupils to check on the progress they had made. This necessitated the concentration of schools within an area easily accessible to a traveller with many centres to visit, and the missionaries firmly if regretfully closed down any which were outside their effective supervision. The Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius also instituted a more careful system of keeping and checking the registers of attendance, while members of every society found it necessary to refuse numerous requests for schools owing to their inability to undertake adequate superintendence.

In addition to supplying the teachers with suitable books to be used according to their own taste, many of the missionaries began the practice of assembling teachers in regular classes for further instruction. At Madras this took place quarterly, at Palamcottah monthly, and at various other centres the teachers received instruction each week. A further incentive was given to teachers in some areas by paying them according to the progress shown by their pupils in the examinations.

Although it was customary for the missionaries to give instruction free of charge they occasionally required their students to pay or to buy their books if they were able to afford to do so, in order to test the sincerity of their desire for education. At the same time, they were prepared to grant rewards to encourage keen scholarship and regular attendance. In 1820 the Serampore Baptists adopted the practice of giving books to the most deserving students in their vernacular schools, and six years later the L.M.S. at Madras introduced the same scheme into their schools. These awards served a double purpose, for the

¹ *Third Report of the Institution for the Encouragement of Native Schools in India*, pp. 19-20. London, 1821.

books were of an instructive as well as of an interesting character. To encourage their students to read still more widely the Serampore missionaries displayed particular inventiveness by sending a copy of the *Samachar Darpan*, their weekly Bengali journal, to a number of their schools. There it was read by the senior students and at times schoolmasters read passages aloud. The monthly *Dig Darsan* was also distributed for the same purpose.

The missionaries had no illusions as to the impermanency of the effects of the brief education which most of their pupils received when once the latter were re-enveloped in the daily round of superstition. Nevertheless, they had just grounds for the increasingly optimistic view which they took of their educational achievements. A comparison with the standard of education among English children at that time, particularly among the poorer classes, would alone give some assurance that the missionaries' efforts in India were meeting with success. From the elementary schools where the children were chiefly occupied in learning to write their vernacular languages, at first on sand and later on paper, and also to read what was written, to the more advanced schools like the Free School at Benares where the most promising pupils had made a sound beginning in reading, spelling, parsing and translating Goldsmith's *History of England*, and in working exercises on the rules of syntax and on the problems of geography, valuable work was in progress.

Of the beneficial effects manifested by the children who attended the mission schools there are many records. By 1815 Mr G. Forbes, Commissioner at Chinsurah, had already decided that the L.M.S. schools recently founded there were a decided advance upon the indigenous system. While catechizing the pupils in the mission schools in southern India in 1822 G. T. Barenbruck also noted the difference between the children who had been in attendance for some time and the new arrivals. To the latter it was quite foreign to think for themselves, while the former were eager to answer questions. At Bellary in the central Deccan an improvement was observed in the manners and habits of the people who had been influenced by the mission schools. At Gorakhpur in Oudh the Rev. M. Wilkinson remarked upon the change in the children at the mission school who had rid themselves of their former dirtiness and disagreeable habits and had become clean in appearance and interesting

and intelligent in manner. George Pearce of the B.M.S. at Chitpur was encouraged by the wider and more accurate view of the geography and history of the world, and of other branches of knowledge calculated to increase the powers of understanding, displayed by the pupils of the Baptist Society's schools. In the southern Concan the value of even the elementary education provided by the missionaries was evident when the agents of the Scottish Missionary Society discovered that their automatic practice of teaching the students the meaning of the words and passages they read came as an entirely new idea in that area. And one of the most noteworthy tributes to the quality of the education provided by the missionaries was made by a relative of the Raja of Tanjore who for some time hesitated to send his son to a mission free school lest it should seem degrading to his high station. When he saw the progress of his servants' children who attended the mission school and compared it with the ignorance of his son under a private tutor, however, he immediately changed his views.¹

The success of the missionaries' educational work was not limited to its effects upon the students themselves. It provided opportunities for both Indians and Europeans to dedicate some of their energy and financial resources in support of a project of which they approved. A number of Indians who feared to offend their orthodox compatriots by initiating educational schemes along European lines did not hesitate to give their financial support secretly to the missionaries. The interest of the European population was more openly displayed in their frequent attendance at the examinations held in the schools and in their readiness to give money to support educational work. In both these activities Lady Hastings, wife of the Governor-General, was prominent, and Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, became a patron of the Serampore College. The establishment by the Serampore Baptists of the Institution for the Encouragement of Native Schools in India in 1817 was a deliberate attempt to provide an opportunity for the scattered supporters of better education to make their contributions to an organized movement, and the Calcutta District Committee of the S.P.G., formed on 28 November 1825, served a similar purpose.

¹ *M.R.* 1827, p. 553.

It is perhaps to be regretted that it later became necessary for the mission schools wishing to prepare their students for government examinations to make their curriculum conform more closely to the intrinsically utilitarian pattern of instruction in force in the government schools. But the contribution of the missionaries to Indian education between 1793 and 1833 was invaluable in initiating and laying the foundation for future developments. When indigenous education was both inadequate in quantity and of an exceptionally low standard; when the Company's Government was unable to undertake the promotion of educational schemes; and when private individuals, both Indian and European, lacked the organization to take the responsibility upon themselves, the missionaries provided education of a relatively high quality at all levels for a considerable number of Indians both Christian and non-Christian.

CHAPTER V

THE STATUS OF INDIAN WOMEN

In their campaign against *sati* the missionaries were attacking probably the most glaring evil with which Indian womanhood was afflicted at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As their acquaintance with India grew, however, they quickly realized that *sati* was only one aspect of a problem involving the whole status of women in Indian society. They noted the ill-treatment of widows who did not perform *sati*, the practice of child-marriage, and the seclusion of women within their homes, and resolved to make the social improvement of Indian women part of their reforming plan. By so doing they gained some support from Europeans both in India and in England, and aroused trepidation among others, many of whom denied them any hope of success. A tiny group of cultured Indians approved of the missionaries' plans, but the majority aligned themselves in opposition, regarding the proposed schemes as an unwarranted attack upon a conception of the status of women which the reformers were wholly unable to comprehend.

It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the condition of Indian women at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Early Hindu literature and history suggest that women occupied an honourable position in society and frequently exercised considerable influence upon the highest affairs of state. Among the Rajputs in particular, women shared the adventurous disposition of the men and often went with them into battle.¹ As late as the eighteenth century there were several examples of women who had made a name for themselves by their literary and poetic gifts,² and in 1801 Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, a Muhammadan who had travelled extensively in Europe as well as in Asia and Africa, stated in a pamphlet that in his opinion the greater apparent freedom of English women as compared with Muslim women was in fact accompanied by greater real restraint.³

¹ J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, p. 32. Cambridge, 1946.

² K. Datta, *Education and Social Amelioration of Women in Pre-Mutny India*, pp. 2-3. Patna, 1936.

³ A. Yusuf Ali, *A Cultural History of India during the British Period*, p. 97. Bombay, 1940.

The missionaries were of a different opinion. Charles Grant had summarized their attitude at the end of the eighteenth century when he wrote that the Indian woman's state was one of subjection and seclusion, to be commiserated with, and to be improved if humanly possible.¹ A later writer in the *Quarterly Friend of India* for December 1822 issued a warning against the assumption that the antiquity of Indian civilization guaranteed the humane treatment of women in modern times. Education, he felt, was the one means by which Indian women could come to realize the unnaturalness of their position, and it was through education that the missionaries primarily sought to gain their object.

Although it is probable that the missionaries never fully understood the important influence exerted by Indian women in their own family circle, there was justification for their view that both Hindu and Muhammadan women were in a state of inequality, compared with men, which was something far removed from the natural differences in the function of men and women in society. The performance of *sati* might, and often did, indicate a supreme loyalty for her husband on the part of the widow; but a widowed husband never burned with the body of his wife. Ram Mohan Roy pointed out that the Hindu laws of inheritance, as set down in the most ancient authorities, unanimously entitled a widow to a share of her husband's property equal to that of a son. Instead, she was rendered destitute. Similarly, a daughter should inherit a quarter of the amount due to a son, but in practice this was denied her. The remedy for many of these ills, he went on to suggest, lay with the Presidency Governments. Formerly ignorance of the Sanskrit law had compelled the English to rely upon the advice of pandits in the various civil courts. This was no longer necessary, and the erroneous and corrupt interpretation of the law deliberately supplied by the pandits could henceforth be avoided.² It would seem, therefore, that whatever the dictates of the *Sastras* with regard to women, current practice, though allegedly based upon them, was far from being ideal.

The Government hesitated to respond to Ram Mohan Roy's appeal. Ever cautious of excessive interference in Indian customs,

¹ *P.P.* 1812-13, vol. x. 'Asiatic Subjects of Gt Britain', pp. 29-30.

² *M.R.* 1823, pp. 187-90.

the British authorities felt this was particularly questionable ground. Not only were Indian men opposed to any intrusion in so intimate a family matter, but also the Indian women appeared to have little desire to change their condition. The absence of any detailed information concerning Indian family life constituted another troublesome factor.

The missionaries, on the other hand, felt that risks should be taken. In their anxiety to promote the Christian faith they were extremely conscious of the barrier erected by a state of society in which one half of the population was compelled to abjure instruction of any kind and remained content to do so. 'There must be a change here', wrote H. Crisp of the London Missionary Society in 1828, 'for while the female character continues ignorant and degraded as at present, how can any great moral revolution be expected?'¹ In spite of the exceptions noted by William Adam, who was deputed by Lord William Bentinck in 1833 to survey the state of indigenous education in Bengal, the higher castes in particular were opposed to the idea of having their daughters educated because it was the custom that only dancing girls and the prostitutes in the service of the Hindu temples were taught to read. In conceiving the idea of providing education for the female population of India the missionaries were, therefore, not only pioneers but pioneers faced with a powerful opposition.

It is difficult to discover who took the initial step. The missionary movement for female education appears to have sprung up simultaneously in both the Bengal and Madras Presidencies round about the year 1820. Mrs Traveller, the wife of a missionary of the L.M.S., already had a school for country-born and Eurasian girls at Vepery in May 1819,² but there were no Indian girls among her pupils. Robert May, also of the London Missionary Society, is reported to have started a girls' school at Chinsurah in 1818, and although its extension was considerably impeded by the insistence of his successors upon the inclusion of a Christian catechism amongst the subjects for instruction this was probably the first institution of its

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Tamil', box 3, folder 2, jacket A: Letter of H. Crisp to the Secretary and Treasurer of the L.M.S., dated Salem, 19 May 1828.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Tamil', box 1, folder 2, jacket A: Letter of C. Traveller to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Vepery, 12 May 1819.

kind.¹ The C.M.S. also was early in the field, and the Company's chaplain, James Hough, established two schools for girls to the south of Palamcottah on behalf of that Society at the very beginning of 1820.² During the 1820's other schools began to appear at mission stations in all parts of India, at Nagracoil in the extreme south of the peninsula, at Cuddapah and at Bellary; and in 1826 the C.M.S. opened their first girls' school in the Bombay Presidency.

In this work the wives of the missionaries played an important part. Mrs Barenbruck, wife of a C.M.S. missionary, established a girls' Tamil school at Madras.³ At Vizagapatam Mrs Dawson, whose husband was an agent of the L.M.S., collected some twenty Indian girls for instruction.⁴ Mrs Stephen Trawin and Mrs G. Mundy of the same Society gave instruction to girls at Kidderpore and Chinsurah respectively,⁵ and the wife of William Carey (junior) had fourteen girls under her care at Katwa.⁶ In the Bombay Presidency Mrs C. Farrer of the C.M.S. opened a school at Bandra in 1832, and although she was compelled to close it the same year when she moved with her husband to Nasik, she renewed her work at the new station.⁷ Even more noteworthy were the achievements of Mrs J. Rowe, widow of a Baptist missionary at Digah, who, after her husband's death, not only continued to superintend the female schools she had founded but also took upon herself the full maintenance of the mission station. In a country where women were kept in such strict seclusion from men who were not members of their family, only the fact that the missionaries' wives undertook to give instruction themselves made the education of Indian girls a feasible project.

These activities constituted the chief answer to the problem of female education which the missionaries provided during the period before 1833. Again, however, the Serampore Baptists took the lead by producing the first main development of the

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'India: Bengal', box 1, folder 4, jacket B: Letter of G. Mundy to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Chinsurah, 6 April 1822.

² C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, fo. 108.

³ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 485.

⁴ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Telugu', box 1, folder 2, jacket B: Letter of J. Dawson to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Vizagapatam, 28 February 1825.

⁵ *M.R.* 1824, pp. 23 and 55.

⁶ *M.R.* 1821, p. 55.

⁷ C.M.S. MSS. 'West India Mission', vol. 1, fos. 398 and 454-76.

otherwise sporadic treatment of the question. In 1819 they enlisted the support of several English ladies residing in Calcutta to form the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in an attempt to make more organized provision for the education of Indian girls. This was followed soon afterwards by the establishment of a Native Female Society at Serampore, and together the two Societies were able to give a considerable impetus to the work.

William Ward, one of the Serampore Baptists, also assisted in the consultations in England resulting in the dispatch to India of Miss M. A. Cooke, the first woman to be sent from England as a teacher for the girls of India. It appeared briefly at this point as if the Calcutta School Society was about to take a share in the task of female education, for it was Miss Cooke's intention to place her services at the Society's disposal. But as a result of the prejudices of some of the Indian members the Society was unable to employ her.¹ It was next suggested that Miss Cooke should be attached to the L.M.S. but this plan also was never put into effect. Although a donation of Rs. 1000 had been sent by the Directors of the Society to Chinsurah in 1821 to help in founding a Female School Society their wishes had not been fulfilled, and their agents in India felt themselves unable to supply the necessary financial support for Miss Cooke, whose maintenance was therefore undertaken by the C.M.S.² Her connexion with that Society was further strengthened by her marriage a few years later to one of its missionaries, Isaac Wilson.

The tenacity of the Indians' opposition was illustrated by a report from James Hough in 1820 that it was only with difficulty, and after some delay, that he had been able to establish two girls' schools in villages composed entirely of Protestant Christians. Equally difficult to counter was the apathy of the parents towards female education, which in some areas took the place of open antagonism. In Calcutta the agents of the London Missionary Society stated in 1824 that even the parents of the girls who attended their school appeared indifferent as to whether their daughters were educated or not, and all the work

¹ *M.R.* 1822, p. 481.

² *L.M.S. MSS.* 'India: Bengal', box 1, folder 4, jacket A: Letter of H. Townley to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Chinsurah, 24 September 1821; and jacket B: Letter of J. Keith to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Calcutta, 11 January 1822.

of collecting the girls had to be done by the missionaries themselves. The shortage of teachers was a further problem. In the initial stages no Indian women were available to undertake the task, so that the whole burden fell upon the small number of missionaries' wives. The precariousness of the situation was demonstrated at Vizagapatam in 1825 when, on the death of Mrs J. Dawson, no one was qualified to instruct the twenty girls whom she had with difficulty assembled after overcoming the prejudices of their parents. Even when one or two Indian women teachers became qualified they lacked the industry of the missionaries, and their negligence at times had an adverse effect upon the progress of the children under their care and upon the numbers attending the schools. The pupils themselves were indolent, and the lack of even the meagre equipment necessary for the task of teaching them the rudiments of a number of useful occupations such as needlework was a further handicap. Even more stultifying was the effect of the early marriages into which the girls were required to enter, and which frequently resulted in the few who had responded to the missionaries' appeal being taken from school at the age of nine.¹

With these various difficulties in mind the Abbé Dubois, a Roman Catholic missionary, declared the undertaking to be impossible. The very wretchedness from which the reformers wished to rescue the women of India made the latter incapable of responding to the missionaries' efforts. 'At least five-sixths of the Hindoo females', he wrote, 'live in such distressed circumstances, that from the age of eight or ten years to the end of their lives, they are obliged to labour without intermission, from morning till evening, and... notwithstanding their incessant labours, they are hardly capable of saving enough to purchase a coarse cloth of the value of five or six shillings, to cover themselves.' Not only the deeply-rooted prejudices of the country, but also the state of poverty of the girls and their numerous avocations would prevent them from attending schools.²

But the reformers persevered, and Stephen Laidler of the L.M.S. voiced their sentiments when he wrote from Bangalore in 1822: 'Female education must be kept in view. Whatever the

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'India: Bengal', box 2, folder 2, jacket C: Letter of John Edmonds to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Chinsurah, 1 November 1825.

² J. A. Dubois, *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, pp. 205-6. London, 1823.

trials, disappointments and sacrifices may be they must not paralyse nor cause a momentary hesitation.¹ Nevertheless, the missionaries' objects were limited by necessity. In the brief time during which girls were available for instruction they could, clearly, learn little more than the common elements of reading and writing. Bengali, Kanarese, Tamil and Telugu were taught in the appropriate parts of the country, and at Bangalore and Vizagapatam attempts were made to teach English. To these subjects were added various crafts such as knitting, sewing, spinning and lace-making, and in an attempt to gain the maximum salutary effect from so short a training the L.M.S., in spite of the opposition it aroused, introduced a small amount of Christian teaching wherever possible.

The activities of the missionaries were not wholly unsuccessful. In 1826 William Carey wrote: 'Few attempts to do good I suppose appeared more hedged up with obstacles than the mental instruction of the poor females of India, and yet...evident progress has been made and beneficial results witnessed.... We have now 14 schools and many more in contemplation... some of them are 6 or 7 miles distant one from the other and some of them 5 or 6 miles distant from the premises purchased by the missionaries.'² At Madras, where strong opposition had originally been encountered, 600 girls had been taught in the L.M.S. free school before 1833.³ In the neighbourhood of Calcutta, also, Miss Cooke in 1823 had under her superintendence fifteen schools with 600 scholars after little more than a year's activity.⁴

The missionaries made no attempt to exaggerate their achievements, but the sixth report of the Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. in Calcutta recorded that on 23 June 1823 at the examination of Miss Cooke's scholars 110 girls acquitted themselves well in reading Bengali and in needlework who, seventeen months earlier, knew not a letter of the alphabet.⁵ At the examination of the female seminary at Palamcottah on

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Kanarese', box 1, folder 2, jacket D: Letter of Stephen Laidler, dated Bangalore, 10 October 1822.

² B.M.S. MSS. Packet A1: Letter of W. Carey to the Rev. John Dyer, dated Calcutta, January 1826, and completed 27 April 1826.

³ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Tamil', box 5, folder 2, jacket A: Printed account of the Black Town Free Schools of the L.M.S. 1833.

⁴ *M.R.* 1823, pp. 358-60.

⁵ *M.R.* 1824, pp. 226-8.

5 July 1826 a similar factual record of the pupils' progress was made. The girls' reading in Tamil, it stated, ranged from tolerable to very fluent. Some of the students were only beginning to learn letters, but all took part in knitting or spinning.¹

Evidence of this nature from various parts of the country had a salutary effect upon the attitude of some Indian parents towards the education of their daughters. The Baptists in Calcutta noted a growing friendliness as the progress of the girls in the schools became more obvious. At Nagracoil also, many who had formerly considered it to be useless or impossible for their daughters to be instructed were sufficiently impressed by the work done in the mission school to declare their willingness to have their girls taught.

The reduction in prejudice was revealed in several ways. In 1824 a number of families living in the neighbourhood of the C.M.S. station at Madras voluntarily applied for the establishment of a girls' school.² At Palamcottah the C.M.S. missionaries reported in 1823 that the Indians themselves had begun the elementary instruction of their daughters.³ There was no indication in this latter statement as to which classes were involved, and it may possibly have referred only to Christian parents. But the growing enthusiasm for female education in that area was demonstrated unmistakably by the readiness with which the boys of the Palamcottah seminary brought their sisters and other girls from their own villages to be taught in the new mission seminary to be established for girls.⁴

Numerically, however, only a minute proportion of Indian girls were affected by these activities before 1833. In an attempt to increase the number, the missionaries resorted to various schemes, some of them of dubious efficacy. At Calcutta the Baptists gave a monthly gratuity to their schoolmasters for every girl under instruction. Frequently, however, this led to the masters buying the attendance of their pupils with no intention that the latter should devote themselves seriously to their studies. At Trichinopoly also, the S.P.G. adopted the rather questionable policy of offering four cloths a year to the children who attended

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 5: Account of the State of the Female Seminary at Palamcottah at the Half-yearly Examination 5 July 1826.

² C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 4, fo. 435.

³ *M.R.* 1824, p. 59.

⁴ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 3, fo. 453.

their school. The Society frankly acknowledged its intention to be to encourage poor children to become pupils, but again it is probable that some of the girls presented themselves at the school solely for the cloth and with no real desire for instruction.

Another weakness, readily admitted by the missionaries, was that generally only the lowest classes allowed their daughters to attend the schools. Frequently the majority of the pupils were orphans who would otherwise have been destitute. The higher castes were not merely prejudiced against their daughters being educated, but were also unwilling to allow them to emerge from the seclusion of their homes, particularly to attend schools where, through lack of women teachers, they would necessarily have been instructed by men. Although the latter difficulty did not apply to the individual schools where the wives of missionaries were the teachers, it was an obstacle to the effective development of such associations as the Native Female Society of Calcutta and Miss Cooke's organization. At Bellary in 1829 the L.M.S. had a flourishing girls' school in which the school-mistress was a Brahman and several of the girls were of the same high caste, but it was an exceptional case.

It was Miss Cooke who faced the problem of educating high-caste girls, and her persuasiveness won the attention of Radha Kant Deb, an influential Hindu. On his advice she decided to carry instruction to the girls who would not attend her schools, and with his assistance she collected a number of high-caste girls for lessons on a veranda within the compound of a rich Indian. It was a remarkable step for Indians to accept a European woman as teacher for their daughters and to admit her into their compound, and very gradually Miss Cooke was able to make provision for the daughters of an increasing number of higher-caste families. The only female teacher whom she had been able to find was asked to instruct a Brahman widow and two other women when she was not engaged in school, and the widow herself, though still in the early stages of instruction, daily taught the two daughters of a Brahman at his own house.¹

It is doubtful that Miss Cooke's endeavours influenced many of the high-caste Hindus who were not previously well disposed towards the education of their daughters. For those who were, she provided an opportunity to express their approval, not only

¹ *M.R.* 1824, pp. 226-8.

by permitting their own girls to be educated, but also by giving financial help to the whole movement for female education. Several Indian members of the Calcutta School Society who declined to take part publicly in the promotion of an object so contrary to the prejudices of orthodox Hindus, privately assisted by procuring land upon which the missionaries' female schools could be built.¹ One of them, Babu Babinath Roy, openly presented Rs. 20,000 towards the erection of a central school for girls in Calcutta. That school, which was opened on 5 April 1828, was the realization of one of Miss Cooke's chief aims. Owing to the recurrent difficulty of supplying teachers for the numerous local schools which she had by that time established, she felt that the best solution would be to assemble the pupils together in one place under her supervision. Her classes had already produced a sufficient number of girls qualified to act as teachers or monitors in a central school, so that the scheme could function without delay. The number of scholars varied from forty to seventy, and it was unquestionably a remarkable achievement to gather so many Indian girls under a Christian roof to take part in lessons. The plan had its drawbacks however. Although the centralization led to greater efficiency because more adequate supervision could be maintained, it was not intended that any decidedly advanced studies should be introduced into the school. At the same time, many parents who had tentatively permitted their daughters to attend schools in their own locality were unwilling for them to travel several miles for their lessons. As a result, a number of children were deprived of the opportunity of attending school.

The value of Miss Cooke's pioneer work remains, nevertheless, and its merits were appreciated by Europeans as well as Indians. Lady Amherst, the Hon. Miss Amherst and the Bishop of Calcutta, all of whom were present at the examination of her schools on 12 December 1823, were deeply affected by the quality of the children's reading and by the specimens of their needlework and writing which were displayed. At Miss Cooke's instigation also, and as a result of the impression created by her achievements, the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education was formed on 25 March 1824, to assume the management and direction of the schools under her charge.² This Society

¹ *M.R.* 1823, p. 195.

² *M.R.* 1824, p. 509.

emphasized the interest in Indian female education which could be aroused by enthusiastic leadership. Lady Hastings had also displayed a benevolent interest in the activities of Miss Cooke, encouraging her in her earlier endeavours, and later providing materials for the children's needlework. Similarly, in the south of India Mr Monro, the Collector at Palamcottah, subscribed in 1823 to the seminary for girls founded by the C.M.S., and in succeeding years other assistance was forthcoming from Europeans in various ways.¹ At Chittur G. J. Waters entirely supported the orphan girls in the L.M.S. school,² and at Trinchinopoly a number of ladies contributed to the establishment of a girls' school in 1829, and afterwards met every three months to take note of the progress made, to inspect the accounts, and to make any arrangements which the institution required.³

Such a benevolent interest on the part of the Europeans in India, valuable though it was, could not hide the outstanding nature of the work done by the missionary societies, not only in initiating education for Indian women but also in carrying out the actual work of management and teaching. As Miss Cooke pointed out, the majority of the members of the Ladies' Society only saw the girls in the schools once a year. In January 1825, however, a Ladies' Association was founded, quite distinct from the Ladies' Society, and composed of pious middle-class women in Calcutta who did much more to promote education by their own efforts than did the rather more opulent members of the Ladies' Society. Already by July 1825 eight young ladies from the Association who had learnt the vernacular had begun to superintend schools, and four others were preparing to do the same.⁴

Progress continued to be slow. Bengal, where the greatest efforts had been made, showed little improvement, but in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies the promotion of female education fared rather better. Because there was so little advance in this field however, little could be done to improve the general

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 3, fo. 421.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Tamil', box 3, folder 2, jacket A: Report on the Chittoor Mission by Robert Jennings, dated Chittoor, 30 July 1828.

³ S.P.G. MSS. Box 'C. India', II. 4; Madras and S. India, no. 3: English translation of a letter in German by the Rev. D. Schreyvogel, dated Madras Mission, 1829.

⁴ C.M.S. MSS. 'North India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 337.

condition of Indian women since they themselves continued to show no desire for improvement. By 1833 it had not been possible to make any attack upon child marriage and little success had been gained in the attempt to undermine the strict rules of seclusion by which the higher-caste women were bound.

Yet the efforts of the missionaries before 1833 were of supreme importance. They alone brought the status of Indian women under public question. They were the first, and for long the only ones to attempt the education of Indian women. They trained the first Indian women as teachers, and these latter, together with the missionaries' wives, made possible the plan of bringing instruction to girls of higher castes. To the missionaries' wives particularly must be given the credit for what was achieved, for during a considerable period they were the only European women prepared to undertake the task of teaching. Later Indian movements like the Brahma Samaj have taken up the cause of Indian womanhood, and there has been a demand among some of the women themselves to be allowed to return to the status they formerly enjoyed according to the *Sastras*. But all these movements, whatever the characteristically Indian forms they adopted, had their foundation in the educational work begun among Indian women by the missionaries round about the year 1820 and developed in the years which followed. It was the missionaries who, in spite of the inevitable limitations of their work, demonstrated that Indian women were capable of improvement if an effort was made on their behalf, and who aroused in some of the women themselves the power to appreciate a better condition of life.

CHAPTER VI

LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, JOURNALISM AND TRANSLATION

It is frequently said of Christian missionaries in India that, if they had limited their activities to social work and avoided all attempts at evangelization, they would have won nothing but praise from the Indian people. Such a statement not only overlooks the opposition which almost invariably greeted social reform, but also ignores the obvious fact that the importance of the missionaries' social campaign, as well as its weaknesses, were a direct result of their fervent desire to promote Christianity. The main aspects of their social work were undertaken as aids to, and almost inevitable expressions of, their main task of evangelization. This was obvious in connexion with their educational work, and it was equally important in respect of their literary and linguistic achievements. The promotion of Christianity called for the extension of education to assist in the attack upon the superstition and mental slavery fostered by ignorance. For education to flourish it required in turn a literature capable of conveying and inspiring new ideas, and a language sufficiently rich and flexible to express them. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the majority of the languages and dialects of India possessed neither of these features. In the interests of their religion the Christian missionaries undertook to supply them to the best of their ability.

It might be suspected that the missionaries' overriding concern for the translation of the Bible must inevitably have narrowed the effective scope of their work. Many observers pointed to the inaccuracies which crept into their publications, and accused them of undertaking too hastily a task for which they were inadequately qualified. But it was the very urgency of their desire to see the Christian Scriptures printed in the languages of India which stirred the missionaries to achieve such mastery of strange tongues. That errors should have crept into their work is not surprising. At the beginning of the nineteenth century only the sacred or classical languages of the country, Sanskrit and Arabic, possessed any generally accepted form or were preserved in writing. The missionaries' transla-

tions, therefore, constituted for many years the greater part of the vernacular literature of India, and their work was an important contribution to the establishment of structural unity among the vernaculars and to their uniform development.

Christian missionaries had been pre-eminent in the work of translation into the languages of India for more than two centuries before William Carey turned to the task. Characteristically, the translations carried out by government officers had been primarily from Oriental languages into English, the emphasis being laid upon the Englishman's problem of understanding the Indians rather than upon the encouragement of Indians to understand the new and growing power in their midst. Into this category fell the translation into English in 1786 of the *Bhagavadgita* by Mr, later Sir Charles, Wilkins. Sir William Jones's version of the *Shakuntala* was of the same character and so too were the translations by both these men of the *Hitopadesha*. Commentaries on Indian literature appearing in the *Asiatic Researches* supplied the essential complement to the translations and it was chiefly through such media that the doctrines and traditions of the Indian peoples were made accessible to Englishmen. The missionaries had only a secondary interest in work of that nature. To analyse and to understand Indian ideas was an essential adjunct to their main purpose, but it was not an end in itself. Oriental scholarship of a relatively high order was to be found among the Roman Catholic missionaries in southern India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and their successors of the Protestant persuasion were not inferior in their attainments, but they were both handicapped by the smallness of their numbers.

From the days of Francis Xavier the missionaries had concentrated upon translation from European languages into Indian languages. Xavier himself had prepared translations of the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and a number of prayers in the language of the Paravas, a fishing caste living to the north-east of Cape Comorin. Robert de Nobili, who had a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil, translated the Missal into Tamil and produced works on Christian theology and metaphysics.¹ The Protestant missionaries placed greater

¹ K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. III, pp. 260, 274. London and New York, 1945.

emphasis upon the importance of making the Bible itself available to all who could read. Ziegenbalg, a Saxon of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, translated the New Testament and part of the Old into Tamil early in the eighteenth century. Fabricius, another German, translated the whole Bible and a number of hymns into the same language, and another missionary, named Schultze, produced a Bible in Telugu.¹

Important though these publications were, they were relatively few in number and were separated from each other in time by centuries and half-centuries. In comparison, the early nineteenth century was a period of intense activity.

As in so many other fields of work the Serampore Baptists were to the fore. Within fifteen months of his arrival in India, William Carey had translated into Bengali the Book of Genesis and twenty chapters of Exodus.² He and his associates gave themselves wholeheartedly to their task and displayed a remarkable capacity for acquiring a knowledge of Oriental languages. In a letter to the king of Burma in 1812 they claimed that with the aid of Indian scholars they had portions of the Scriptures in the process of translation or printing in Sanskrit, Tamil, Gujarati, Oriya, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Baluchi, Pashtu, Kashmiri, Assamese and Chinese, and they now proposed to add Burmese to their list.³ Nine years later they announced the translation of the whole Bible into five languages and the New Testament into fifteen more. The fifth edition of the Bengali New Testament, comprising five thousand copies, was nearly exhausted. The sixth was in the press and also the second edition of the New Testament in Sanskrit, Marathi and Hindi.⁴ In 1825 Dr Carey stated that the New Testament would soon be published in at least thirty-four languages.⁵

Other societies followed the Baptists' impressive example. In the first decade of the nineteenth century the London Missionary Society undertook the translation of the Bible into Telugu, and in 1819 the first edition of 2000 copies of the New Testament was

¹ J. Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, trans. by S. H. Moore, pp. 107, 114. London. No date.

² B.M.S. MSS. Packet no. A 1: Letter of W. Carey to the Baptist Mission Society, dated Madnabatty, 10 March 1795.

³ B.M.S. MSS. Packet no. A 1: Letter of the Serampore Missionaries to the King of Burma, dated 14 December 1812.

⁴ M.R. 1821, p. 383.

⁵ M.R. 1826, p. 92.

printed at Madras.¹ Other agents of the Society were at work upon the Gujarati and Kanarese versions. The Gujarati New Testament was printed at Surat in 1821 and the Old Testament in 1823.² The translation of the whole Bible into Kanarese was completed at Bellary in 1826, and it was printed in 1831.³

Members of the Anglican community, both chaplains and missionaries, also made their contribution. Dr Claudius Buchanan stimulated the Syrian Church of Malabar into producing a Malayalam translation of the New Testament in 1807. His work was followed by that of the Rev. B. Bailey of the C.M.S. who superintended the translation of the Scriptures into Southern Malayalam at Kottayam.⁴ The name of the Rev. Henry Martyn, a Company's chaplain, is permanently associated with the preparation of the Bible in Hindustani.⁵ For versions of the Anglican liturgy in the same language the Church in India was indebted to Archdeacon Corrie of Calcutta and to William Bowley of the C.M.S.⁶ Richard Kenny of the C.M.S. at Bombay prepared a Marathi translation of the liturgy,⁷ and Dr Rottler, a S.P.C.K. missionary at Vepery, produced a Tamil version.⁸ Of the then lesser-known societies, the American Board of Missions at Bombay was responsible for a Bible in Marathi and Wesleyan missionaries were associated with a Cingalese version.⁹

The missionaries were not alone in translating the Scriptures. The first version of any of the Gospels in Persian and Hindustani printed in India was issued by the press at Fort William

¹ L.M.S. *Reports*, 1807, p. 256; 1808, p. 290; 1809, p. 309; and L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Tamil', box 1, folder 2, jacket A: Letter of E. Pritchett to the Directors of the L.M.S., dated Madras, 14 March 1819.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'North India: Gujarati', box 1, folder 1, jacket C. Letter of James Skinner to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Surat, 14 August 1821; and folder 2, jacket A: Letter of W. and A. Fyvie to the Directors of the L.M.S., dated Surat, 1 October 1824.

³ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Kanarese', box 2, folder 1, jacket A: Letter of J. Hands and W. Beynon to the Directors of the L.M.S., dated Bellary, 5 December 1826, and box 3, folder 2, jacket B: Letter of W. Reeve, dated Madras, 23 May 1831.

⁴ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, Quarterly Report on translations by the Rev. B. Bailey, dated Kottayam, May 1821.

⁵ C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, p. 187, 2nd edition, enlarged. London, 1811; and C.M.S. *Report*, 1815, p. 567.

⁶ C.M.S. *Reports*, 1815, p. 568; 1818-19, p. 126; and *M.R.* 1829, p. 77.

⁷ *M.R.* 1826, p. 108.

⁸ C.R.O. MSS. 'Madras Despatches', vol. 67, fo. 926.

⁹ J. Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 290-1. London. No date.

College. The translation of the former was superintended by Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke and of the latter by William Hunter, Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Dr Leyden of Fort William College also offered his services in conducting translations of the Scriptures into Pashtu, Kashmiri, Siamese and certain languages current in the Celebes and the Maldiva Islands. But in the scope of their work these individuals were far outstripped by the missionaries.

Mention must be made of the encouragement given to the missionaries in this branch of their work by the British and Foreign Bible Society. At the latter's request Walter Udney, the Rev. David Brown, Dr Claudius Buchanan and the leaders of the Serampore Baptists formed a corresponding society in 1807 in order to give an impulse to Scriptural translations. The Auxiliary Bible Societies which were founded in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay also rendered valuable assistance in co-ordinating and scrutinizing the missionaries' translations.

Outside this particular field of literary activity the missionaries' chief object was the preparation of school-books. It might be briefly noted, however, that Dr Marshman made an English translation of the writings of Confucius, and Dr Carey edited and translated the *Ramayana*, a Sanskrit classic. The school-books were for the most part translations of standard English works. The *Pilgrim's Progress* was translated into Telugu and Bengali. Goldsmith's *History of England* and an abridged version of Hamilton's standard geography also appeared in Bengali, and in that and other languages translations of various elementary manuals of instruction were prepared.

These books provided a sound introduction to European learning, but, like the Scriptural translations, they were criticized as an attempt to express external ideas through an unsympathetic medium. The thoroughness of the missionaries' work, however, enabled them eventually to dispel this suspicion, and their translations made a valuable contribution to the development of Indian literature.

The difficulty of conveying new ideas through the traditional languages of India was in itself an incentive to the missionaries to probe the possibilities of those languages to the utmost. The result of their earliest investigations was not very promising. Most of the languages of India lacked everything but the rudi-

ments of grammar. They needed to be standardized and also expanded by the inclusion of new expressions if they were to become useful vehicles of more precise modern knowledge.

The Bengali grammar compiled and published by Halhed of the East India Company at Hugli in 1783, and the Tamil grammar and Tamil-English and English-Tamil dictionaries prepared by the missionary, Fabricius, at Madras about the same time, were among the earlier attempts to provide a solution to the difficulty. After 1793 a more concentrated attempt was made. Dictionaries and grammars were prepared in greatly increased numbers. The Presidency Governments and the Court of Directors were particularly interested in this work and contributed generously in support of it.¹

The missionaries, also, continued to be active. Halhed's Bengali grammar was a meritorious work but had become scarce at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first edition of Carey's Bengali grammar which appeared in 1801 was, consequently, in no way redundant. Further, while acknowledging his debt to Halhed, Carey added that he had introduced into his own work many distinctions and observations omitted by his predecessor, and by the time the second edition of Carey's work appeared in 1805 further improvements had been made as a result of the author's closer study of his subject.

A similar situation arose in connexion with Sanskrit. Although the first volume of H. T. Colebrooke's Sanskrit grammar was published in 1805, Carey's Sanskrit grammar was the first complete version to be printed. Concerning the latter publication the Supreme Council of Bengal wrote: 'The Merits of this Work are (so) well known that no other reason need be assigned for its Patronage.'²

These were only the forerunners of many other compilations of a similar character. In 1813 Carey wrote to Andrew Fuller, Secretary to the B.M.S., with the news that he had finished a grammar of Telugu which was about to be printed. His Panjabi grammar, which for many years was the only one of its kind, was already in the press and he was collecting materials for grammars of the Kashmiri, Pashtu, Baluchi and Oriya

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 98, fos. 732-3.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Public Consultations', 5-26 March 1813: Proceedings at a Council presided over by Lord Minto at Fort William, 19 March 1813.

languages. The care of publishing and correcting Felix Carey's Burmese grammar was also in his hands and he was in the process of compiling a dictionary of Bengali. When published in 1825 the latter work comprised three quarto volumes and was adversely criticized on account of its bulk. Dr Marshman remedied that weakness two years later, however, by producing an abridged version which greatly increased its utility while detracting to the minimum from the scholarship embodied in the original.¹

The Baptist missionaries also gave assistance to others outside their own community. Colebrooke's English translation of the popular Sanskrit dictionary, *Amara Kosha*, was published at Serampore in 1808, and was corrected in the process by William Carey.² The latter was also engaged by the Presidency Government to correct and publish the grammar and dictionary in the language of Bhutan compiled by the late C. G. Schroeter of the C.M.S.,³ and a Chinese grammar prepared by a Mr Morrison was also published at Serampore, in 1814.⁴

The output of the Serampore Baptists is apt to overshadow the achievements of other missionaries in India. These latter too were active however. Even before the end of the eighteenth century C. H. Horst and C. W. Gericke of the S.P.C.K. were at work upon a Tamil grammar, and in the years which followed agents of the L.M.S. produced grammars or dictionaries of the Kanarese, Gujarati and Telugu languages.

A link was still needed between the dry bones of lexicography and the living spirit of prose literature. Poetry, weighted with conceits and wholly unsuitable for expressing lucid thought, alone existed in most of the languages of India. A new literature was required, therefore, which would become the instrument of modern development in every field of study.

The link was primarily supplied by the Scriptural translations and text-books which, with the invaluable assistance of the many mission presses, were circulated in large numbers from

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 99: Letter in the Public Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 21 March 1827, para. 68.

² B.M.S. MSS. India (Serampore). 'Letters of Carey and others': Letter of W. Carey to Mr Sutcliff, dated Calcutta, 22 August 1805.

³ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 90: Letter in the Public Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 31 January 1823, para. 63.

⁴ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 72, fo. 380.

the beginning of the nineteenth century. Bengali in particular benefited from the work of the Serampore Baptists. A *History of Pritapadityn*, compiled by an Indian under the guidance of William Carey and published at Serampore in 1801, was the first prose work to be printed in Bengali with the exception of codes of laws and tracts. Carey's translations of religious writings into Hindi also manifested a purity of style which was remarkable considering the period at which he wrote and the literary vacuum of the preceding years.¹ Marathi prose had remained undeveloped until the translations of the Scottish Missionary Society's agents stimulated indigenous literary activity. In southern India missionaries had been striving for some years to build up the vernaculars. The Tamil works of the Roman Catholic missionary, Beschi, were probably the most scholarly, although he had been preceded in that field by members of the Spanish Mission at Cochin. The arrival of the missionaries of the L.M.S. and C.M.S. with their numerous printing presses multiplied the effects of such work and Telugu and Kanarese were similarly stimulated.

Possibly of even greater importance in shaping the character of Indian prose were the newspapers and periodicals which began to issue from the mission presses in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Combining topicality with a high standard of scholarship and a swift circulation they were ideal for stimulating public opinion and for presenting new ideas in incisive language. *Akhbars*, or newspapers, produced by hand and filled largely with the details of Court activities had for some time been popular among the Muhammadans in India. But their inevitably limited circulation and the triviality of their contents prevented them from having any profound effect upon vernacular literature. In 1816 a Bengali, Gangadhar Bhatta-charya, took a step forward by printing a paper under the title of the *Bangla Gazette*, but it was so short-lived that few people knew of its existence. The first periodical in Bengali to gain a steady circulation was the *Dig Darsan (The Signpost)*, a monthly work, first published by the Baptists at Serampore in 1818. It contained articles of general information and gave notice of local events.²

¹ *Modern India and the West*, ed. L. S. S. O'Malley, p. 494. O.U.P. 1941.

² *Friend of India (Monthly Series)*, no. 1, May 1818, p. 26.

The *Dig Darsan* was in the nature of a feeler. Encountering no opposition from the Government the missionaries took courage and commenced a weekly newspaper in Bengali in the same year under the title of *Samachar Darpan* (*Mirror of the News*).¹ The novelty of the paper ensured its popularity and it ran continuously until 1841.

It was the *Samachar Darpan* which aroused the Bengalis to an appreciation of the power of the periodical press. First to react to the stimulus was Ram Mohan Roy who, with a view to defending Hinduism against the attacks of the *Samachar Darpan* and to propounding his own plans for reform, began the publication of the *Sambad Kaumadi*. This new paper dealt with current topics and published articles on political, historical, literary and scientific subjects. But owing to the difficulty of obtaining access to English papers it had to borrow its political news from the *Darpan*.

As the *Kaumadi* emerged to oppose the *Darpan* so in turn it was itself attacked by the *Chandrika*. The latter paper was the organ of the orthodox Hindu party, and was edited by Bhawani Charan Banerji, former coadjutor of Ram Mohan Roy, who broke his connexion with the reforming element after only thirteen numbers of the *Kaumadi* had been published because of differences of opinion on social problems, and particularly with regard to *sati*.

The pace was quickening. In the 1820's there appeared another Bengali paper, the *Destroyer of Darkness*, Ram Mohan Roy's Persian weekly, *Mirat-al-Akhbar*, and a diglot paper in Bengali and Persian, *Banga Dut* (*The Bengal Herald*), which was also the product of the Indian reforming party. In 1831 the Bengali *Sambad Pravakar* (*The Sun*) followed, and in the same year the students of the Hindu College started the *Gyananneshan* (*The Search after Knowledge*).

To maintain the initiative and to give a spur to these new developments William Ward started a religious magazine in Bengali in 1822 to which he encouraged the students of Serampore College to contribute articles. And although Ram Mohan Roy voluntarily suspended his Persian newspaper in 1823 as a protest against the Government's new licensing regulations, the returns of East India periodical publications in circulation in

¹ *Friend of India* (*Quarterly Series*), vol. iv, no. xii, May 1825, p. 143.

1830 show that the Bengal Presidency had no less than eight vernacular papers, while Bombay had four.¹

For the Bombay publications the missionaries had no direct responsibility. They were the work of Indians. In the Madras Presidency, however, the vernacular periodical press undoubtedly received its earliest stimulus from Christian missionaries. The first number of a quarterly publication in Tamil was issued by the L.M.S. in June 1831.² Its contents were largely concerned with religious topics or with the social improvements which the missionaries advocated. Several other missionary periodicals appeared in the vernaculars of southern India, however, before any response was evoked from the Indians themselves.

In Bengal the *Darpan* continued to be the leading publication and by its moderate tone added greatly to the status of the vernacular periodical press. It originated at a time when official circles were ill-disposed towards vernacular publications through fear that a challenge to the stability of the Government might result from the free circulation of information and ideas amongst the Indian people. Avoiding all political controversies, the Serampore Baptists set an example of integrity with the *Sama-char Darpan* which won them the constant approval of authority. In 1818 Lord Hastings induced the Supreme Council to permit the circulation of the *Darpan* at a quarter of the normal postal rate in order that its influence might be felt outside Calcutta.³ And at the very height of the controversy over the freedom of the press in the 1820's the government displayed still further confidence in the missionaries by ordering that official regulations should be printed in the *Darpan*, by subscribing to a hundred copies for the various government offices in Bengal, and by extending its patronage to a Persian edition of the paper.⁴

In the early nineteenth century the circulation of vernacular newspapers was never very great, it is true. The *Quarterly Friend of India* for May 1825 estimated that, together, the papers

¹ P.P. 1831-2, vol. xxxi. East India Periodical Publications and Licensed Printing Presses.

² L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: Tamil', box 4, folder 1, jacket C: Letter of J. Smith to the Secretary of the L.M.S., dated Madras, 31 May 1831.

³ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 86, fos. 546-8.

⁴ J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, vol. II, pp. 356-7. London, 1859.

published in Bengal in Oriental languages had from eight hundred to a thousand subscribers. To each copy of the papers circulated it allotted an average of five readers.¹ But these apparently small numbers cannot conceal the stimulating effect upon the literate members of Indian society of having a regular source of information relating to contemporary events. In the midst of the new and frequently ephemeral publications of the Indians themselves, moreover, the stability of the missionaries' work gave continuity to the progress of vernacular literature.

To give a just account of the importance of these varied publications it is necessary to attempt to estimate the quality of the work, the accuracy of the translations, the purity of the language and the value of the new ideas and phraseology which they infused into Indian literature. Progress was not equal in every language. Bengali, Sanskrit and Chinese were the chief concern of the Serampore Baptists. The missionaries in the west of India were primarily occupied with Marathi and Gujarati, and those in the south with Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. The many other languages into which translations were made took up less time and their accuracy was consequently not so great. Nevertheless, the missionary publications in those languages were frequently the only ones which appeared until late in the nineteenth century. William Carey's translation of the Bible into Kashmiri was admittedly unsatisfactory. But it was not until the 1880's that others undertook to produce a more accurate version.

To counter the many difficulties of orthography, of local variations in language, and of limited vocabularies, the missionaries exercised considerable care in evolving methods of work and revision which would obviate as many mistakes as possible. From the very beginning William Carey adopted the practice which others followed of employing learned pandits, well acquainted with the languages, to assist him in his task of translation.² Laboriously he checked their work sentence by sentence, at times rendering his English ideas into some intermediate language known both to himself and to the pandits, in order

¹ *Friend of India (Quarterly Series)*, vol. iv, no. xii, May 1825, p. 145.

² B.M.S. MSS. India (Serampore). 'Letters of Carey and others': Letter of W. Carey to A. Fuller, dated Madnabatty, 16 November 1796.

to be assured of his having conveyed an accurate impression. Even the *Darpan* was compiled by Indians under missionary editorship.¹

Even after these precautions the missionaries had to be on the alert. Carey soon discovered that the approval of his linguistic attainments expressed by the pandits was frequently no more than flattery. Benjamin Bailey of the C.M.S. also found that Claudius Buchanan's reliance upon the accuracy of the Malayalam translation of the Bible prepared by the priests of the Syrian Church was wholly unjustified.² Other checks were necessary, and among the most effective was the missionaries' mutual criticism of their work. No considerations of friendship prevented an exhaustive scrutiny from being made. C. T. E. Rhenius's Tamil translations were subjected to a particularly severe castigation by his fellow-missionaries.³ Yet even these measures were not considered to provide sufficient assurance of the accuracy of Scriptural translation. The Madras Auxiliary Bible Society appointed subcommittees of translation consisting of Englishmen acquainted with the languages of particular districts and authorized to procure the assistance of other Europeans and of Indians where necessary. To those bodies translations were submitted for scrutiny and revision and were often referred to their authors again and again for further comment before being finally adopted.⁴ Frequently the actual printing was carried out under the translator's supervision. At Serampore where the presses were on the mission premises it was easy to make an arrangement of that sort. Elsewhere, missionaries travelled many miles in order to be present when their work was being printed, often revising it even whilst it was going through the press.⁵ When a book had been printed it was still subject to revision under skilled superintendence to bring it to a higher standard of accuracy, and in this branch of the work the comments of Indian readers were of particular

¹ U. N. Ball, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 179, Calcutta, 1933.

² C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 47.

³ S.P.G. MSS. box 'C. India', II. 2, Private Letters to and from the Rev. C. F. Schwartz and the Rev. J. C. Kohlhoff 1773-1819. No. 89: Letter of J. C. Kohlhoff to the Rev. C. Pohle, dated Tanjore, 21 December 1815.

⁴ *M.R.* 1821, p. 68; 1826, pp. 122-3; 1829, p. 423.

⁵ S.P.G. MSS. Box 'C. India', I. 1, Dio. Calcutta: Letter of the Rev. W. Morton to the Secretary of the S.P.G., dated Tollygunge, near Calcutta, 16 July 1825.

value in making a book more acceptable to the public for which it was intended.¹

In the light of these proceedings the unfavourable comments made by the Abbé Dubois can have little credence since he had no knowledge of any Indian language save that of the district in which he spent so much of his life. The literature produced by the missionaries undoubtedly had many faults, but their intense desire to spread Christianity endowed them with an application to their literary work which could not fail to produce sound results. At a time when Indian languages were in their infancy the missionaries were the chief agents in their systematization. With their grammars and dictionaries they established those languages upon a firm basis. They enriched them with new expressions, new words, and new ideas. Their numerous printing presses ensured a far wider circulation of books than had ever been known before. Fresh with the learning and technical devices of the West, and fired with the spirit of evangelism, the missionaries gave an impulse to the development of Indian vernacular literature which no indigenous movement could have supplied and which no other European body attempted to supply.

The influence of missionary journalism upon the English press was not so impressive, and the missionaries were not the first to arouse interest in periodical publications in English. In spite of their desire for liberty they took no part in the agitation for the freedom of the press during the administration of John Adam in 1823 and in the early years of Lord Amherst's Governor-Generalship when the violence of John Silk Buckingham's articles in the *Calcutta Journal* had resulted in restrictions upon the whole publishing industry.

Perhaps the missionaries' most valuable contributions were the unflinching political moderation and the general integrity of their periodicals at a time of violent journalistic conflict. The *Calcutta Journal* and the *John Bull*, representing two opposing factions among the European society, engaged in ceaseless altercations until the former was discontinued by order of the Government. It appeared again as the *Scotsman in the East*, but very soon died out once more. The *Calcutta Chronicle* was also suppressed on 31 May 1827 because the general tone of its

¹ *M.R.* 1820, pp. 445-6.

articles had been for some time highly disrespectful to the government and the Court of Directors. Only technical publications and non-political scholastic journals contrived to avoid becoming involved in the turmoil of party feeling.

The leading missionary papers during that excitable period were the *Monthly Friend of India*, which first appeared in April 1818, and the *Quarterly Friend of India* which followed shortly afterwards. Both were issued by the Serampore press. There were others, but they were not so prominent. Among them were the *Gospel Magazine* published by the L.M.S. from December 1819, and the *Missionary Herald*, printed in Calcutta by the Baptist Mission.¹ The two latter were chiefly concerned with religious subjects and lacked the wider scope of the Serampore publications which, in spite of openly discussing many questions of particular moment, were never in danger of being suppressed.

To introduce references to purely mechanical developments into an account of the growth of Indian literature may appear incongruous, but without their printing presses the circulation of the many books produced by the missionaries would have been so restricted as to have rendered their influence comparatively negligible. Printing with Oriental characters did not originate in the nineteenth century. The first vernacular printing press in British India was established in the south by the S.P.C.K. a hundred years earlier, and an edition of the New Testament in Tamil was printed on it.² In 1718 Bartholomew Ziegenbalg announced that a paper mill had been established at Tranquebar and that preparations had been made for making types, binding books and for the many other adjuncts of a publishing business.³ In Bombay, the *Bombay Courier*, a newspaper which began to circulate in 1790, used Gujarati type for its advertisements.⁴ The first Bengali type was employed in printing Halhed's *Grammar of Bengali* at the Hugli press, and the punches were prepared by Mr Charles Wilkins. Wilkins instructed an Indian blacksmith in the art of making type and through the labours of the latter type-casting became domesticated in Bengal. The next printed work in Bengali was

¹ *M.R.* 1821, p. 51; 1824, p. 42.

² N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*, p. 105. London, 1915.

³ *Missionary Records. India*, p. 8. London, 1835.

⁴ M. Barns, *The Indian Press*, p. 59. London, 1940.

Sir Elijah Impey's Code of Regulations, translated by Jonathan Duncan and published by the Company's press in 1785. In 1793 the Cornwallis Code was printed at the same press but with a better fount of type which continued to be the standard kind until the Serampore Baptists introduced improvements.

Under the supervision of William Carey a new Devanagari type was cast containing all the compound letters, and by the construction of certain initial, medial and final letters the characters came into contact as in cursive writing. This type was of considerable beauty and had an important influence upon the later casting of founts in the Nagari character. Soon afterwards, too, Carey superintended the casting of the first fount of Oriya type.¹

Particularly important advances were made at Serampore in printing in Chinese. In the earlier stages of the work Dr Marshman overcame the difficulty due to the absence of any Chinese versed in typographical engraving by employing two men trained in engraving patterns for calico printing. Under his direction the two prepared type from blocks of tamarind wood and made possible the publication of Chinese books in India.² Soon it became advisable to use the European movable metal type instead of the wooden blocks and J. C. Marshman, son of Dr Joshua Marshman, prepared the first metal characters for Chinese printing.³ Mr Thoms, printer to the East India Company, continued to urge that on all counts, of speed, economy and cheapness of labour the wooden block system was to be preferred, but there is no doubt that the introduction of metal type by the missionaries for printing in Chinese enabled books to be published in a much handier and less expensive size, particularly since even the cheapest paper could be printed on both sides by the newer method.⁴ Also, the expense of carving wooden blocks arose with each new edition because they wore out so quickly, while the metal type gave five times the number of impressions without impairing the delicacy of the lettering. The use of separate metal characters made revision

¹ C. Buchanan, *The College of Fort William in Bengal*, p. 233. London, 1805.

² J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, vol. 1, p. 388. London, 1859.

³ B.M.S. MSS. Letter of W. Ward to Dr Ryland, dated Serampore, 30 April 1817.

⁴ *M.R.* 1816, p. 292; 1817, p. 372; 1819, p. 58.

easier too, since a single letter could be changed instead of having to destroy an entire wooden block carved to print a whole page.

Further economy was made possible at Serampore by the preparation of a new fount of Bengali type which, while clear to read, was small enough to permit the Old Testament to be included in one or possibly two small volumes of double octavo numbering some 1300 pages. This, the missionaries estimated, would save half the expense of the paper and two-thirds that of binding, and when all economies had been effected they were able to print the Scriptures in almost any language more cheaply than an equal quantity of letterpress could be printed in England.¹

To complete the summary of the Serampore Baptists' achievements mention must be made of the paper mill which they established on the mission premises. There they devoted considerable time to improving the quality of India-made paper.

Other missionary societies had a similar though not so impressive record. The Baptists who separated from their colleagues at Serampore established a press and a type foundry at Calcutta, and prepared Arabic, Persian, Nagari, Bengali, Oriya and Burmese type, not only for their own use but also to furnish other societies.² At Kottayam the C.M.S. prepared Malayalam type, and by 1824 their press at Madras was able to print Tamil characters.³ Even the Scottish missionaries, arriving in the Concan only late in this period, were able to carry out useful experiments which made possible the use of a lithograph press in high temperatures.⁴

With the object of improving and extending the languages and literature of India the missionaries' versatility was exercised to the utmost. Academic ability was closely intermingled with technical skill, and the whole was welded together by a tireless enthusiasm. Whatever there is of value in Indian literature and journalism today is generally admitted to have been virtually non-existent at the end of the eighteenth century. The most important factor in its growth in the earlier part of the nineteenth century was the contribution of Christian missionaries.

¹ *M.R.* 1816, p. 181; 1821, pp. 383-4.

³ *M.R.* 1824, p. 62; 1830, p. 423.

² *M.R.* 1828, p. 81.

⁴ *M.R.* 1826, p. 110.

CHAPTER VII

MEDICINE AND AGRICULTURE

Medical work was not so automatically associated with missionary activity in the early nineteenth century as it is today, but India's medical requirements were no less serious. Epidemics, particularly of cholera, were frequent and caused widespread suffering.¹ Smallpox was prevalent and the huge gatherings at Hindu festivals brought infection from the most distant provinces. For various reasons medical services were inadequate even in normal circumstances. Although many cures for diseases common to tropical and sub-tropical areas were known by Indians while Europeans were still entirely ignorant of them, Indian doctors displayed a scant knowledge of such scientific treatment of illness and disability as had been learnt in Europe. Religious scruples which forbade Hindus to touch a dead body prevented them from having experience in dissection and in consequence they knew little about anatomy. On religious grounds also Hindus often resented any attempt to introduce European medicines into India, and the Brahmans naturally displayed an aversion to the practice of vaccination.

The missionaries were conscious of the need for improvement and several of them wrote home advocating a basic training in medicine for all who should be sent to India to assist them. The Rev. B. Schmid of the C.M.S. at Palamcottah also suggested that the seminarists should be taught some of the medical cures of the country as part of their training in the mission school.² But few of the missionaries possessed real medical skill, and those who did were not forceful personalities like Carey, Rhenius, Kohlhoff and Duff, whose activities in other fields produced such astounding results. Frequently, indeed, the missionaries themselves had to rely upon the Company's surgeons for medical attention. Nor was it so necessary as in other spheres for the missionaries to draw attention to the need for reform,

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 98: Letter in the Military Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 15 September 1826, para. 3.

² C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 2, fo. 128; and vol. 3, fos. 165 and 433.

for the Presidency Governments and individual Europeans resident in India displayed a lively interest in the state of the medical services. The Governments were primarily concerned with the treatment of the Company's servants, but their attention was also directed to the health of their Indian subjects in general. Limited though their funds were, they tried not only to encourage a more scientific study of medicine among the Indians themselves but also to support the benevolent activities of some of the European inhabitants of the country and to add their own quota to the remedies required.

In the face of such official liberality and interest it was neither possible nor necessary for the missionaries to embark upon a comparable undertaking. The nature of their work, however, enabled them to make a characteristically individual contribution to the extension of medical facilities in India. The Government's medical services were necessarily limited to official stations and their environs. Vast areas were wholly unaffected by them. Journeying about the country the missionaries were able to take a small amount of Western medical supplies into outlying districts where they had hitherto been unknown and where deeply-rooted prejudices would have prevented the inhabitants from visiting the Government dispensaries even if the latter had been accessible. Slowly, by teaching and by elementary medical treatment, the missionaries broke down the Indians' attachment to traditional and ineffective methods of dealing with sickness, and won their confidence in Western methods. In Bengal the Baptist missionary, Mr Thomas, was instrumental in saving a number of lives by his medical skill, and in consequence his house was constantly surrounded by people afflicted with various illnesses.¹ In the same way, the Rev. Robert Nesbit of the Scottish Missionary Society in the Concan, having cured a man of the effects of snake-bite, found himself possessed of the confidence of sufferers from every kind of disease in that area.² Near Tinnevely even the women of the Christian congregation refused to allow Mrs Winckler, the wife of a C.M.S. missionary, to attend to their sick children until all

¹ B.M.S. MSS. India (Serampore). 'Letters of Carey and others': Letter of William Carey to the Baptist Society, dated Hoogly River, Plassey, 10 January 1799.

² Rev. R. Nesbit, *Memoir of the Rev. Robert Nesbit*, ed. J. M. Mitchell, p. 89. London, 1858.

other means of cure had failed and they were driven to recognize the greater effectiveness of her remedies.¹ Two other missionaries' wives, Mrs Wilson and Mrs Reichardt, were hailed as benefactresses by the Indians wherever they travelled in the vicinity of Calcutta as a result of the medical treatment they were able to give. The government also was so impressed by their work that it granted them an order for medicines from the official dispensary free of charge.²

If such incidental contacts were the missionaries' most characteristic achievements in the medical field they were not the only ones. Although their medical science was generally of an elementary nature, one of the missionaries at least brought to his work a more profound knowledge. Felix Carey, a son of William Carey, won the approval of both the Bengal Government and the Court of Directors by his exertions at Rangoon and at the capital of the kingdom of Ava.³ The first man to introduce vaccination into Burma, he gained the interest of the king of Ava who, at his own expense, sent Carey to Calcutta for a supply of lymph.⁴

Felix Carey was only an isolated case. The other main activities of the missionaries in the cause of medicine lay in a different direction, and were the outcome of their views on education. There was already a medical class at the Madrasa but its teaching was generally known to be out of date. Having its foundations in the imperfect books of Arabian physicians of former ages its results were as bad as might be expected.⁵ Early in the 1820's the Bengal Government undertook to provide education in medicine for Hindus, and founded a medical school at Calcutta to be superintended by a European having a knowledge of at least one Indian language. Surgeon Breton, who became its first superintendent, added to the efficiency of the school by publishing a number of medical treatises in Hindustani, and the Government was highly satisfied with the progress of the students.⁶ Although the school aimed at giving

¹ M.R. 1831, p. 240.

² M.R. 1827, p. 598.

³ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 74, fos. 361-3.

⁴ J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, vol. II, p. 54. London, 1859.

⁵ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Despatches', vol. 120, fo. 580.

⁶ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 116: Letter in the Military Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 21 November 1831, para. 14.

instruction on European lines it was far from perfect. The Serampore Baptists pointed out that Western medical science could only be satisfactorily taught in the languages in which books were immediately available in large numbers, namely, in one of the languages of western Europe. English was the obvious choice. It was with this idea that they gained the support of the Government for their project of setting up a European professorship of medicine at the Serampore College in 1822.¹ The plan did not materialize in exactly this form, but the missionaries continued to emphasize the importance of teaching medicine in the English language, and when Lord Bentinck instituted inquiries into the possibility of creating a medical profession in India backed by modern science their insistence bore fruit. The great obstacle to the scheme was the prohibition, real or supposed, of the Hindu *Sastras* against touching a dead body for anatomical purposes. It was confidently held by Orientalists that dissection would never be practised by Hindus and that it was useless to contemplate it. The commission of inquiry visited the college of Alexander Duff whose firm support of European instruction has already been noted. The students of the college said they had so far acquired a new outlook as a result of their European studies that they regarded the prohibition of the *Sastras* with indifference. Duff himself reiterated the opinion that Indian students could learn all that Europeans could learn, but only through the medium of English. Whatever might be said for teaching the humanities through the classical Indian tongues, he argued, there were clearly no grounds for teaching science through those languages.² With this authority to fortify the results of his other inquiries, Bentinck replaced the medical school by the Medical College of Calcutta, where instruction was to be entirely Westernized.

Not very widely separated from their medical work were the missionaries' activities on behalf of the poor, for many of whom poverty was the result of some physical disability. The problem created by the vast number of beggars in India was virtually insoluble, and when the system of outdoor relief was still in-

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 89: Letter in the Public Dept. to the Court of Directors, dated 1 January 1823, paras. 97-8.

² W. Paton, *Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education*, pp. 99-100. London, 1923.

effectively employed in England it was unlikely that the Presidency Governments in India would evolve the sovereign remedy. Except in the Presidencies themselves, moreover, scarcely a charitable establishment existed in 1805 to cater for the needs of the poor or of widows and orphans.¹ Individual Europeans showed their customary readiness to subscribe to any deserving scheme which might be put forward, but they did not take the initiative. Characteristically, it was left to others to turn to good account the generous bequest of Rs. 150,000 made by General Claude Martin in 1800 for the benefit of the poor of Calcutta.²

The missionaries with their limited numbers and meagre finances could not introduce a widespread scheme of relief however stirred they might be by the sufferings of the poor. Instead, they adopted the methods which proved so efficacious in other branches of their activities. They dealt with the problem in their immediate vicinity, employed the means at their disposal which they felt would prove most effective in any particular circumstances, and thereby provided varied examples which might be followed by others when the opportunity arose. At Belgaum and Chunar almshouses were opened by the L.M.S. and C.M.S. respectively, the latter institution being built at the expense of the Government.³ The same two Societies also made a weekly distribution of food to the poor in the neighbourhood of their stations at Tinnevely, Tellicherry and Surat.⁴ At Serampore the Baptists distributed money to the lame and the blind.⁵

These efforts could bring help to only a minute fraction of India's poor, but they brought some alleviation to the sufferings of many who would otherwise have been destitute and greatly curtailed mendicity in the districts where the missionaries were at work.⁶ They also disproved the theory that charity would only act as an encouragement to idleness, since many people

¹ L.M.S. MSS. 'South India: General', box 1, 1796-1812, folder 1, jacket B: Letter of Dr C. S. John to Joseph Hardcastle, dated Tranquebar, 1 February 1805.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Home Miscellaneous Series', vol. 488, fo. 165.

³ M.R. 1827, pp. 88 and 488.

⁴ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, fos. 265; 291-3; and L.M.S. MSS. 'North India: Gujerati', box 1, 1817-38, folder 3, jacket B: Account of Gospel Work by Alexander Fyvie, dated Surat, 25 June 1830.

⁵ Periodical Accounts, vol. 2, no. XIII, p. 446.

⁶ M.R. 1827, p. 88.

who received relief while suffering from some temporary infirmity gladly relinquished their claims upon the fund and returned to work on recovering their health.¹

The development of a country-wide scheme to deal with the problem of extreme poverty was the only perfect solution, but it was beyond the capacity of the Presidency Governments to administer it. Some form of action was vitally necessary, and the missionaries, with their combined qualities of independence and organization, were able to act when the Government or private individuals could not. Typical of the originality of the schemes which the missionaries evolved was the establishment of a savings bank at Serampore in an attempt to counteract improvidence among the Indians. The plan received widespread approval and deposits in the first twelve months amounted to £5000. After four years the labour of managing the bank was found to be too great for the missionaries and all the money was returned. The idea was not wasted, however, for some years later it was taken up by Lord William Bentinck and a government savings bank was established.²

While medical work has by long association come to be regarded as a normal function of missionary societies, it is perhaps surprising that they should have interested themselves in agricultural and horticultural developments. Yet, insisting that the amelioration of the whole condition of life of the Indian people was inseparable from the main object of conversion to Christianity, the missionaries made a number of important contributions to Indian farming.

The elder Charles Grant was among the first to make a clear exposition of the urgent need for improvement. In his *Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* compiled towards the end of the eighteenth century, he insisted that if the problem was properly handled Bengal might become an extremely wealthy province. It would require a people intelligent in the principles of agriculture, he said, skilled at making the most of soils and seasons and at improving the existing methods of cultivation, pasturage, cattle-rearing and defence against flood or drought. The farmers of Bengal lacked

¹ C.M.S. MSS. 'South India Mission', vol. 1, fo. 293.

² M.R. 1822, p. 67; and J. C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, vol. II, p. 225. London, 1859.

those qualities, and instead of making any attempt at improvement believed themselves destined to their sufferings.¹ Various inquiries instituted by the East India Company revealed the fact that conditions were similar throughout the Company's territories, but largely for financial reasons no large-scale plans were produced for dealing with the matter.

In spite of their limited resources the missionaries felt themselves bound to take action because they saw that agricultural development formed part of their whole project of infusing new life into the country through Christian teaching and Western learning. In enunciating that policy and in putting it into practice the versatile and wholly indefatigable William Carey was once more pre-eminent. In 1798, after less than four years' residence in India, he began to compile a classified natural history of Bengal.² His additions to and comments upon the official catalogue of plants in the Company's botanical garden in Calcutta are still to be seen among the archives of the Baptist Mission Society,³ and he later edited the *Flora Indica* of Roxburgh which was published at Serampore in 1832.⁴ In 1831 he delivered a course of lectures at Serampore College in which he gave a detailed description of English farming, and demonstrated the contribution it might make to the improvement of agriculture in Bengal.⁵ Realizing too the need for the missionaries themselves to give a lead, he urged that preference should be shown in choosing future missionaries to men who, apart from their other qualifications, had had experience of farming or gardening.⁶ Setting the example, he wrote home as soon as he was established in India asking for various garden tools and a yearly assortment of seeds.⁷ It is interesting to note that it was three years before the Government in Bengal was aroused to a

¹ P.P. 1812-13, vol. 10.

² B.M.S. MSS. India (Serampore). 'Letters of Carey and Others': Letter of William Carey to Mr Sutcliffe, dated Madnabatty, 16 January 1798.

³ B.M.S. MSS. 'Hortus Bengalensis, or a Catalogue of the Plants growing in the Honourable East India Company's Garden at Calcutta', by W. Roxburgh. Serampore, 1814. With MS. additions by W. Carey.

⁴ E. Carey, *Memoir of William Carey*, p. 579.

⁵ *Eleventh Report relative to Serampore College, for the Year ending 31 December 1831*. Serampore, 1832.

⁶ B.M.S. MSS. India (Serampore). 'Letters of Carey and others': Letter of William Carey to A. Fuller, dated Madnabatty, 16 November 1796.

⁷ E. Carey, *Memoir of William Carey*, p. 191.

realization of the value of such a plan, and then only by chance. Mr Mallet, a servant of the East India Company who had studied agriculture in England and had brought to India various agricultural implements and European grass seed, wished to recover the capital he had expended. He therefore offered both his purchases and his services to the Government, and they were accepted with a view to using any crops which might be produced as fodder for the Company's stud at Tirhut.¹

Carey, meanwhile, had a wider objective and in time devised a plan which would give unity to all attempts at agricultural improvement. He saw that sporadic inquiries and purely local action could supply no satisfactory solution to the general state of agriculture. A permanent organization was needed, having correspondence with Europe in order to keep in touch with the newest developments there and also with Englishmen and Indians in all parts of India. He realized, further, that the success of such a project required the complete co-operation of the Indian leaders. It must not be merely a government department. The Government itself had established a botanical garden at Calcutta which had achieved some success in extending botanical knowledge. But in 1829 it was freely admitted that it had done little to promote the agricultural and commercial interests of the country. The Civil Finance Committee which conducted the inquiry resulting in this report confirmed the missionaries' view that the limited effectiveness of the Government's venture was due to the extremely primitive and correspondingly unco-operative state of Indian society.²

In the first planned attempt to surmount these obstacles, Carey issued a prospectus for the formation of an Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India on 15 April 1820. He had already gained the support of Lady Hastings to whom he had outlined his plan.³ In Europe, Carey pointed out, agriculture had profited greatly from the work of similar associations which had frequently been able to overcome traditional prejudices and to ensure a fuller use of scientific discoveries. An Agri-

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Letters Received', vol. 37: Letter in the Military Dept. from the Governor-General in Council, dated 28 August 1797, para. 190.

² P.P. 1831-2, vol. ix, p. 327: Extract; letter from the Civil Finance Committee to the Governor-General in Council, dated 1 October 1829.

³ E. Carey, *Memoir of William Carey*, p. 544.

cultural Society of India was particularly necessary in view of the backward state of cultivation. Its object would not be the increase of the Government's revenue, but the promotion of the people's welfare. It must arouse the Indian landowners to an appreciation of their responsibility towards their tenants and of the possibilities which their land offered if properly cultivated, and it must dispel the torpor and prejudices of the peasantry. These two aims were closely linked, for if the land produced its full quota of crops the necessity for rack-renting would disappear, and with it the debilitating effect which it had upon the zeal of the labouring classes. The reward of the Europeans who assisted in promoting these ends would not be a financial one, but would consist in the satisfaction of witnessing the improvement of the country, and the increasing respectability and happiness of its inhabitants.¹

It would seem improbable that the plan was likely to endear itself either to the Bengal Government or to Indian landowners for such disinterested motives, and it tended to take an ideal view of the reactions of the peasantry. At the same time it held out a prospect of considerable material advantages. The prospectus itself, outlining a scheme to institute inquiries throughout India, to encourage new systems of drainage, of rotation of crops and of manuring, to undertake experiments with new crops and new fruit trees, to introduce European implements, to recover tracts of waste land, marshes and jungle, and to publish periodical accounts of the work, displayed a breadth of vision and a systematic approach to the problem which promised success. At a meeting held on 14 September 1820 several Indians as well as a large number of the leading Europeans resident in Calcutta were present and expressed their desire to participate in the work. In these auspicious circumstances the Society was formed. It was decided that the Vice-President and one of the Secretaries must be an Indian, and as an earnest of the Society's good intentions it was agreed that it should meet regularly once every three months.² Lord Hastings gave his support at once and became Patron of the Society as a

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Revenue Consultations', 9-23 November 1821; Prospectus of an Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India, 9 November 1821.

² C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Revenue Consultations', 9-23 November 1821; Entry no. 2, for 9 November.

tribute to its founders. Although he felt that the approval of the Government would be of inestimable value to the Society he did not consider it necessary to involve the former in any serious expense. With these sentiments the Court of Directors was in full agreement.¹

A cautious financial policy was typical of the East India Company's officials both in England and in India throughout this period, and resulted in retrenchment rather than development even in so important a matter as India's main source of income. It was left therefore to private individuals to encourage and initiate schemes for agricultural improvement. While the Government curtailed the expenses of the botanical gardens in Calcutta and abolished the offices of Botanist and Naturalist at Madras, Dr Koenig, the famous naturalist of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, kept a nursery of the most useful trees and plants in the mission garden, and made them available for Europeans and Indians living in the surrounding district.² It was William Carey's work in his own botanical garden at Serampore also which provided the genesis of his plan for an Agricultural and Horticultural Society. Once again the catholicity of the missionaries' activities supplied an example for future developments.

¹ C.R.O. MSS. 'Bengal Revenue Consultations', 9-23 November 1821: Entry no. 1, for 9 November, and Bengal Despatches, vol. 97, fos. 872-3.

² S.P.G. MSS. 'C. India', II. 2, no. 35: Copy of a letter of Dr C. S. John and the Rev. J. P. Rottler to Lord William Bentinck, dated Vepery, near Madras, 16 October 1806.

EPILOGUE

By 1833 the missionaries had established their position as essential contributors to the development of India. Now that they could enter the country without a licence from the East India Company their activities expanded steadily. Conversions came very largely from among the pariahs and lowest castes, but the effects of the missionaries' work were felt among the higher castes in various ways, particularly in the field of social development.

Yet the achievements of the earlier missionaries between 1793 and 1833 remain the most striking of all, because missionaries are pioneers by temperament, and their genius is most evident before others have decided to participate in their work. Compared with the reluctant and tardy acceptance by the East India Company of the responsibilities to which it had inadvertently become heir, the creative schemes of William Carey or Claudius Buchanan, or of others whose names are less famous, stand out in their bold originality.

The missionaries, though an external force, provided an impulse towards social reform in India similar in many respects to that supplied by individual Englishmen and by voluntary societies in England in the early nineteenth century. In the latter country it became ultimately necessary for the Government not only to take cognizance of the new movements but also to intervene in them and to take the greater burden of responsibility for their further development. So too in India, the British authorities gradually came to participate more extensively in social reform, and, as in England, in part absorbed the work of the pioneers in their wider plan. The Christian flavour which the missionaries had infused into all their activities still remained, however, to impart a vital spirit of individuality when the characteristics of the pioneer and the missionary became necessarily less pronounced than those of the administrator and the pastor.

The increasingly important part played by the Indians themselves in the new reforming movements also meant that the

EPILOGUE

exclusive reliance upon external influences which characterized the pioneer stage of development were steadily replaced by an intermixture of indigenous ideas with foreign theories and methods. Then, it was possible for the missionaries to make fuller use of their position, midway between the Government and its Indian subjects, to foster the most valuable features of Indian civilization and to mingle them judiciously with their Christian teaching. This tendency became an increasingly important factor in all branches of the missionaries' work, and was, indeed, essential to the mature development of the missionaries' plans for evangelization and reform.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL
1793-1833

SIR JOHN SHORE, 1793-1798

MARQUESS WELLESLEY, 1798-1805

EARL CORNWALLIS, 1805

SIR GEORGE BARLOW, 1805-1807

LORD MINTO, 1807-1813

LORD MOIRA (Marquess of Hastings), 1813-1823

JOHN ADAM, 1823

LORD AMHERST, 1823-1828

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, 1828-1835

APPENDIX B

LIST OF THE PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AT WORK IN INDIA

1793-1833

A number of missionaries were successively engaged by more than one Society. This is indicated as follows:

- b* see also Baptist Missionary Society.
c „ Church Missionary Society.
d „ Royal Danish (Lutheran) Mission.
k „ Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
l „ London Missionary Society.
n „ Netherlands Missionary Society.
p „ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

	Area of activity	Date of arrival	Date of departure or death (d.)
ROYAL DANISH (LUTHERAN) MISSION:			
<i>k</i> J. P. Rottler	South	1778	1817
A. F. Caemerrer	South	1788	— *
C. S. John	South	—	d. 1813

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE:

	Christian Frederick Schwartz	South	1750	d. 1798
	Christian Pohle	South	1778	d. 1818
<i>p</i>	John Caspar Kohlhoff	South	1788	1826
<i>d</i>	C. W. Gericke	South	1788	d. 1803
	J. D. Jaenicke	South	1788	d. 1800
	C. H. Horst	South	1792	d. 1810
<i>l</i>	W. T. Ringeltaube	North	1797	1799
<i>l</i>	W. T. Ringeltaube	South	1806	1807
	Holzberg	South	1797	d. 1824
<i>p</i>	H. D. Schreyvogel	South	1803	1826
	C. W. Paezold	South	1804	d. 1817
	C. A. Jacobi	South	1813	d. 1814
<i>p, d</i>	J. P. Rottler	South	1817	1826
<i>p</i>	L. P. Haubroe	South	1819	1826

* A dash in the last column implies that the missionary was still active in 1833.

REFORMERS IN INDIA

	Area of activity	Date of arrival	Date of departure or death (d.)
J. G. P. Sperchneider	South	1819	1826
p D. Rosen	South	1819	1826
Ernest A. G. Falke	South	1822	d. 1824

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY:

William Carey	North	1793	—
John Thomas	North	1793	d. 1801
John Fountain	North	1796	d. 1800
William Grant	North	1799	d. 1799
Daniel Brunsdon	North	1799	d. 1801
William Ward	North	1799	d. 1823
Joshua Marshman	North	1799	—
Felix Carey	North	1800	1807
John Chamberlain	North	1803	d. 1821
Joshua Rowe	North	1805	d. 1823
John Biss	North	1805	d. 1806
William Moore	North	1805	—
Richard Mardon	North	1805	d. 1812
J. Chater	North	1806	1811
W. Robinson	North	1806	1812
Ignatius Fernandez	North	1806	—
William Carey (Junior)	North	1808	—
Carapeit Aratoon	North	1809	—
John Peter	North	1809	1821
William Johns	North	1809	1813
—Cornish	North	1810	1812
H. Peacock	North	1810	d. 1821
John Lawson	North	1810	d. 1825
J. T. Thompson	North	1810	—
William Thomas	North	1811	1828
D. Da Cruz	North	1811	1826
De Bruyn	North	1812	d. 1817
L. Mackintosh	North	1812	—
N. Kerr	North	1812	1816
W. Smith	North	1813	—
W. Yates	North	1814	1827
Da Silva	North	1815	1819
Eustace Carey	North	1816	1824
J. Randall	North	1816	d. 1819
James Penney	North	1816	—
W. H. Pearce	North	1817	—
Stephen Sutton	North	1817	1823
William Adam	North	1817	1821
Jabez Carey	North	1819	—

APPENDIX B

	Area of activity	Date of arrival	Date of departure or death (d.)
Owen Leonard	North	1819	—
John Johannes (schoolmaster)	North	1821	—
John Mack (professor)	North	1821	—
John Harle	North	1821	d. 1822
John Stratham	North	1822	1827
R. Richards	North	1822	—
—Hampton	North	1822	1825
J. Williamson	North	1823	—
J. C. Fink	North	1823	—
Andrew Leslie	North	1824	—
John Marshman	North	1824	—
—Albrecht	North	1824	d. 1825
Thomas Swan	North	1825	1828
William Kirkpatrick	North	1825	—
W. Robinson	North	1826	—
Richard Burton	North	1826	d. 1828
— Fenwick	North	1826	1827
James Thomas	North	1826	—
G. Pearce	North	1826	—
W. Buckingham	North	1827	—
James Rae	North	1829	—
J. D. Ellis	North	1831	—
John Lawrence	North	1831	—
Henry Beddy	North	1832	—
— de Monte	North	1833	—
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY			
Nathaniel Forsyth	North	1798	d. 1816
George Cran	South	1804	d. 1809
Augustus des Granges	South	1804	d. 1810
k William Tobias Ringeltaube	South	1804	1806
k William Tobias Ringeltaube	South	1807	1816
William Charles Loveless	South	1805	1824
John Taylor	South	1805	1806
William Lee	South	1809	1817
John Gordon	South	1810	d. 1828
John Hands	South	1810	—
Edward Pritchett	South	1811	d. 1820
John Thompson	South	1812	d. 1812
Robert May	North	1812	d. 1818
James Dawson	South	1815	d. 1832
Joseph Taylor	South	1815	—
William Fyvie	West	1815	—
James Skinner	West	1815	d. 1821

REFORMERS IN INDIA

	Area of activity	Date of arrival	Date of departure or death (d.)
James Keith	North	1816	d. 1822
Henry Townley	North	1816	1822
Richard Knill	South	1816	1819
Charles Mead	South	1816	—
William Reeve	South	1816	—
Samuel Render	South	1816	1818
John David Pearson	North	1817	d. 1831
b John Harle	North	1817	1821
John Donaldson	West	1817	d. 1818
Robert Fleming	South	1818	1819
John Hampson	North	1819	d. 1820
Samuel Trawin	North	1819	d. 1827
Thomas Nicholson	South	1819	d. 1822
Cornelius Traveller	South	1819	1823
George Harvey Ashton	South	1819	—
Charles Mault	South	1819	—
John Smith	South	1820	1824
Andrew Forbes	South	1820	1821
Stephen Laidler	South	1820	1827
Matthew Thomson Adam	North	1820	1830
George Mundy	North	1820	—
Edward Ray	North	1820	1831
William Hugh Bankhead	North	1821	d. 1822
Hiram Chambers	South	1821	d. 1826
William Howell	South	1821	—
Alexander Fyvie	West	1822	—
Edmund Crisp	South	1822	—
Thomas Brown (printer)	North	1822	d. 1822
James Hill	North	1822	1833
Micaiah Hill	North	1822	—
Joseph Bradley Warden	North	1822	d. 1826
James William Massie	South	1823	1827
John Emanuel Nimmo	South	1823	—
William Crow	South	1823	1825
William Campbell	South	1824	—
William Taylor	South	1824	—
George Walton	South	1824	—
John Edmonds	North	1824	1826
Charles Piffard	North	1825	—
William Beynon	South	1825	—
Thomas Salmon	West	1825	1833
Adam Lillie	South	1826	1827
Bennington Haill Paine (printer)	South	1826	—
James Robertson	North	1826	d. 1833

APPENDIX B

	Area of activity	Date of arrival	Date of departure or death (d.)
<i>n</i> Alphonse François Lacroix	North	1827	—
William Bawn Addis	South	1827	—
William Miller	South	1827	—
James Charles Thompson	South	1827	—
Henry Crisp	South	1827	d. 1831
Robert Jennings	South	1827	d. 1831
John Smith	South	1828	—
John Adam	North	1828	d. 1831
George Christie	North	1830	1832
Thomas Kilpin Higgs	North	1830	d. 1832
John Reid	South	1830	—
William Buyers	North	1831	—
William Harris	South	1831	1832
Orlando Thomas Dobbin	North	1832	1832
James Paterson	North	1832	—
John Bilderbeck	South	1832	—
William Hayles Drew	South	1832	—
Charles Miller	South	1833	—
John Campbell	North	1833	—
Robert Cotton Mather	North	1833	—
John Adam Shurman	North	1833	—

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS:

Samuel Nott	West	1812	1815
Samuel Newell	West	1812	d. 1821
Gordon Hall	West	1812	d. 1826
Horatio Bardwell	West	1816	1821
John Nicholls	West	1818	d. 1824
Allen Graves	West	1818	—
James Garrett (printer)	West	1821	—
Edmund Frost	West	1823	d. 1825
Cyrus Stone	West	1827	—
David Olliver Allen	West	1827	—

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY:

John Christian Schnarre	South	1814	d. 1820
Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius	South	1814	—
Christopher Gottbold Schroeter	North	1815	d. 1820
William Greenwood	North	1815	1828
Thomas Norton	South	1815	—
Benjamin Bailey	South	1816	—
Thomas Dawson	South	1816	1818
Deocar Schmid	North	1817	1820
L. Bernhard E. Schmid	South	1817	—

REFORMERS IN INDIA

	Area of activity	Date of arrival	Date of departure or death (d.)
John Adlington	North	1817	1828
Henry Baker	South	1818	—
George Theophilus Barenbruck	South	1818	1831
Joseph Fenn	South	1818	1826
John Andrew Jetter	North	1819	1824
William James Deerr	North	1819	—
Thomas Morris	North	1820	1829
Benedict La Roche	North	1820	1821
John Perowne	North	1820	1827
James Ridsdale	South	1820	d. 1831
Richard Kenney	West	1820	1826
William Bowley	North	1820	—
Isaac Wilson	South and North	1820	d. 1828
Joseph Bailey	South	1820	1823
Abdul Messih	North	1820	d. 1827
William Sawyer	South	1822	1829
Jacob Maisch	North	1822	d. 1825
Theophilus Reichardt	North	1822	—
Michael Wilkinson	North	1823	—
Joseph Beddy	South	1824	1825
Samuel Ridsdale	South	1824	—
John William Doran	South	1825	1830
W. Mitchell	West	1826	—
John Steward	West	1826	1828
n John Kindlinger	South	1827	d. 1829
n John Winckler	South	1827	—
Paul Pacifique Schaffter	South	1827	—
John Latham	North	1827	1830
Charles Friend	North	1828	d. 1828
Ralph Eteson	North	1828	1831
James Morewood	South	1829	—
Charles Pinhorn Farrer	West	1829	—
John B. Dixon	West	1829	—
Timothy Sandys	North	1830	—
Charles Blackman	South	1830	—
Joseph Marsh	South	1830	d. 1831
Stephen Lema	South	1830	—
William Smith	North	1830	—
John Devasagayam	South	1830	—
John Weitbrecht	North	1830	—
James Thompson	North	1830	—
Edward Dene	South	1830	—
Peter Fjellstedt	South	1831	—

APPENDIX B

	Area of activity	Date of arrival	Date of departure or death (d.)
Henry Christian Kruckeberg	North	1831	—
John James Muller	South	1831	—
William Morse	North	1832	—
John Haberlin	North	1832	—
Charles Gottlob Knorpp	North	1832	—
Benjamin Charles Leupolt	North	1832	—
John Lincke	North	1832	—
Joseph Peet	South	1833	—
George Pettitt	South	1833	—
John Tucker	South	1833	—
Henry Snashall	South	1833	—
WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY:			
John Horner	West	1816	1822
James Lynch	South	1816	1824
Titus Close	South	1818	1823
Joseph Fletcher	West	1819	1822
Elijah Hoole	South	1820	1828
T. H. Squance	South	1820	1822
James Mowatt	South	1820	—
John Katts	South	1822	1826
Abraham Stead	South	1823	1824
John F. England	South	1824	1825
John F. England	South	1827	—
Robert Carver	South	1825	—
T. J. Williamson	South	1825	d. 1827
Alfred Bourne	South	1827	—
José J. Martens	South	1827	—
S. Hardey	South	1828	—
T. Cryer	South	1829	—
NETHERLANDS MISSIONARY SOCIETY:			
<i>c</i> John Kindlinger	South	1821	1827
<i>l</i> A. F. Lacroix	North	1821	1827
<i>c</i> J. C. Winckler	South	1823	1827
<i>p</i> John Lewis Irion	South	1823	1827
JEWS SOCIETY:			
Michael Sargon	South	1821	—
GENERAL BAPTIST MISSION:			
W. Bampton	North	1822	d. 1830
J. Peggs	North	1822	1825
C. Lacey	North	1823	—

REFORMERS IN INDIA

	Area of activity	Date of arrival	Date of departure or death (d.)
A. Sutton	North	1825	—
J. Cropper	North	1828	d. 1828
W. Brown	North	1830	—
J. Goadby	North	1833	—
SCOTTISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY:			
Donald Mitchell	West	1823	d. 1823
James Mitchell	West	1823	—
Alexander Crawford	West	1823	—
John Cooper	West	1823	—
John Stevenson	West	1824	—
Robert Nesbit	West	1827	—
John Wilson	West	1829	—
SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL:			
William Hodge Mill	North	1821	—
Thomas Christian	North	1823	d. 1827
William Tweddle	North	1824	d. 1832
William Morton	North	1825	1830
M. G. Sarjant	North	1825	1825
Frederick Holmes	North	1826	—
Matthew Roque de Mello	North	1826	—
Charles Craven	North	1826	1827
<i>k</i> H. Daniel Schreyvogel	South	1826	—
<i>k</i> L. P. Haubroe	South	1826	—
<i>k</i> J. C. Kohlhoff	South	1826	—
<i>dk</i> J. P. Rottler	South	1826	—
<i>k</i> D. Rosen	South	1826	d. 1830
William Birrell	North	1827	1828
<i>n</i> J. L. Irion	South	1828	—
Peter M. D. Wissing	South	1828	1831
John Heavyside	South	1830	1831
George Dunbar Haughton	North	1830	1831
E. J. Jones	North	1833	—
James Bowyer	North	1833	—
Daniel Jones	North	1833	—
Joseph James Carshore	North	1833	—
Charles Calthorp	South	1833	—
ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND:			
Alexander Duff	North	1830	—

APPENDIX C

MAP INDEX

The map has been compiled from both manuscript and published sources of an extremely varied character, as no one source either in the form of a map or of a printed list of mission stations gives more than a fraction of the details incorporated here. The volumes of the *Missionary Register* for the years 1813-33 probably contain the most information, but it must be sifted from a mass of other missionary intelligence. Since the *Register* was published in England, however, its contents were frequently based upon inadequate or confused reports, and inaccuracies were numerous, particularly with regard to dates. Many other sources contain the same fault, and often quote the date when the establishment of a station was first contemplated rather than the actual date of its founding. It is believed, however, that these errors have been avoided in the accompanying list largely as a result of reference to manuscript records. The list now sets out the dates at which the stations were founded together with the names of the societies which founded them. If a station was closed during the period covered by this book the latter date is also recorded.

In compiling the map it was intended to show only those stations which were effectively occupied but it was difficult to find a definition of effective occupation. All stations at which a missionary was resident, even if for barely a year, are included. Other stations which were founded by missionaries who left them in charge of trained Indian converts when the initial work was over, and returned from time to time to supervise the activities in progress, are also included. So, too, are those stations founded by an Indian Christian sent out by one or other of the missionary societies and later supported by visits from European missionaries. Out-stations where regular supervision was possible are also marked on the map but the rest are omitted. It is fair to assume that the effects of missionary activity were felt for a radius of several miles round the mission stations.

In 1793 the missionaries were stationed almost entirely in the south or along the coasts of the peninsula. During the twenty years which followed, the greatest changes were the opening of stations in Bengal by the Baptists and the reinforcement of missionary activity in southern India by the arrival of representatives of the London Missionary Society. The increase in the number of stations was not

REFORMERS IN INDIA

very large, however. The renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813 brought with it a reduction of the restrictions upon the free entry of missionaries into India, and from that year the extension of missionary activity was much greater.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE MAP INDEX

A.B.M.	American Board of Missions.
B.M.S.	Baptist Mission Society.
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society.
E.C.S.M.	Established Church of Scotland Mission.
G.B.M.	General Baptist Mission.
J.S.	London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society.
N.M.S.	Netherlands Missionary Society.
R.C.	Roman Catholic Missions.
R.D.M.	Royal Danish (Lutheran) Mission.
S.M.S.	Scottish Missionary Society.
S.P.C.K.	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
W.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

Agra	R.C. 1595-1803; B.M.S. 1811-16; C.M.S. 1813.
Ahmadabad	S.P.G. 1830-31.
Ajmer	B.M.S. 1819.
Akyab	B.M.S. 1826.
Allahabad	B.M.S. 1814.
Allepey	C.M.S. 1816.
Balasore	B.M.S. 1810-17; G.B.M. 1827.
Bandra	C.M.S. 1828.
Bangalore	L.M.S. 1820; W.M.S. 1821-23, 1826.
Bankot	S.M.S. 1823.
Bareilly	C.M.S. 1818-24; 1828.
Barisal	B.M.S. 1829.
Belgaum	L.M.S. 1820.
Bellary	L.M.S. 1810.
Benares	B.M.S. 1817; C.M.S. 1817; L.M.S. 1820.
Berhampore	B.M.S. 1814-23; L.M.S. 1824.
Bhagalpur	S.P.G. 1824-27.
Birbhum (Suri)	B.M.S. 1819-20; 1822.
Bombay	R.C. 1534; B.M.S. 1812 only; A.B.M. 1813; W.M.S. 1816-22; C.M.S. 1820; S.M.S. 1823.
Burdwan	C.M.S. 1817.
Calcutta	B.M.S. 1801; S.P.C.K. 1814; C.M.S. 1816; L.M.S. 1817; S.P.G. 1820; E.C.S.M. 1830; W.M.S. 1830.
Calicut	R.C. 1500.
Cannanore	R.C. 1534; C.M.S. 1817-24.

APPENDIX C

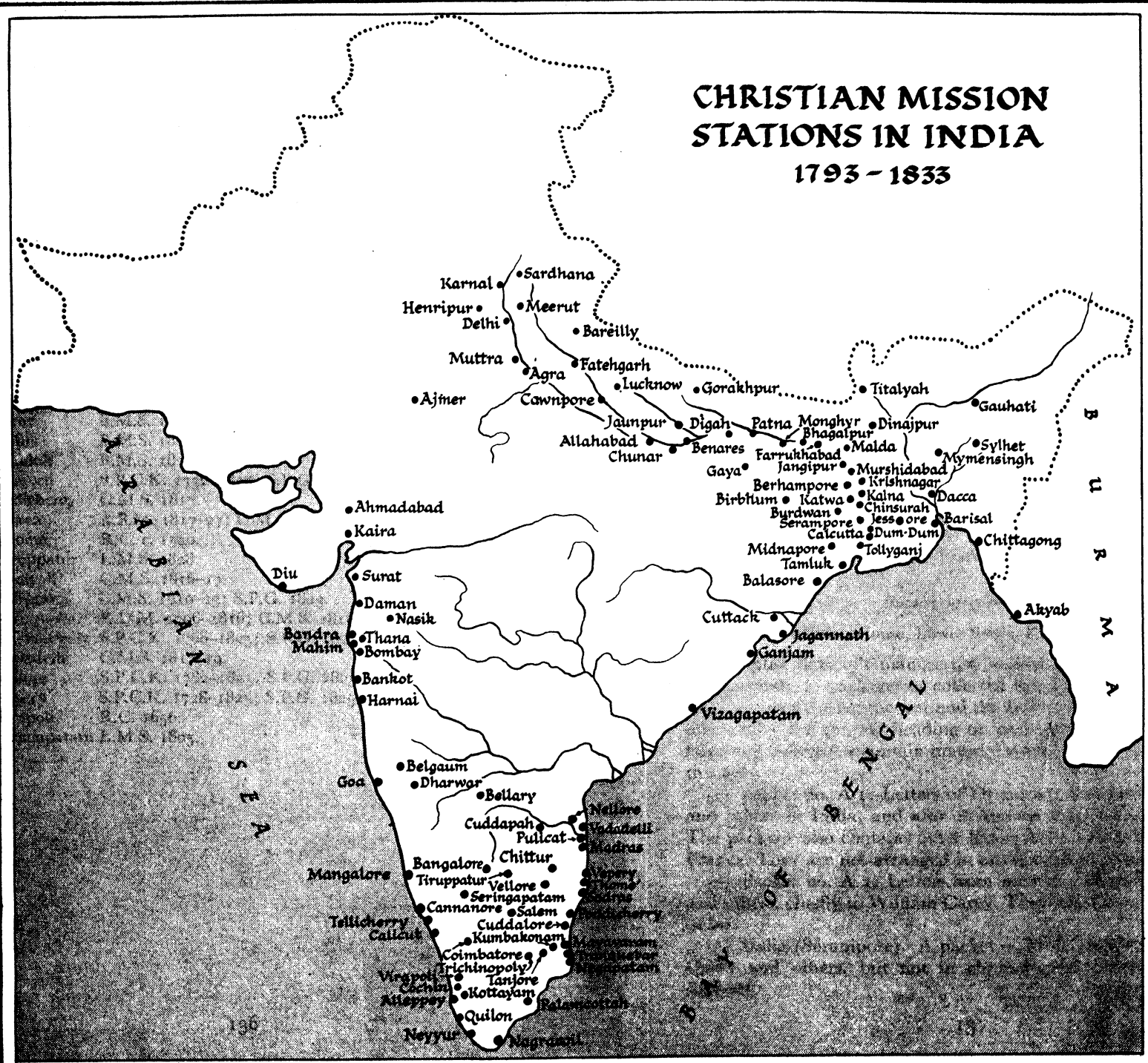
Cawnpore	B.M.S. 1819; S.P.G. 1833.
Chinsurah	L.M.S. 1798; N.M.S. 1821-26; S.P.G. 1826.
Chittagong	B.M.S. 1812.
Chittur	L.M.S. 1826.
Chunar	C.M.S. 1814.
Cochin	R.C. 1534; C.M.S. 1817; J.S. 1821.
Coimbatore	L.M.S. 1831.
Cuddalore	S.P.C.K. 1737-1825; S.P.G. 1825.
Cuddapah	L.M.S. 1822.
Cuttack	G.B.M. 1822.
Dacca	B.M.S. 1817.
Daman	R.C. 1534.
Delhi	B.M.S. 1817; C.M.S. 1825-27.
Dharwar	L.M.S. 1830.
Digah	B.M.S. 1811.
Dinajpur	B.M.S. 1804.
Diu	R.C. 1534.
Dum Dum	B.M.S. 1816.
Farrukhabad	B.M.S. 1823 only.
Fatchgarh	B.M.S. 1821-27.
Ganjam	L.M.S. 1813-17.
Gauhati	B.M.S. 1829.
Gaya	B.M.S. 1815-22.
Goa	R.C. 1510.
Gorakhpur	C.M.S. 1824.
Harnai	S.M.S. 1824.
Henripur	C.M.S. 1821-25.
Jagannath	G.B.M. 1824.
Jangipur	B.M.S. 1823 only.
Jaunpur	C.M.S. 1831.
Jessore	B.M.S. 1807.
Kaira	L.M.S. 1830-32.
Kalna	C.M.S. 1825-31.
Karnal	C.M.S. 1827.
Katwa	B.M.S. 1804.
Kottayam	C.M.S. 1817.
Krishnagar	C.M.S. 1831.
Kumbakonam	L.M.S. 1825.
Lucknow	C.M.S. 1825-27.
Madras	L.M.S. 1805; C.M.S. 1815; W.M.S. 1817.
Mahim	A.B.M. 1818-28.
Malda	B.M.S. 1794-99; 1808-13; 1813-22.
Mangalore	R.C. 1670.
Mayavaram	C.M.S. 1825.
Meerut	C.M.S. 1815.
Midnapore	B.M.S. 1818-24.
Monghyr	B.M.S. 1816.
Murshidabad	B.M.S. 1816-23.

REFORMERS IN INDIA

Muttra	B.M.S. 1837.
Mymensingh	B.M.S. 1823 only.
Nagracoil	L.M.S. 1805.
Nasik	C.M.S. 1833.
Negapatam	S.P.C.K. 1785-1802; W.M.S. 1821; S.P.G. 1833.
Nellore	C.M.S. 1824-25.
Neyyur	L.M.S. 1827.
Palamcottah	S.P.C.K. 1778-1825; C.M.S. 1820; S.P.G. 1825.
Patna	R.C. 1706; B.M.S. 1812-17.
Pondicherry	R.C. 1664.
Pulicat	N.M.S. 1821-27; C.M.S. 1827.
Quilon	L.M.S. 1821.
Sadras	N.M.S. 1823-27.
St Thomé	R.C. c. 1540.
Salem	L.M.S. 1827.
Sardhana	B.M.S. 1813-14.
Serampore	B.M.S. 1799.
Seringapatam	L.M.S. 1824; W.M.S. 1826.
Surat	B.M.S. 1813-19; L.M.S. 1815.
Sylhet	B.M.S. 1813-19.
Tamluk	B.M.S. 1820 only.
Tanjore	S.P.C.K. 1732-1825; S.P.G. 1825.
Tellicherry	C.M.S. 1817.
Thana	A.B.M. 1817-27; C.M.S. 1827-28.
Thomé	R.C. c. 1540.
Tiruppatur	L.M.S. 1828.
Titalyah	C.M.S. 1816-17.
Tollyganj	L.M.S. 1819-23; S.P.G. 1823.
Tranquebar	R.D.M. 1706-1816; C.M.S. 1816-25.
Trichinopoly	S.P.C.K. 1766-1825; S.P.G. 1825.
Vadadelli	C.M.S. 1817-19.
Vellore	S.P.C.K. 1782-1825; S.P.G. 1825.
Vepery	S.P.C.K. 1728-1825; S.P.G. 1825.
Virapoli	R.C. 1656.
Vizagapatam	L.M.S. 1805.

CHRISTIAN MISSION STATIONS IN INDIA

1793 - 1833



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UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

S.P.G. House, 15 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W. 1

My sources at the headquarters of the S.P.G. consisted of original letters, both official and private, to and from missionaries of the S.P.C.K., S.P.G., and C.M.S., together with reports of the District Committees of the S.P.G. in India. These are kept in boxes under general headings. Each letter or report is enclosed in a folder giving a brief summary of its subject-matter together with the names of the writer and recipient, and the date. No index has been made, however.

Most useful were the boxes 'C. India', I. 1, I. 5, and I. 6, dealing with the Bengal Presidency, and boxes 'C. India', II. 2, II. 3, II. 4, and II. 5, relating to the Presidency of Fort St George and the South India Mission. The box entitled 'Dio. Madras' is unsorted and contains only a few letters written between 1793 and 1833. The other boxes of sorted correspondence in the two series 'C. India', I and II, and the unsorted box 'Madras', contain nothing which has any bearing on the subject of this book.

Baptist Mission Society

The Mission House, Lower Street, Kettering, Northants

The Baptist Society's manuscripts consist of miscellaneous letters and journals, in packages or collected into volumes. The catalogue was destroyed during the war and the manuscripts are now classified only under the general heading on each package or volume. The following collections contain material which I have incorporated in this book:

(1) Packet no. A 1: Letters of Dr Carey, Marshman and Ward and others in India, and also of Andrew Fuller, Dr Ryland, etc. The package also contains other letters from America, Prussia and France. They are not arranged in any special sequence.

(2) Packet no. A 2: Letters from members of the Carey family and others, chiefly to William Carey. They are not in chronological order.

(3) India (Serampore). A packet of MSS. comprising letters of Carey and others, but not in chronological order as the label suggests.

REFORMERS IN INDIA

(4) Rev. J. Marshman's Correspondence, 1799-1826. Original letters and portions of Marshman's journal assembled in one volume, and for the most part arranged in chronological order. Some of the letters are dated 1827, and some were written by Mrs Hannah Marshman.

(5) MS. duplicates of the letters of Andrew Fuller, Secretary to the B.M.S., written to the Baptist missionaries at Serampore between 25 March 1794 and 11 February 1815. One quarto volume.

(6) MS. duplicates of two letters from Mr Brunsdon and W. Ward to J. Sutcliff and A. Fuller, dated December 1799 and February 1800, and contained in a small notebook.

(7) Letter of W. Ward to Dr Ryland, Secretary to the B.M.S., begun 16 December 1816 and finished 30 April 1817. In notebook form.

(8) MS. journal of William Carey, 13 June 1793 to 2 October 1795.

(9) MS. journal of William Ward, May 1799 to October 1811, 4 vols. From an entry, dated 1850, inside the cover of the first volume there would appear to have been an impression that there were originally five volumes of which the third was missing. The belief still persisted in 1880 and was remarked upon in a letter, written by the then possessor of these volumes, which can be seen along with them. I can find no grounds for this assumption as the entries in the four volumes are continuous. The suggestion contained in the letter that the third volume may have been destroyed at Serampore by J. C. Marshman only adds greater improbability to the idea of its loss.

London Missionary Society

Livingstone House, 42 Broadway, S.W. 1

The sources here consist of many hundreds of original letters, reports and extracts from the journals of individual missionaries or of the District Committees, addressed to each other and to the headquarters of the Society in England. Although they are all written in English these records are divided chiefly in accordance with the prevalent language in each area of missionary activity. There are, therefore, such headings as 'South India: Tamil', or 'North India: Gujerati'. Occasionally the distinction is solely territorial as 'Travancore', or 'North India: United Provinces'. The manuscripts are excellently filed in boxes, folders and jackets, in date sequence. There is a good table of contents with each box, which includes a brief précis of the subject-matter of each manuscript.

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I found the contents of the following boxes extremely useful:

- (1) South India: General. Boxes 1 and 2, 1792-1816.
- (2) South India: Telugu. Box 1, 1817-35.
- (3) South India: Kanarese. Boxes 1-3, 1817-35.
- (4) South India: Tamil. Boxes 1-5, 1817-33.
- (5) Travancore. Boxes 1 and 2, 1817-38.
- (6) India: Bengal. Boxes 1-3, 1800-33.
- (7) North India: Gujerati. Box 1, 1817-38.
- (8) North India: United Provinces, etc., Box 1, 1820-35.

Church Missionary Society

Church Missionary House, Salisbury Square, E.C. 4

(1) North India Letters. Vols. 1 and 2, 1820-42. Original letters from Church Missionary House to the Society's agents in India. They are not indexed.

(2) South India Mission. Vols. 1-10, 1820-33.

(3) North India Mission. Vols. 1-5, 1820-33.

(4) West India Mission. Vol. 1, 1820-34.

These volumes contain MS. copies of correspondence between individual missionaries of the C.M.S. and their Corresponding Committees in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay of the letters and reports of those committees to the headquarters of the Society in England, and of the day-journals of the missionaries themselves. They are particularly valuable in providing a first-hand account of the missionaries' activities, and the sober comments of the corresponding committees satisfactorily balance the more volatile statements of the missionaries. They are not indexed, but appear to be in chronological sequence.

(5) There are also a number of bundles of unsorted and uncatalogued papers, including letters and reports of missionaries from all parts of the world.

Commonwealth Relations Office

(1) Bengal Despatches. Vols. 29-124, 6 July 1795 to 27 December 1833.

(2) India and Bengal Despatches. Vol. 8, 9 March to 29 June 1836.

(3) Madras Despatches. Vols. 19, 20, 23, 24, 27-29, 32, 36, 39, 41, 45, 47, 50, 53, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63-5, 67, 69, 70-2, 75, 76, 79, 81, 83, 84.

(4) Bombay Despatches. Vols. 20, 21, 23, 29, 31, 38, 41-3, 51-6, 60-2, 64.

All these volumes contain correspondence from England to India, and there is an index of subject-matter.

REFORMERS IN INDIA

(5) Bengal Letters Received. Vols. 37, 40, 44, 49-53, 56, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 69, 70, 72-5, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84B, 85-91, 93-6, 98, 99, 103, 104, 110, 112.

These volumes comprise letters of the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors and are not indexed.

(6) Bengal Consultations:

Revenue Consultations, 9-23 November 1821.

Public Consultations, 5-26 March 1813.

Criminal Judicial Consultations, 4 December 1829, Pt. 1.

(7) Court Minutes of the Directors of the East India Company. Vols. 118, 121, 122, 122A, 124, 124A, 125. These are indexed.

(8) Home Miscellaneous Series. Vols. 31, 59, 274, 293, 487-9, 521, 532-41, 690, 723, 726, 737, 790. A heterogeneous series, with a published catalogue.

None of the volumes under headings (1) to (8) above is solely concerned with missionary work, but their perusal is essential to any assessment of the value of missionary achievement. Dealing at great length with the social as well as the political and military administration of the Governments in India, and, in so far as they have any bearing upon government action, with the work of private groups in the social sphere, they provide the setting in which the missionaries worked, and a standard of official and private opinion against which the missionaries' achievements can be contrasted.

Bodleian Library

(1) *Correspondence on Missions in India 1807*. Collected under this title are a number of original letters from Edward Parry, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and Charles Grant, Vice-Chairman, to Robert Dundas, President of the Board of Control. There are also the minutes of Secret Courts of Directors, held in July and August 1808, and the draft of a proposed answer to the secret letter from the Bengal Government, dated 2 November 1807, detailing its proceedings relative to the Protestant missionaries at Serampore. This group of manuscripts presents a detailed defence of the work of missionaries in India, particularly against the charge of being largely responsible for the Vellore mutiny of 1806. It provides, also, an exposition of the cautious policy with respect to reform advocated by the majority of the Directors as opposed to that of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, and of their suspicion of the exciting effects of too open attempts at evangelization. The whole group of MSS. provides a valuable summary of the conflicting attitudes which had been adopted in England towards missionary endeavours by the years 1807-8.

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(2) *Private Journal of William Hodge Mill* (first Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta). The portion relating the experience of Mill during a journey in the Peninsula of India in 1822 contains notes on the state of education in that area, and references to the social customs of its inhabitants.

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