A History of
Christianity in India

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1707–1858

STEPHEN NEILL F.B.A.

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Preface

When, many years ago, my attention was first drawn to the history of Christianity in India, my primary concern was with the south, and with those areas with which I was familiar and in which I had myself worked as a missionary. But I soon came to realise that the story of Christianity in India must be regarded as a unity, including every area from Kerala in the south, the home of the ancient church of the Thomas Christians, as far as Kashmir and the homes of the mountain and forest peoples of the far north-east. With more extensive study, the perspective further enlarged itself, and Christianity in India was seen as a not unimportant part of the gigantic drama of the confrontation between Western and Asian cultures, which had been played out in other ways in China and Japan and other Asian countries. All Western cultures have been deeply influenced by Christian ideas, and these have resulted in convictions – about God and man, about human destiny and human freedom – different from those by which the Asian cultures have been determined. In India the confrontation was particularly intense, because of the length of the period during which East and West were engaged with one another, and because of the fact that so many of the actors on the British scene were themselves devout and fervent Christian believers.

This wider perspective has determined the shape which this volume has taken. It has been necessary to include all forms of Christianity in India – European, Middle Eastern and Indian; to give considerable space to the Indian cultural background and to the growth of European power and influence; to the Indian reaction to what appeared as Christian aggression, and to the growth of Indian churches increasingly independent of their Western origins.

The Indian Church History Association has promised us a six-volume History of Christianity in India, of which Volume II, covering the period 1542–1700, has already appeared. It seems likely that this work, if it is ever completed, will meet our need for a comprehensive survey of Christian missions in India, a subject with which I have not attempted to deal in detail. The two works may prove to be complementary to one another.

It remains for me to thank again the many libraries which I have used, the friends and correspondents in India and elsewhere who have read and criticised some of my chapters, the staff of the Cambridge University Press, and Mrs Pauline McCandlish who has heroically typed out the drafts and revisions which have finally taken form in the present volume.

S. N.

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Editorial Note

Bishop Stephen Neill's *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to 1707* was published by Cambridge University Press in February 1984. He had substantially completed the present volume at the time of his death. The Press wishes to record its thanks to the Reverend Dr Alister McGrath of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford for the inestimable help he has given in finalising the typescript.

Abbreviations

AHSI	*Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*
BFBS	British Foreign Bible Society
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CCA	*Calcutta Christian Advocate*
CCO	*Calcutta Christian Observer*
CHI	*Cambridge History of India*
CMI	*Church Missionary Intelligencer*
CM Record	*Church Missionary Record*
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSI	Church of South India
DBN	*Dictionary of National Biography*
EMM	*Evangelische Missionsmagazin*
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
ICHR	*Indian Church History Review*
i.p.i.	*in partibus infidelium*
ISPCK	Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
LMS	London Missionary Society
Mem. Rer.	*Memoria Rerum* (Wicki)
Miss. Reg.	*Missionary Register*
New C.Mod.H.	*New Cambridge Modern History*
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*
NR	*Nuovo Ramusio* (Petech)
NZM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFM Cap	Order of Friars Minor (Capuchins)
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate

OSB	Order of St Benedict
Parl. Papers	*Parliamentary Papers*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie*
SJ	Society of Jesus
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
ZM	*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*

1 · India and Political Change 1706–86

1 THE INDIAN REVOLUTIONS

When Aurungzīb died, he was still ruling with despotic, though not everywhere accepted, authority over a vast empire, with a surface of something like a million square miles and a population of perhaps 170 million subjects. Only the emperor of China could be in any way compared in authority with him. The Mughul empire was not as strong as it appeared, but it was still immensely strong. It was true that Aurungzīb had designated no unquestioned heir; but this had happened in the past and it could be supposed that, among the contending princes, one would show himself indubitably superior to the others and would take possession of the vacant throne. (Actually this did not happen, and there was no obviously suitable candidate for the succession.) There seemed no convincing reason to doubt that the Mughul dominion would have a long and successful future before it.

The Europeans by contrast were a quite insignificant factor in the situation. Only the Portuguese, in some small regions, had made themselves actually possessors of Indian land and of sovereignty where they had settled. The others – French, British, Danes, Dutch – were dependent on the favour of Indian potentates, obtained from them the use of certain lands and duly paid the rent whose payment was the condition of their survival. The idea of European dominion on a large scale was entertained only by a small number of visionaries.

Nothing turned out as had been expected.

In 1807 the Mughul dominion was no more than the shadow of a shade, the Mughul emperor a pensioner depending on British bounty and on British help for such authority as it was still within his power to exercise. The British had made themselves masters of the greater part of the country, with only one great enemy, the Sikh power, still to overcome. They were well on the way to the accomplishment of their greatest achievement – that unity of the entire sub-continent which had eluded the ambitions of Mauryas and Mughuls alike.

There is very little in history that can be accurately foreseen, and much that turns out otherwise than has been foreseen. As the Mughul powers declined, India fell back increasingly into the situation that had frequently existed in the past: of a number of rival powers, none strong enough to establish itself over more than a limited area. At the middle of the eighteenth century there were five main blocs of power in India. One of these might have emerged as the supreme power, but, as often before, rivalry and ambition made this impossible; divided India fell a victim to the one power which was strong enough to tackle each of the others in turn, and by military excellence or by superior diplomacy to reduce them to the status of dependants. The British had arrived.

It could well have happened that the European powers, having fallen into the trap of fighting out their European quarrels on Indian soil, might each have so reduced the power of the others that no one of them would have been a serious contender for the supreme power. In point of fact, it seemed for a good many years that, if one European power was to emerge greatly superior in power to the others, this power was more likely to be France than Britain. As history moved forward, it was a combination of better support from home, greater competence in the training of Indian troops for battle, superior military skill and a large slice of luck that in the end gave the prize to the British and not to the French.

Few had foreseen this possibility. The Europeans had come to trade; the majority of them would have been quite content with favourable conditions for trade, and with the measure of tranquillity without which trade becomes impossible. The Indians then, as often since, had greatly underestimated both the power that lay behind the insignificant British presence in India and the persistence of the British in pressing forward to the fulfilment of their aims. With hindsight it is possible to see a certain inevitability in British progress in India; it was not clear at the time. When things were happening, few realised their significance; when the result was achieved, it came to almost everyone as a surprise.

There are many interesting, indeed exciting, events in the history of India in the eighteenth century. But perhaps, seen in the context of wider history, those events which certainly changed the entire character and situation of India may be seen as having a significance in the whole history of the human race. This was the first example of a direct confrontation over a long period of two civilisations of wholly different origins and developments, and therefore may be seen as having a special significance in the age-long and toilful effort of the human race towards the production of one world.

For three thousand years, 4000–1000 BC, civilisation, as distinct from culture, was more or less concentrated in the area of the great rivers Nile, Euphrates and Tigris. Then followed the great outward explosion of civilisation and of the human race. With the great westward migration of the Aryans emerged the civilisations of Greece and Rome, which eventually took shape in the Eastern and Western empires, the former of which lasted for a thousand years. The basis and the inspiration of these empires was Christian. At much the same time an eastward migration laid the foundation of Chinese culture and the Chinese empire, with its extended influence in Japan and Korea. The teachings of Confucius were the extraordinarily perdurable cement which held together over many centuries a stable Confucian society. Some of the Aryans moved south-eastwards, and by AD 1000 had coalesced, with a number of other races, in what we know as Indian civilisation. Here the penetrating influence was Hinduism in one of its many and varied forms. Hinduism had given up its extension towards south-east Asia; the inner extension went on, as more and more of the simple people of remote and mountainous regions were brought within the capacious embrace of the Hindu system.

Through all these centuries of development, Europe knew very little of China, and China knew nothing of Europe. There was much commerce between India and China but little exchange of culture. Europe had always known something of India, but dimly, and India's knowledge of Europe was scanty and largely fantastic. Humanity seemed to be divided not so much between rival systems and civilisations as between diverging patterns of civilisation, which were almost unaware of one another. The Muslim civilisation of the Middle East, the last of the world civilisations to develop, served to enhance division, rather than to promote communication and mutual understanding.

When the ships of Vasco da Gama anchored off the shores of India in 1498, an epoch ended; the barrier between the nations was breached. It is important not to underestimate the service rendered to mutual understanding by the Portuguese and other Europeans in the period between 1498 and the end of the eighteenth century. The science of Indology had been well and truly founded. Europeans had begun to be intensely interested in India, as is shown by the rapid sale of books dealing with Indian subjects in a number of languages. The first steps had been taken in the interpretation of Indian religions and philosophies to Western minds. Some Indians, a minority, had become interested in the West; the more percipient among them had realised the advantages accruing from acquaintance with a European language. Exchange of knowledge in the area of religion had been begun, though it cannot be said to have made notable progress. But, with the British conquest of India, some Europeans had made a beginning with a serious study of the religions of India. Some Indians had become aware of the Christian faith, though not as yet in any sense as a threat to their inherited systems of religious faith.

So three systems were now to be confronted with one another, each with a religious foundation whose penetrating power could not be denied. The

Muslim dominion was established on the unshakeable principle of the superiority of the Muslim to all others. Even the adherent of one of the religions of 'the book' could not hope for any kind of equality; the best he could aspire to was acceptance as one of the tolerated subordinate peoples. The unchanging factor in all the manifold forms of Hinduism was the basic principle of caste – that some human beings by their birth are inferior to others and cannot ever be anything else. The Christian tradition, though often violated in practice, rests on the firm conviction of the equality of all men in the sight of God. Confrontation of these different systems was inevitable; it was more than likely that confrontation would at times lead to violent conflict.

When Britain took over the direction of the destinies of India, the English people had been passing through an interesting series of political and social emergencies. George III had tried to put into execution the advice given to him by his mother – 'George, be a king' – only to find himself up against a force which even he could not master. England had reached the point of being convinced that in all English affairs Parliament is supreme; the day of unchallenged and unconditioned sovereignty was at an end. In India, Muslim and Hindu alike had lived for centuries under absolute and personal rule. This was no longer to be the case. England had fought and lost a war on the issue of 'no taxation without representation'. How the Indian peoples were to be constitutionally represented was a question that had had to be left for the future; but the wisest of British administrators were from the start aware that it must sooner or later be faced. English law had been built up slowly on the principle of the equality of all men before the law; it could not admit any difference, and could not accept the view that the killing of a Brahman was in some sense more heinous than the killing of a peasant. Wise men such as Warren Hastings laid it down firmly that, as far as possible, Indians must be governed in accordance with their own traditions and under the laws which they themselves had developed and accepted. But there were limits to this principle. There was a higher law to which all human laws must be regarded as subject. The Methodist revival had swept over England, and had brought it about that the cynical principle of Walpole that every man has his price would no longer be taken as acceptable; the integrity of the Indian civil service came to be universally accepted as exemplary. All these things were coming about in the second half of the eighteenth century; they could not be without effect on the British impact on India, and in course of time on the Indian understanding of the nature of government and society. Even if no Christian missionary had ever set foot in India, some influence of the Christian element in the British way of doing things would have made itself felt in India.

It happened that many of the leading figures in the British administration in India were themselves convinced and committed Christians. (This is a point which has in many cases been overlooked by secular historians, both British and Indian.) Only in rare cases had these men been affected by the new evangelical enthusiasm; they represented for the most part the sober, unemotional, ethically determined form of English society of which Dr Samuel Johnson was the perfect representative. For the most part they were strict in not permitting their Christian convictions to impinge directly on their manner of carrying out their official duties, and had a scrupulous regard for the religious susceptibilities of those with whom they had to deal. But they were aware throughout of the existence of a higher power, and that man in authority is accountable to an authority higher even than that provided by a king in Parliament.

In the eighteenth century the Christian missionary approach to India was strengthened by the participation for the first time of Protestants, in the first instance Germans, in the Christian approach to India. Before the end of the century, Germans had been joined by English missionaries, and a little later by Americans. The Roman Catholic missions naturally continued in existence. The Christian missions were still on such a small scale, and limited to such small areas of the country, as not yet to be felt by Indians as any threat to their established ways of doing things. This was something that would change with time. But already at the end of the eighteenth century Christianity in India had become part of world Christianity, and Indian Christians had become so much a part of the life of India that the destiny of the Christian churches in India had become inseparable from the destiny of India as a whole.

This implication of India in Christendom, and of the faith of Christendom in India, is the subject of this book.

2 DIVIDED INDIA

Mughul power had had its origins in the vigour and military skill of the hardy peoples of Central Asia, modified by elements of Persian culture and, after they had come to settle in India, by traditional Persian skills in diplomacy and administration. But marriage of Mughul leaders, generation after generation, with Indian princesses had reduced the Central Asian element in their descendants to little more than a memory, and may have accounted for a diminution in the inherited vigour of the race.

It was the misfortune of the Mughuls that the family, having in two centuries produced one really great ruler, one marked out by far more than ordinary ability, and two who could take rank with any other rulers of their time, by the beginning of the eighteenth century failed in the primary duty of a royal house – that of producing heirs capable of worthily carrying on the succession.[1] Two Mughul rulers in that century managed to maintain themselves for considerable periods on the throne. But the first, Muhammad Shāh (1719–45), rarely succeeded in rousing himself to take that grip on affairs that the situation demanded. The long reign of the second, Shāhᶜ Ālam II (1759–1806), was a series of tragedies. In 1788 he was blinded by a brutal Rohilla chief, Ghulām Qādir. At last in 1803 he was formally taken under the protection of the real rulers of the country, the English.

The historian is inclined to read back into eighteenth-century India ideas of loyalty which, though at home in some Western countries, had no lodgement at that time in the Indian mind. Loyalty may be to a family, to a common religion, to the memory of great events, or to a shared ideal of freedom or of political sophistication. None of these factors was effective in Mughul India. The term 'empire' implies a cohesion that was never really there; though the break-up of dominion began to become evident only after the death of Aurungzīb, the divisive forces had been operative long before that time.

There was no clear rule of hereditary succession. 'The king is dead; long live the king' makes possible the smooth transference of fealty from a dead sovereign to the one who is immediately recognised as his successor. If, as all too often happened, a number of rivals laid claim to the throne and were engaged in internecine conflict, loyalty to one could not be other than treachery to another.

Mughul rule was essentially foreign rule. A Muslim dynasty claimed to rule over a population which was mainly Hindu or Sikh. The policies of Aurungzīb had exacerbated the differences, but they had been there all the time; even the consummate skill of Akbar had not availed to eliminate the tension which existed between the one religious community and the other.

The attitude of the common people, the tillers of the soil on whom the prosperity of empires ultimately depends, was one not so much of loyalty as of submission, grateful if the ruler provided a satisfactory measure of order and security, resentful if his exactions passed beyond the limits of what was felt to be reasonable and lawful. Akbar had wisely laid it down that the tribute to be paid by the cultivator to the state as revenue must never exceed one third of the gross produce of the land. It seems that by the time of Aurungzīb that had been increased to at least a half. Moreover the ryot was not brought into direct contact with the highest authority, but was increasingly made subject to the rapacity of revenue farmers or other officials of minor but troublesome authority.

Part of the trouble was that the empire was just too large. Slowness and difficulty of communication made it almost impossible to maintain control by the centre over the more distant areas. Even Akbar had had to spend much time fighting for the maintenance of his authority. As the centre weakened, there was inevitably a tendency for the governors of provinces to regard themselves as independent rulers, as sovereigns in their own right, even when they maintained a show of deference to the now shadowy imperial authority.

The Indian ideal of sovereignty had been closely linked to that of the *cakravartin*, the lord of the world, which once or twice had almost been realised on the Indian scene, and reappeared at intervals in the thoughts of men. Each of those who aimed at throwing off Mughul authority wanted to be not just a ruler, one among many, but to be *the* ruler, the one to whom all others would be subject. Thus each thought only in terms of his own interests. Treaties and agreements might be made, coalitions formed; but these could be broken as readily as they had been made. Hence the endless kaleidoscope of units forming, dividing and reforming by which the history of India in the eighteenth century is marked. It is not the case that that history is a story of little men without the greatness that had marked earlier years. There were men of considerable ability, more than one of whom might under more favourable circumstances have risen to imperial power. But one neutralised another. There was no idea of a division of territory and rule, and of friendly co-existence. Each momentary ally is also an enemy to be destroyed when the time has come. Though none may be strong enough to prevail over all the others and to reach the imperial summit, each is strong enough to prevent the others from attaining the desired goal. Thus none was able to exercise the fullness of his powers or to carry into effect the achievements of which he might otherwise have been capable. All the time there was waiting in the wings that shrewd, at times unscrupulous, and endlessly patient power that in the end was to step in and take over the supreme authority and to accomplish what other rulers had in vain tried to bring about – the unity of the whole sub-continent from the Khyber Pass to Cape Comorin.

If the Mughul dominion was destined to come to an end, it seemed for a good many years that the Marāthās were the claimants most likely to establish their claim to succession. Śivājī (d. 1680) had left his people with a great domain. It seemed that this might grow and spread until it embraced the greater part, if not the whole, of India. For a variety of reasons this never came about.

In the first place, the Marāthās never created a closely integrated dominion; their organisation resembled, rather, a somewhat loose pentarchy. The most dynamic centre, where a powerful *peshwā* ruled under the aegis of a fainéant king, was Poona. But in more or less close alliance with him were the *gaikwār* in Baroda, *holkar* in Indore, *scindia* in Gwālior, and *bhonsle* in Nāgpur. Each of these rulers had his own ambitions and personal concerns. Marāthās could unite against an enemy, but could again be quickly divided by jealousies and rivalries among themselves.

For all that, the Marāthās could on occasion turn out powerful armies. The aim was not so much to conquer and to administer as to raid and then return, taking away everything that could be moved, whether produce or money or (as not infrequently) women. The misery caused to the victim populations was intense. There was little security for life or property, and, when the exactions of the Marāthās had been met, only the stoical and invincible patience of the Indian peasant enabled him to survive.

During the eighteenth century the Marāthā character underwent considerable change. As with the Mughuls, the acquisition of power led to a softness and a life of luxury which contrast strangely with the austerity of the days of Śivājī, when under his leadership the sturdy race of hillmen stormed the fortresses of the Mughuls. The nobles began to adopt the ways of the older ruling powers, to build themselves lofty palaces and to fill them with objects of art such as they were not as yet able themselves to produce. Such a manner of living was not conducive to success in the hazardous military adventures which alone could open the way to universal dominion.

Śivājī left no successor equal to himself. But in the earlier years of the eighteenth century one Marāthā leader showed a capacity which, if he had lived, might have enabled him to transform the loose federation into a real empire. Historians have bestowed almost unstinted praise on the fighting Peshwā Bājī Rāo (*c.* 1700–40), both for his character and for his abilities. He was equally outstanding as soldier and as statesman; brave in the field and generous in victory; of commanding appearance and unequalled among his people as an orator. But Bājī Rāo died at about the age of forty-two, and there was no one to take his place.

For years the Marāthās had carried on a running war with the Mughuls, almost always to the disadvantage of the older power. In 1738 an even greater danger threatened the Mughul throne from a very different quarter. Two years earlier a Kurasāni adventurer, Nādīr Qulī, had dethroned the last of the Safavī line of Persian rulers and made himself master of Persia with the title Nādīr Shāh. Like many other rulers from Central Asia and Afghanistan, Nādīr Shāh had begun to cast his eyes on the fertile fields and the treasures of India. On 27 December 1738 he crossed the Indus. On 12 March 1739 he reached Delhi and camped in the Shālimar gardens. There had been no siege and no victory; but in the tumult which naturally followed this foreign occupation a number of Persians had been engaged and killed by the inhabitants. Enraged beyond reason, Nādīr Shāh gave up the city to flames and its people to the sword. The slaughter lasted throughout a whole day; the number of those who perished has been very variously recorded, the highest estimate being 150,000, the lowest 8,000; the former is too high, the latter considerably too low.[2] On the following day Nādīr Shāh gave orders that the slaying and pillage were to cease; his orders were obeyed, but by this time a considerable part of the city had been destroyed.

It was no part of the intentions of Nādīr Shāh to set up a Persian dominion in India. Like so many of his predecessors he came to demonstrate military prowess and to enrich himself and his people. After a stay of little more than two months in Delhi, contemptuously leaving the ineffective Muhammad Shāh in his position as emperor, and carrying with him an enormous booty including the famous peacock throne of Shāh Jahān, he withdrew to his own country. The Persian invasion was not immediately fatal; but this demonstration of the feebleness of the Mughul regime was not lost on the many vultures standing round the injured body, concerned only to enrich themselves, and, if possible, to secure their own independence of the centre.

The story of the disintegration of the Mughul empire was not yet at an end. The hold of the Mughuls on the Deccan had always been precarious; by the middle of the eighteenth century it had ceased to exist except in name. The man who, almost single-handed, brought about this change, is commonly known by his title Nizām-ul-Mulk (1671–1748), though his personal name was Chīn Qilīch Khān.[3] This alien from Bokhara held numerous appointments in the civil service of the emperor, and at one time was the most powerful man in the empire. In 1713 he had been appointed governor of the six *subāhs* of the Deccan with the title Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fath Jang. After a number of vicissitudes the *nizām* was recalled to Delhi by Muhammad Shāh and appointed *vazīr*. An able and on the whole generous and upright ruler, the *nizām* desired to reorganise the entire government of the empire and to restore its prosperity by taking control out of the hands of a sycophantic and incompetent court. Before long he realised that the task was too great even for one of his unusual abilities; in December 1723 he turned his back on Delhi and returned to the Deccan.

From this time on Nizām-ul-Mulk was in all but name an independent sovereign. He remitted no revenue to Delhi. He made his own appointments and promotions. Though he was wise enough not to claim the title of king and did not issue coinage in his own name, in all other respects he assumed the attributes of sovereignty and ruled in Hyderabad as absolute monarch. His strong administration and sensible principles of finance relieved the peasantry of many of the unjust privations that they had endured; the fertile lands began to enjoy prosperity such as they had not known for a long time. In December 1732 the *nizām* reached an agreement with the Marāthās, under which by directing the attention of the *peshwā* to the possibility of the extension of Marāthā power in northern India, he found his hands left free to consolidate his own power in the south.

For a quarter of a century Nizām-ul-Mulk had been the most outstanding personality in the Mughul empire; he might even have become emperor, if the tradition is true that in 1739 Nādīr Shāh wished to set aside the feeble Muhammad Shāh in his favour. He was renowned both as soldier and as diplomat; he was revered by the good and hated by the knaves. When he died, on 1 June 1748, worn out by years and labours, he had established essential independence for the extensive realm that he governed; and, although his successors were very far from being his equals, he had established a hereditary dynasty which was to outlast that of the Mughuls by almost a century.[4]

Bengal, with its teeming population and its endless watercourses, was another area over which the Mughuls had found it difficult to maintain effective control. In this area, as in the south, the dangerous principle had been adopted of intercalating between the emperor and the governors of the various provinces a viceroy to whom each governor would be immediately subordinate. This merely complicated the administration and did not increase efficiency. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had been formed into a viceroyalty. From 1726 to 1739 these provinces had been well and wisely governed by Shujāᶜ-ud-dīn.[5] On his death, the governor of Bihar, ᶜAlī Vardī Khān, obtained from the emperor a commission to succeed as viceroy, and on 12 May 1740 established himself at Murshidābād, the capital of Bengal, as viceroy of the three provinces, in nominal submission to the emperor at Delhi but in practice as independent ruler of a vast and populous region. In 1751 he was compelled to cede Orissa to the Marāthās; but two great provinces still remained under his rule. He died in 1756, leaving his realm to his grandson Sirāj-ud-daula, whose direct confrontation with the English was to lead him to irretrievable disaster.

One final calamity remains to be recorded. On the north-west frontier of India the Afghans were always restless, a menacing cloud which could never be completely dispersed. After the death of Nādīr Shāh in 1747, one of his officers, Ahmad Shāh, an Afghan of the Abdālī tribe, gradually made himself master of the whole of Afghanistan and assumed the title of king. Before long the mind of the new ruler, like that of so many of his predecessors, was set on foreign conquests. In 1756 he reached India, plundered Delhi and then withdrew, leaving his son Tīmūr Shāh as viceroy of Lahore. The Marāthās reacted vigorously. Their power was still great, and they were united as hardly ever before or since. Tīmūr Shāh was driven out and Lahore reoccupied. It seemed that for the moment at least the progress of the dragon was arrested.

Fate ruled otherwise. In August 1759 Ahmad Shāh Abdālī once again crossed the Indus. The Marāthās reacted vigorously to what they rightly regarded as a threat to the whole of India. The *peshwā* sent out invitations to rulers far and wide to join in the campaign. A highly experienced soldier, Sadāshiv Bhāu, was appointed as commander-in-chief.

The two armies met on the field of Pānīpat, where two decisive battles had already been fought in earlier days. The final engagement took place on 14 January 1761. The Marāthās fought with desperate courage, and for a time the issue of the battle seemed to be in doubt. But, weakened as they were by hunger and by the long hours of conflict, they were unable to stand before the superior tactics of Abdālī. In the course of the afternoon a large force of reserves was thrown into the fray; the line of the Marāthās was broken, and from that moment on massacre was indiscriminate. It is reckoned that 75,000 of the defenders, soldiers and camp-followers, perished. The army had ceased to exist, and Abdālī was master of all that he surveyed.[6]

The third battle of Pānīpat decided once and for all the question whether there should be a Marāthā empire in India. With their characteristic resilience the Marāthās succeeded in reorganising themselves; but with their diminished power it was unlikely that they would ever again put forward a successful claim to succession to the Mughul dominion. The withdrawal of the Marāthās within their own borders probably saved the *nizām* from extinction, and also made possible the career of the adventurer who later made himself ruler of Mysore. The most important consequence of all was not immediately evident. The defeat of the Marāthās at Pānīpat meant that there was no Indian power available to withstand the British as they set to work to establish unshakeable dominion in Bengal.[7]

3 THE FRENCH INITIATIVE

When India was strong, Europeans were weak. India's weakness gave the European settlements the chance to dig themselves more deeply into the soil of India and to make advances such as would have been unthinkable in the great days of Mughul power.

Portugal in India had been gravely weakened by the Marāthā occupation of Bassein in 1737. The other European powers managed not merely to maintain themselves but to strengthen their positions and to enlarge their commerce. In spite of all the troubles and turmoils, the first half of the eighteenth century was for the East India Company a time of great prosperity. The French share in the commerce of Asia increased even more rapidly, though still falling short of the British achievement. But it does not seem to have occurred to any of these powers that they might be called to play a leading part in determining the destinies of India.

It would be hard to determine exactly the point in time at which it began to dawn on their minds that they might transform themselves from bagmen into potentates. Tradition, to which both French and English writers have contributed, has associated it primarily, and probably rightly, with the mind and outlook of Joseph Francis, Marquis Dupleix (1697–1763), who became governor of Pondichéri in 1745. It was the mind of this far-seeing statesman that detected the weakness of the Mughul empire, foresaw its inevitable collapse, and realised that a European power with courage and the knack of taking fortune at the tide might fill the vacancy by stepping into possession of the imperial dignity. The two steps to be taken in this direction were the training of Indian sepoys to fight under the command of European officers, and the setting of the Indian rulers at one another's throats. Robert Orme (1728–1801), the first notable English historian of these events, wrote of Dupleix:

> When we consider that he formed this plan of conquest and dominion at a time when all other Europeans entertained the highest opinion of the strength of the Mogul government, suffering tamely the insolence of its meanest officers, rather than venture to make resistance against a power which they chimerically imagined to be capable of overwhelming them in an instant, we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the sagacity of his genius, which first discovered and despised this illusion.[8]

The first twenty years of Dupleix in India gave hardly any indication of potential future greatness. Ten years were spent in Pondichéri, where sobriety and diligence combined to give him a deep understanding of the mysteries of European trade in India. Then for ten years Dupleix was governor of the French settlement at Chandernagore in Bengal. The steady development of French trade in Bengal gave good evidence of his abilities in the field of commercial enterprise. Only after returning to Pondichéri as governor in 1742 did he display those other gifts which have earned him a place in the history of the world.

This leap from the abilities of the counting-house to the mastery of political and military strategy may be accounted for in part by the marriage of Dupleix and by the influence of his wife. Thirty-five years old at the time of her second marriage, this remarkable woman had never seen France, having been born in Pondichéri and having Indian as well as French blood flowing through her veins. 'The Begum Dupleix'[9] could speak Tamil fluently, and an upbringing in a thoroughly Indian atmosphere had given her an understanding of the Indian mentality and of the intricacies of Indian politics such as her husband was never able to acquire.

Dupleix learnt his first lesson in 1746, when a force of 10,000 picked cavalry sent against him by Anwar-ud-dīn, the *nawāb* of the Carnatic, was easily defeated by a force of 250 French soldiers and 700 sepoys trained by French officers. His second came with his decision to support Chāndā Sāhīb, who had emerged from seven years as a prisoner of the Marāthās to put forward a claim to the office of *nawāb* of the Carnatic against Anwar-ud-dīn, and later against his son Muhammad ᶜAlī. This led inevitably to confrontation with the English, who were supporting Muhammad ᶜAlī, and this in turn to the downfall of Dupleix and his recall to France.

A new field of intrigue opened up to Dupleix in Hyderabad, equally open to the infiltration of European influences. There he acted through a colleague, Charles-Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau. Bussy was the ideal instrument for the purposes of Dupleix. He had no high opinion of the character of the Indians with whom he had to deal, but his manner was courteous and suave; he knew how to adapt himself to Indian ways and expectations, and so in a great many matters of importance to get his own way. With only a small force at his disposal, he was able to maintain himself for many years in the Deccan; and where Bussy was no other power could hope to insinuate its influence into the area under his control.[10]

These French agents, or adventurers, at the courts of Indian princes were a notable feature of Indian life in the eighteenth century. Long after the power of France in India had really been broken, they continued to exist, perhaps because they had nowhere else to go, perhaps hoping against hope that some unpredictable turn of fortune would restore to France that pre-eminence which in their opinion she should never have lost.[11]

4 THE ENGLISH TAKE A HAND

There was no particular reason to suppose that an obscure and discontented writer in the service of the Company in Madras, Robert Clive (1725–74), would be destined to win outstanding renown as a commander of troops in the field. It was little more than chance that gave him his first opportunities of military experience. He had had no education at all in military science to prepare him for this opportunity. But Major Stringer Lawrence, under whom Clive had fought, wrote of him in 1761:

> A man of undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and a presence of mind, which never left him in the greatest danger. Born a soldier, for without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgement and good sense, he led an army like an experienced officer, and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted success.[12]

Clive's first opportunity of independent command did not come till 1751. Chāndā Sāhib, the pretender supported by the French, sent a large army to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, in which he had managed to shut up his rival Muhammad ᶜAlī. It was decided to make a raid on Arcot to distract attention from Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, and Clive was offered the command. The capture of the city was easy. On 31 August 1751 Clive with his small force of 200 Europeans and 600 sepoys entered Arcot almost without opposition. What secured his fame was not the capture but the siege that followed, during which Clive and his troops for fifty days defended a perimeter a mile long against greatly superior forces, and repulsed every assault. When in his little army there were only 240 men still capable of standing to arms, a fierce assault was made by the enemy, and repulsed only with the greatest difficulty. In the nick of time word reached the besiegers of an attack planned by the Marāthā chief Morari Rāo; on 15 November they silently vanished, and Arcot was saved.[13]

Clive followed up this success with an even more notable victory in the open field. Dupleix had sent out a considerable force to effect the capture of Madras. In March 1752 Clive, with considerably weaker forces and hindered in mobility by an almost total lack of cavalry, put to flight the French contingent and their Indian allies. This put an end to the war, and also put an end to the hopes and plans of Dupleix, who in 1754 was recalled to Paris and had no further career in public service.

It can be argued that Dupleix did not receive from France the help he expected and deserved, and that the French soldiers sent to serve under him were of the poorest possible quality. On the other hand, it may be held that, more fertile in forming grandiose plans than gifted in putting them into effect, Dupleix was largely responsible for his own failure. Like many others, he underestimated the sheer persistence of the British, their capacity for repairing losses and entering again into the field. He never understood the importance of sea-power. The Indian troops trained by French officers proved in the field to be less efficient than those often enlisted by the British. Above all, the French failed to produce any commanders worthy to be ranked with Stringer Lawrence, the creator of the British army in India, or with Clive, the inspired amateur. At the mid-point of the career of Dupleix the fortunes of France were at their highest peak; by the time of his recall, they had already begun the long, slow decline into insignificance. Though the French continued their intrigues and efforts well into the nineteenth century, there was never any serious possibility of their being able to supplant the British.

Clive did not fight his battles with the intent of conquering provinces and ruling over them. The English were in India to trade; the French were their rivals. South India was not large enough to accommodate two such rivals; one or the other must be driven out. Clive was resolved that it would not be the English who were driven out – it was as simple as that.[14] At the age of twenty-seven he had accomplished all his immediate objectives and could return to England covered with glory.

The triumph of the English in the south, still the main scene of their activities in India, had been complete. But, before many years had passed, their attention was to be drawn by changed circumstances to Bengal.

It was a misfortune for both India and Bihar that the young successor of ᶜAlī Vardī Khān as governor (*subāhdār*) of Bengal and Bihar, Sirāj-ud-daula, soon showed himself wholly unfitted for the burden that had been laid upon him. There was in him a more than ordinarily savage streak of cruelty. His licentiousness passed far beyond the wide limits laid down by Indian tradition for ruling princes. The Bengal Select Committee did not go beyond the truth when it wrote that

> the Nabob is so universally hated by all sorts and degrees of men; the affection of the army is so much alienated from him by his ill-usage of the officers; and a revolution so generally wished for, that it is probable that the step will be attempted (and successfully too) whether we give our assistance or not.[15]

The *nawāb* had good grounds for objecting to a number of actions taken by the English in Bengal. Instead of following the ordinary paths of diplomatic and commercial pressures, he decided to destroy them. Initial successes went to his head, and he came to believe that the total destruction of his European enemies was within his power. The incompetence and pusillanimity of the English leadership could not but encourage him. On 20 July 1756 Fort William was captured with scandalous ease. The capture was followed by the tragedy of the Black Hole, in which a number of English prisoners died of heat-stroke and suffocation.[16]

Fortunately for the English, there was more resolution in Madras than in Calcutta. An expedition was quickly fitted out. Clive arrived in Bengal before the end of the year 1756, and on 2 January 1757 Calcutta was recovered. On 24 March Chandernagore was captured by the English and the French were paralysed. On 22/3 June Clive reached Plassey, with an army of 800 Europeans and 2,200 sepoys and *topasses* (people of mixed descent), and found himself within reach of the *nawāb*, whose troops exceeded his own in number by considerably more than ten to one. Should he attack, or should he wait? Wisely he decided to attack.

When the battle was joined, it proved to be little more than a skirmish, decided by fighting which lasted no more than a few hours. As soon as the English began to advance, panic spread in the ranks of the *nawāb*'s army; the French artillerymen withdrew into safety, and Clive's army had nothing to do but to chase a flying foe. The casualties on the English side were minimal.[17] Plassey may have been only a skirmish; it was nevertheless one of the decisive battles of the world. It made it plain that the English were the dominant power in Bengal as they were in the south. This was confirmed a few years later when at the battle of Baksar (1764) Major Hector Munro defeated, in a far fiercer fight than Plassey, the combined forces of Mīr Qasīm, the new *nawāb* of Bengal,[18] Shujāᶜ-ud-daula, *nawāb* of Oudh, and Shāh ᶜĀlam, the feeble and helpless emperor. An immense area of the Gangetic plain lay in submission; there was no power left to resist the English. What were they to do with their success? It seems even at that date not to have been obvious to them that they must take on the responsibility of rule. The idea of a nominally Christian nation ruling over millions of Hindus and Muslims seemed wholly incongruous. Yet, without realising it, they were already launched on the road that led to supreme power.

The first beginnings of English supremacy in Bengal were as unpropitious as could be. English servants of the Company found themselves in a position of power without responsibility; if it is true that power corrupts, it is even more certain that, of those who find themselves in a situation of power with no responsibilities attached, very few resist the temptations to unscrupulous cupidity to which they are exposed. Those in that privileged position used to the full the 'English privilege' granted in 1717 in a *firmān* of the Emperor Farruksiyar, of trading everywhere in Bengal without the exaction of any duties beyond a single payment of Rs. 3,000 a year.[19] This was the one and only period in the connection of Britain with India during which it was possible for an Englishman to become exceedingly rich in a short period of time.[20] Even though such ready-made plutocrats never attained to anything like the wealth of the great Indian families of merchants and bankers such as the Seths, the drain on India was great, and oppression reached heights previously unknown. The period was short (it did not last more than at most fifteen years); but during that short time the harm done to the name of the English in India was almost irreparable. On 24 May 1769 the eminent civilian Richard Becher, at that time resident at Murshidābād, wrote sadly:

> It must give pain to an Englishman to have Reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Dewannee[21] the condition of the people of this Country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the Fact is undoubted . . . This fine Country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary Government, is verging towards its Ruin, while the English have really so great a share in the Administration.[22]

The Hindu had little reason to rejoice at having exchanged a Muslim for a Christian master.

It was the misfortune of the English that Robert Clive left India in February 1760, intending to enter Parliament at Westminster. It was their good fortune that Clive returned to Bengal in 1765, and showed himself no less eminent as a statesman than he had been as a soldier. In less than two years he had eliminated the worst of the evils, and by four major decisions had laid solid foundations for English rule in India on the basis of honesty and integrity.

Clive's first decision was that there should be no more conquests in India:

> If ideas of conquest were to be the rule of our conduct, I foresaw that we should, by necessity, be led from acquisition to acquisition, until we had the whole empire up in arms against us; and whilst we lay under the great disadvantage of fighting without a

> single ally (for who could wish us well?) the natives, left without European allies, would find in their own resources, means of carrying on the war against us in a much more soldierly manner than they ever thought of when their reliance on European allies encouraged their natural indolence.[23]

Clive's second decision was that strict limits must be set to the opportunities for immediate and rapid enrichment which had been open to the Englishman in the days of chaos. One of the chief sources of sudden wealth was presents from the local rulers and magnates. This was to be stopped. Here Clive was only carrying out what had been decided in London – that all employees of the Company must sign a contract, undertaking not to receive 'from the Indian princes . . . any present whatever, exceeding the value of four thousand rupees, without the consent of the Court of Directors'.[24] When word of this was received, those most deeply affected could hardly believe that it was seriously intended to cut off one of their main sources of revenue; they soon found that Clive was in deadly earnest, and they must sign or be suspended from the service.

Clive was one of the first to realise that, if the servants of the Company were to be forbidden to pillage the people among whom they lived, proper remuneration must be provided for them. Up to this time the emoluments of the servants of the Company had been ridiculously small in relation to the responsibilities they had to bear and the expenses they were bound to incur. The official allowances received by Clive as governor of Bengal amounted to no more than £841 a year. His first plan for remedying this situation was rejected by the directors in London; but the principle gradually came to be accepted. From that time on, the pay of the Company's servants was always adequate; but it was a far smaller reward than could be expected by those engaged in trade and commerce.

Finally, for good or ill, Clive rearranged the relationship between the English and the local government, and acquired for the Company something like official status. On 16 August 1765 the shadowy Shāh ᶜĀlam conferred on the East India Company the *diwanni* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a free gift in perpetuity, together with exemption from the payment of customs. This meant, technically, that the Company and its servants were now incorporated into the Mughul system of administration. Practically, it meant that Clive and his subordinates were in full control of the affairs of Bengal, as far as securing the interests of the Company went, without being involved in the complex and dangerous task of general dominion.

5 BRITAIN SUPREME

On the coruscations of flame succeeded a period of more sober illumination. Clive had been brilliant. Warren Hastings (1733–1818) had many great qualities, but these were less flamboyant than those of Clive and less likely to catch the eye of a casual beholder.

When Hastings was appointed in 1772 as ruler of British India, he was thirty-nine years old. He had already had long experience in India, both in Madras and in Calcutta, and was marked by a sympathy for the Indian peoples unusual in the Europeans of his time. Unfailing generosity, a resolute will and tireless industry fitted him well for the task of bringing a measure of order out of the chaos and corruption which still persisted after the withdrawal of Clive. His first two years as governor were a time of intense and productive activity. Even when he left India twelve years later much still remained to be done. But the best testimony to the success of his work is perhaps the pathetic complaint registered by the young John Shore, at the time of writing not yet twenty-one years old, but later to become a devoted admirer of Hastings and the most pious governor-general to have served India before the arrival of Lord Irwin in 1926:

> The Court of Directors are actuated in such a spirit of reform and retrenchment, and so well seconded by Mr Hastings, that it seems that the rescission of all our remaining emoluments will alone suffice it. The Company's service is in fact rendered not very desirable.[25]

There is no need to record here the endless intrigues, both in India and in Leadenhall Street, which robbed Hastings of his almost youthful cheerfulness, turned him into a weary and disillusioned ruler, and in the end could find no better reward for his services than the dragging years of impeachment and impoverishment. But attention must be drawn to two convictions and principles that colour all his actions in his years of power. First, Hastings had a passion for justice: justice must be done and be seen to be done, without fear or favour, and without distinction between Indian and European.[26] The European must not be allowed to believe that he has a right to insult and to oppress the Indian. In the second place, accepting the necessity for British control, he believed firmly that India must be governed in the main by Indians, along the lines of their own understanding and in accordance with the great Indian traditions of the past. In sending to the directors in London the first results of his attempts to codify the principles of Indian law, he affirmed that the way 'to rule this people with ease and moderation' was to leave them in the possession of what 'time and religion had rendered familiar to their understandings and sacred to their affections'. These things were not to be displaced by the 'superior wisdom' which some planned to introduce from Europe.[27] Hastings could comment as harshly as any of his contemporaries on the duplicity and tortuousness by which he was surrounded in Bengal; he never lost the capacity to look beyond them, and to apply to those over whom he was called to exercise dominion the term 'a great People'.

Out of purely practical concerns grew the measures which entitle Hastings to be regarded as one of the founders of scientific Indology. Himself a considerable scholar in Persian, he delighted in the society of learned men, and encouraged them in their pursuits. But business was more important than pleasure. A number of Brāhmans learned in the law was commissioned to gather together all that was significant in the Hindu law of inheritance, family duties and so forth. When the material had been collected, it was found that there was no one who could translate it from Sanskrit into English. A Persian version was made, and from this Nathaniel Halhed, one of Hastings' protégés, translated it into English. The book was published in 1776, with the title *A Code of Gentoo Laws*.[28]

The mental barrier which had kept Englishmen from the study of Sanskrit was first broken through by Charles Wilkins, whom Hastings had sent to Benares to sit at the feet of the Hindu pandits. His translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* was printed in 1785, with a preface by Hastings himself, who noted privately that this 'was part of a system which I had long since laid down and supported, for reconciling the people of England to the natives of Hindustan'.

In 1783 the polymath Sir William Jones (1746–94) arrived in Calcutta as a judge of the supreme court. He had already devoted himself to the study of Arabic and Persian. He now threw himself with eagerness into the study of Sanskrit, and was the first to affirm publicly the interconnections of the Indo-European family of languages, having noted the similarities between Sanskrit and the Greek and Latin tongues.[29] In the year after his arrival, Jones founded, with the help of Hastings, that notable guardian and promoter of Asian truth, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In one respect only did this paragon disappoint society in Calcutta – from a perhaps exaggerated regard for his health, he refused all invitations to supper parties, preferring to stay at home with his books. Of his conversations with Hastings he wrote that '(without compliment) I am always the gainer'.

Much of the improvement in the tone of Calcutta society must be ascribed to the influence of Warren Hastings. After his ambiguous relations with the Baroness Imhoff had been regularised by marriage on 8 August 1776,[30] he lived a life of perfect propriety.[31] He entertained a good deal, as was expected of a governor, but his own habits were abstemious in the extreme. He was regular in attendance at church, and took his share in the building of St John's Church, which at last replaced the old St Anne's, destroyed during the brief occupation of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula. He seems, during his Indian period, to have lacked any deep belief in the doctrines of the Christian faith, and to have been rather an eighteenth-century deist, with a strong sense of a divine providence presiding over the affairs of men. Yet he lived, and was to die, 'a communicant member of the Church of England. And there is nothing in his thousands of papers to impugn the reality of his faith.'[32]

In his position as governor-general Hastings could not but influence many of those by whom he was surrounded. One striking example of the improvement, in his time, in British attitudes towards Indians is provided by a young man whom Hastings cherished as a friend, and whose work he applauded. Augustus Clevland was perhaps the first in that innumerable line of English civil servants who have loved the peoples of India and given their lives for them. As collector of Rājmahāl Clevland set to work, unarmed, to lead into the ways of peace the hill Pahāris, who had been the terror of the quieter peoples of the plains. His success was outstanding. But he was cut off untimely at the age of twenty-nine. Hastings, deeply grieved, wrote his epitaph: 'Employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence . . . [he] attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds, the most permanent as the most rational of dominions.'[33]

The character of Hastings represents an interesting combination of the twin aspects of British activity in India which have lived together through the centuries in an uncomfortable Esau–Jacob relationship. Esau is purely commercial in his outlook. What matters is trade and revenue and profits; to these everything else must be subordinated. Jacob, on the other hand, has a strong sense of higher things. India has been given to England as a trust, and due attention must at all times be paid to the interests and to the well-being of Indians. English writers tend to identify themselves with Jacob, while not denying the existence of Esau. Indian writers on the whole regard Jacob as no better than a hypocrite, and his professions of virtue as no more than face-saving; England is in India for England's good; the attempt to take up any other attitude is mere pretence. But both strains are clearly present in Hastings. He was appointed as governor-general because he had been so successful in promoting the financial and commercial activities of the Company in Madras; but he never gave in to the idea that the interests of Britain and of India are necessarily contradictory. Unlike the majority of his contemporaries, he had Indian friends to whom he was deeply attached; in return he enjoyed the esteem, indeed the affection, of a number among them. An Indian writer has paid notable tribute to the presence of the Jacob element in Hastings:

> The voluminous records of his administration evince his solicitude for the people he was called upon to govern, his desire to respect their customs and their past traditions, and to associate the native of the soil with the administration . . . Hastings' concern for the security of the ryots is evident. The affection and esteem for the

people of Bengal which he developed while he lived among them as a humble clerk of the Company survived his elevation to a position of great power.[34]

Hastings was by nature a man of peace. But he was drawn without his own fault, and as a result of decisions in which he had had no share, into two considerable wars. The authorities in Bombay had become needlessly embroiled with the Marāthās, who after their terrible defeat in 1761 had shown remarkable powers of recovery. The situation had become so serious that Hastings could not but intervene to rescue the beleagured presidency. His prudent intervention turned the tide; British victories included the storming, on 3 August 1780, of the great fort of Gwalior, at that time believed to be impregnable; the reputation of Britain in India was thereby greatly enhanced. But the acquisition of new territories was no part of the purposes of Hastings; all that he desired was that the power of the Marāthās should be contained and that Bengal should not again be exposed to the terrible raids which had won for their perpetrators a name of hatred and detestation throughout the land. This being so, the terms of the treaty of Salbai, signed on 17 March 1782, were generous in restoring to the previous owners almost all that had been taken from them by the English in seven years of war.[35] The success of Hastings' diplomacy was manifest in twenty years of peace, or at least of armed truce – years which saw the consolidation of British power in India.

For a number of years Madras had been threatened by a danger on a not very distant horizon. Haidar ᶜAlī had risen by his own efforts from an inferior position in the army to high command, and about 1762 had made himself master of Mysore. Although illiterate, Haidar, like those two other corporals Napoleon and Hitler, possessed in addition to his military qualities considerable political intelligence. Had he been able to hold together in lasting coalition the *nizām* and the Marāthās, there is little doubt that the three powers together could have driven the English into the sea – perhaps in alliance with the French, who under the tireless Bussy were making their last and fruitless effort to regain their lost leadership in India. But cohesion was just what was lacking in the Indian powers; they quarrelled when they should have united, and their lack of unity was England's opportunity.

In 1780 Haidar was incautious enough to become embroiled with the English. At first everything went his way; in August of that year his troops were visible from the roofs of Fort St George. His progress was marked by the smoke of burnt and pillaged villages, and the inhabitants were reduced to such a state of misery that, when the tide turned against Haïdar, the English appeared to them not as conquerors but as deliverers. Once again Hastings acted without delay, and despatched Sir Eyre Coote, the commander-in-chief, to the Carnatic with extensive powers. This crotchety, irascible and prematurely aged general could not be described as a great soldier, but he was a great deal better than anyone else; the danger receded and Madras was saved. The death of Haidar in 1782, and the conclusion of the peace of Mangalore with his son and successor, Tipu, for the moment eased the pressure, and enabled the British to gather their powers for the final settlement with the rulers of Mysore, by which, when it came, they were able to establish themselves as the unquestioned rulers of the whole of South India.

6 CALCUTTA UNDER HASTINGS

It is not easy to form a clear picture of what European society in Calcutta was really like during the days when Hastings ruled. The traditional picture is of a hard-drinking, loose-living, self-indulgent society, with no interests other than that of making money. Those who hold this view can point to a good deal of evidence in its favour. Undoubtedly there was a great deal too much drinking. The amusing, but not altogether reputable, lawyer William Hickey mentions, without any appearance of concern, that 'having one day had company to dinner I, according to custom, drank too much claret' with on that occasion almost fatal consequences.[36] There being few English women in the settlement, concubinage in one form or another was common. But some men lived with Indian women of good family, had by them children whom they acknowledged, sent them to English schools (Harrow for some reason seems to have been specially favoured), and brought them back to India in the service of the Company.[37]

Two factors may be held in a measure to explain, if not to excuse, some of the worse features in Calcutta life. For a considerable part of the year many Europeans had little to do; while the ships were in, there was almost frenzied coming and going on business, but once the ships had sailed periods of serious underemployment set in. And the expectation of life was not great. Most European residents of Calcutta found the climate detestable; and, though some like Hastings himself endured it for many years with little ill-health, they were the exceptions, and the old saying that two monsoons are the life of a man is borne out by the statistics of mortality.[38]

With all its faults this was far from being a boorish or uncultured community. Many of the men were younger sons of well-to-do or even aristocratic families in England, sent out to make money quickly and to return in affluence. There were so many old boys of Westminster School that Warren Hastings, himself an old Westminster, used to hold an annual dinner for them. The latest books were eagerly awaited. Musical evenings were not infrequent; and society was much addicted to amateur theatricals – though achievement seems at times to have run a good distance behind intention.

Church attendance was not unknown. When the new councillors who were to be the bane of Hastings' existence arrived in Calcutta in October 1774, they went to church in a body before proceeding to the business which had brought them to India. If one witness is to be believed, such attendance was a highly ceremonious affair: 'You brought at least seven servants with you – four chair-bearers, two running footmen with spears and one parasol bearer.'[39] Outside Calcutta there was not a single chaplain resident in any of the English settlements in Bengal, and provision for worship was scanty and irregular, if it existed at all. There was more excuse in the eighteenth century than there had been in the seventeenth for the Indian conviction that the Englishman had no religion at all. And it has to be admitted that even those who attended church did not provide clear evidence that the Christian faith had exercised much influence on the formation of their views and habits. Nor is there any evidence that any of these churchgoers, occasional or regular, had any interest in sharing the truth of the Christian faith with their Indian neighbours. As in the seventeenth so in the eighteenth century: there seems to be only one record of an Indian being baptised in the Church of England. When the ebullient William Hickey returned to England in 1779, he was accompanied by a very young servant named Nabob. The boy was sent to school, and while there expressed an earnest desire to become a Christian. So Hickey arranged to have him instructed, and he was in due course baptised in St James' Church.[40] Not that his baptism seems to have done the boy much good; after his return to India Hickey was loud and frequent in complaints of his treachery and ingratitude.

7 PARLIAMENT TAKES A HAND

The people of England had been slow to understand the significance of what was taking place in India. This rather sluggish unawareness had been changed as news of the conquests of Clive reverberated through the consciousness of the nation. When Clive finally returned to England in 1767, he was received with almost excessive adulation as a national hero and the saviour of his country's cause. Men became aware that, whatever the technicalities of the legal situation, the East India Company was in point of fact exercising rule over millions of people, a function which it was very ill fitted to perform. It was represented in India 'by men who were avowedly traders, whose interests were principally engaged in maintaining the Company's dividends, and who lacked completely the professional training essential to efficient administration'.[41] Such a state of affairs could not be allowed to continue.

A Regulating Act was passed in 1772. But this act, though in some sections revolutionary and pointing in the right direction, was in others badly drawn, obscure and calculated to paralyse rather than to promote reform. A governor-general was to be appointed, in theory with considerable powers. In the act Warren Hastings was named as the first governor-general. But he was provided with four councillors, and no more than a casting vote in case of an equality of votes. As three of the councillors appointed went out to India with the fixed intention of opposing Hastings on every matter of importance, it was certain that he would be condemned to years of frustration and disappointment. After five years of experience of the working of the act, he wrote: 'I am not Governor, all the means I possess are those of preventing the rule from falling into worse hands than my own.'[42] Just at the moment at which he needed more power to continue the great work that he had begun, such power as he had was taken from him.

In the extensive literature on India produced in English in the last third of the eighteenth century one word recurs with almost monotonous iteration – responsibility. No one seems to have regarded it as possible that England should withdraw from the affairs of India or from the exercise of sovereignty in the extensive areas which had come under British control by military conquest; indeed there seemed to be no one power, or group of powers, to which authority could reasonably be handed over. This being so, by whom should authority be exercised? If there were to be British authorities in India, to whom should they be held accountable?

The situation had arisen with some rapidity. The minds of many, both in India and in Britain, were confused and uncertain. One mind summed up the situation with perfect clarity, and was prepared to hammer home with inexhaustible eloquence the only possible answer to the question. To Edmund Burke it was perfectly clear that all authority, wherever the British exercised any powers, derived from the sovereign in Parliament. If, therefore, the East India Company had, by any means, acceded to a position of political power, it was for Parliament alone to determine the persons by whom authority in that country was to be exercised, to make plain the limits of that authority, and also to lay down the manner in which it was to be exercised. To Parliament alone must the authorities in India be held accountable. India had become a national responsibility; in no way could that responsibility be evaded.

It was by no means self-evident how a body of elderly squires, and even more aged noblemen, sitting in Westminster could effectively exercise authority over so distant a dominion; but the problem would not disappear simply by wishing that it did not exist. Honourable members might absent themselves from the debates, or allow themselves to be lulled into somnolence by the superb rhetoric in which Edmund Burke unfailingly clothed his arguments. But gradually it dawned on the English people that, though they might have stumbled into authority unawares, responsibility was there and something must be done about it. Information was often inadequate. Old prejudices died hard. Blunders were made. No finally satisfactory solution to the problem was ever found. But the principle once accepted could never be denied: the British people had accepted sovereignty over millions of people, alien in language, culture and religion, in a distant continent; it was now the business of the British people, acting through Parliament, to rule these peoples according to the law of God, as this was understood in the eighteenth century and as it was, however imperfectly, enshrined in the British Constitution.

The attempt had been made to remedy one impossible situation by introducing a new impossibility. Now, to set things right, William Pitt the younger in 1784 introduced into Parliament his great India Act and secured its passage. He himself was well aware of its imperfections, but described his aim as being that of 'securing the possessions of the East to the public, without confiscating the property of the Company; and beneficially changing the nature of this defective government without entrenching on the chartered rights of men'.[43]

One of the chief merits of the act was that it cleared up the problems surrounding the head of government in India. In future there was to be a governor-general, who would ordinarily be appointed from England and not from among those already in service in India. He was to be assisted by three councillors, none of whom would be an Indian but all of whom must be members of the covenanted service of the Company, and not as in 1773 outsiders with no knowledge of India. A supplementary act, passed in 1786, gave the governor-general the necessary powers to overrule the majority of his council, and also to assume the office of commander-in-chief, if an emergency made this step desirable.

Clearly, much would depend on the man first appointed as governor-general under the new act. In view of the disturbed state of India the authorities held the view that their choice should fall on a soldier. As early as 1782 the attention of the ministry had been directed to Charles, Earl Cornwallis, a soldier whose capitulation to the Americans at Yorktown, made inevitable through the faults of others, had not been allowed to tarnish his reputation or to interfere with his career. At the time of his appointment Cornwallis was forty-eight years of age, old enough to be well qualified by experience, but young enough to be willing to learn.

A better choice could hardly have been made. Cornwallis' first and greatest asset was a reputation for perfect integrity, which was never questioned by anyone. But there were other factors which could tell in his favour. He was a typical English grandee, accustomed to splendid living such as Indians admire but frugal in his personal habits. This meant that he had ready access to the greatest in the land, could approach them without anxiety, and could move with perfect freedom in their society. Conscious of his own dignity and of the confidence reposed in him by those who had appointed him, he could not regard any of his colleagues in India as being in any way a rival to him. Having nothing further to hope for from the favour of the great, he had nothing to fear, if for any reason their favour was turned in other directions. He could be his own man and do what seemed to him to be right. In the picturesque phrases of Henry Dundas, 'Here there was no broken fortune to be mended, here was no avarice to be gratified. Here was no beggarly mushroom kindred to be provided for – no crew of hungry followers gaping to be gorged.'[44]

Clive had been loyal primarily to himself and to his own interests. Warren Hastings had been loyal both to himself and to the Company. The loyalty of Cornwallis was directed to his king and to his country; but he never for a moment supposed that the true interests of England and its government could be opposed to those of the people of India. That this was his point of view soon became evident to those among whom he lived. A correspondent of Hastings wrote to him on 8 January 1787: 'Cornwallis has made us all happy; as he becomes more known he rises in the respect of the natives; they see the revived Hastings in him, they expect good, a firm and upright government resolved on doing what is right.'

So it was decreed that, for a period of more than a century and a half, the destinies of Britain and of India were to be intimately related to and entangled one with the other, and this on every level of human existence – political, social, institutional, legal, individual and so on. The subtle and intricate means and methods by which the mutual influence was carried into effect have never been worked out in detail, and they still present historians with a number of unsolved problems. What has not been invariably noticed is that, in this complex area of relationships, confrontation on the religious level, no less than on any other, was bound to arise. The life and thought of India had been deeply influenced and conditioned by Hindu and Muslim traditions in religion and philosophy. Britain, though at the end of the eighteenth century many British citizens showed few signs of Christian influence on life and conduct, stood firmly within the Judaeo-Christian tradition and its estimation of human personality and human rights. When a relationship of somewhat casual co-existence was changed into a situation of government and dependence, it was certain that on many matters of conduct and of social concern, East and West would have great difficulty in agreeing.

Discussion between the two worlds might have been carried on in the urbane manner which commended itself to such a universal genius as Sir William Jones. Jones made no secret of his genuine, though undogmatic, adherence to the Christian faith in which he had been brought up; he could write sincerely of 'our divine religion, the truth of which (if any history is true) is absolutely proved by historical evidence'. At the same time he could affirm that 'I am . . . charmed with Crishan [Krishna], an enthusiastic admirer of Raame and a devout adorer of Brimha [Brāhma] Bisher [Viṣṇu] Mahiser [Mahasvára]',[45] and express the opinion that the Hindu doctrine of transmigration is to be preferred to the Christian doctrine of eternal loss. Not all participants in the meeting of East with West were as large-hearted as Sir William Jones. On all sides in the controversies there were those who introduced an element of asperity into discussions that might with advantage have been carried on in more equable fashion. But no serious observer can have doubted that, with the opening of the nineteenth century new factors had been introduced into the dialogue between India and the West which in one form or another had been carried on for centuries before that date.

2 · The Tranquebar Mission

1 THE PERIOD OF ZIEGENBALG 1706–19

On 9 July 1706 the first Protestant missionaries to India, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau, arrived at Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast about 150 miles south of Madras. A new epoch in the history of the Christian mission had begun.[1]

The Danes had been in Tranquebar (*Tarangambădi*, 'the dashing of the ocean waves on the shore') since 1620.[2] The area which they rented from the king of Thañjāvur (Tanjore) was no more than five miles by three in extent. Then as now Tranquebar was a small, agreeable port-town, with no good harbour, and a population which was reckoned at 15,000. There was one other village, almost large enough to be called a town, Poreiyār, and fifteen smaller villages. The Danes were more careful than some other powers of the spiritual welfare of their subjects. The establishment in their Indian outpost included two resident chaplains; these held no permanent appointment, and, when one of them was due to return to Denmark, his place was usually taken by the chaplain of one of the ships which periodically arrived from Europe. There are occasional references in official documents[3] to the duty of converting the non-Christians; but nothing seems to have been done, the chaplains confining themselves strictly to their statutory duties as ministers to the European residents of the colony.

When the missionaries arrived, there was no committee of reception to greet them. No one wanted them, and many were prepared to give unconcealed expression to their displeasure.

At the head of the colony was the commandant, who, as the sequel showed, was prepared to exercise dictatorial powers. But his was not a royal appointment. He was no more than the chief representative in India of the Danish East India Company; he was appointed by the authorities of the Company, and to them all communications with Europe had to be addressed. The missionaries were Germans; nevertheless they claimed to have come to India with a special commission from the king of Denmark, and with the right to communicate directly with him and with other members of the royal family – a right of which they would not hesitate to make use.[4] Such direct access could not be agreeable to the governor.

The Danish chaplains inevitably regarded the status of the missionaries as highly questionable. Their own position was not open to question: they had been ordained to the service of the Church of Denmark, and temporary absence in India would in no way prejudice their right to be accepted as being on equal standing with other ordained ministers and to enter again a highly respectable position as servants of the state church. The position of the interlopers could not but appear, by comparison, highly dubious. They had, indeed, been ordained by the bishop of Zealand, but not to any ministry recognised by the Church of Denmark. They had no church and no congregation. It was to be feared that they would interfere with the monopoly of ministration claimed by the chaplains.

There were two churches in Tranquebar – the Zion church, built in 1701 by the efforts of the Danish inhabitants for their own use, and a Roman Catholic church of rather earlier date. The first Roman Catholics in the place had been of the fisher caste. But it had come to be taken for granted that the children of slaves of Christians, and the offspring of irregular unions between Europeans and Indian women, would be baptised in the Roman Catholic church, which had entered on the position, if not of state church, at least of a state-protected church. The Roman Catholic priest exercised a more than patriarchal discipline over his flock. It was unlikely that he would welcome the rivalry of those who could, and did, claim more directly than he could the authority and the protection of the state.

The majority of the population were Hindus, though there was a fairly strong Muslim element. These Hindus may well have viewed the arrival of the newcomers with complete indifference. It had come to be taken for granted that Indian Christians would be of the lowest castes; what religion they happened to profess could not be of any interest to their superiors. But it was certain that, if the missionaries approached the higher castes, still more if they managed to effect any conversions among them, the opposition of the non-Christians would be fierce and contentious.

The famous Cardinal Bellarmine, in his *Disputationes* (1586–93), had pointed out, as one of the evidences for the divine origin and authority of the holy Roman church, the successful missions carried out by that church in every part of the world, in comparison with which Protestants had hardly anything to show.[5]

The new beginning made in the eighteenth century was due in the main to the interest of a single ruler. King Frederick IV of Denmark, while still crown prince, had given some attention to the question why the Lutheran churches had nowhere undertaken work for the conversion of non-Christian peoples. After he had become king (1699), his mind reverted to the question and he decided to take action. As was natural at the time, he thought first of the non-Christians resident in his own dominions and of his duties towards them as a Christian prince. This meant, first (since the king of Denmark was also king of Norway), the Lapps in the northern part of the kingdom, where some of 'our subjects unfortunately still live in heathen ways and blindness'; secondly, the Hindus on the far side of the world in India. There was little interest in the proposal in Denmark, but the king's court chaplain Dr Lütkens, who was German, warmly supported it; and, since no Danes came forward to offer themselves for missionary service, Dr Lütkens turned to Germany.

Pious friends in Berlin pointed him to two young men, Henry Plütschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, both of whom had studied under the godly Dr Lange in Berlin. Both had a connection also with the University of Halle, where Professor A. H. Francke (1663–1727) had entered on the career which led him, following in the steps of Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), to the position of leading pietist in Germany.

An unexpected, yet perhaps not altogether unexpected, obstacle presented itself in the way of the candidates' going to India. It was intended that they should be ordained by the bishop of Zealand, Dr Bornemann.[6] But the dread word 'pietist' had been uttered.[7] The bishop became convinced that the two young men before him were pietists, and informed the king that they were not suitable candidates for missionary work in India. The king, having no other candidates before him and unwilling to lose this opportunity, ordered the bishop to hold a second examination. This time the pair, having perhaps been advised by their elders as to the kind of answers that they might suitably give, did better and passed the bishop's scrutiny. The bishop could no longer resist the king's importunity; Ziegenbalg and Plütschau were ordained together on 11 November 1705. Before the week was out they were on board the ship *Princess Sophia Hedwiga* bound for Tranquebar.

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, when he arrived in India on 6 July 1706, was twenty-three years old. Gifted, intense, emotional, impetuous, wholly dedicated to the work that he had in hand, throughout his missionary career he had to contend with endless difficulties; but even his most ardent admirers are fain to admit that for a number of these difficulties he was himself responsible. Plütschau was cast in a very different mould. Six years older than his colleague, sober, rather slow, he was cut out to be an admirable follower but not a leader. The two worked well together in mutual confidence and fellowship.

There was little to guide the missionaries in the enterprise which they had undertaken. There were no Lutheran precedents. What they knew of Roman

Catholic missions was from their point of view more likely to serve as a warning than as an inspiration. For the most part the new envoys had to depend on their own resources – on what they could learn from the Scriptures and on a steady process of adaptation to changing circumstances. Ziegenbalg was astonishingly modern in the methods that he adopted; at many points his successors were well advised to follow in his steps.

From the start, education was to form an essential part of the missionary programme. More than two centuries after the death of Ziegenbalg twenty-three coats of whitewash were removed from an ancient building standing in the compound which the missionaries had been able to acquire for their use; there above the door was revealed the original inscription *Dharma-p-pallikkūdam*, Charity School. The aim of education, however, was not simply the diffusion of knowledge; it was to be part of the equipment of the Christian man, who must be able to read the Word of God for himself and to absorb it into his very being. Before long a Portuguese school had been created for those of mixed descent, and a Tamil school for Indians. To this was added later a Danish school for the increasing number of children who were either of pure European descent or being brought up in European fashion. Ten years after the foundation of the mission, a seminary was opened, with a particular view to the preparation of the future Indian assistants in the work of the church.[8]

Ziegenbalg realised from the start that knowledge of the local language was the key to the situation. The original plan was that Ziegenbalg should concentrate on Portuguese and Plütschau on Tamil. For no explicit reason, but to the great advantage of the work, this arrangement was changed, and mastery of Tamil became the primary objective of Ziegenbalg.

He had little to help him. No grammar was available. The Jesuits in the sixteenth century had printed a number of books in Tamil, but the work had been discontinued, and the Lutheran missionaries seem never even to have heard that such printed books existed.

Ziegenbalg quickly realised the difference between the spoken and the written forms of the language. If the Christian faith was to be respected, it must find expression in the higher forms of Tamil; and if this was ever to be achieved, the first necessity was the formation of as large a collection as possible of Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts. In a letter of 7 October 1709,[9] he notes that such manuscripts are not expensive, but are rather difficult to come by, as the Hindus naturally are not eager to reveal their secrets to a foreigner. He has, however, ascertained that the widows of learned Brāhmans are sometimes willing to part with their husbands' books; his emissaries have gone out far and wide in search of such treasures, and as a result of their efforts he now has a collection of 300 books in Tamil.

At an early date he was pleased to find among his books a number which came to him from Roman Catholic sources. This was of the greatest help to him, as he was now able to express himself on spiritual things, having a supply of terms in which Christian ideas could be expressed without the confusion of Hindu associations.[10] The best book of all for this purpose was the Gospel book.[11] The possession of these books may at the time have seemed to Ziegenbalg a blessing; it may be doubted whether in the long run these borrowings from Roman Catholic usage were of advantage to the Lutheran churches. Robert Nobili[12] had relied heavily on Sanskrit for his rendering of Christian terms, and had thus saddled the churches in India with a number of artificial constructs as a result of which the Christian faith came to sound unduly foreign in the ears of those to whom these terms were unfamiliar.

One notable result of these Tamil studies was a change in Ziegenbalg's attitude to the Indian people and to the Hindu religion. When he arrived in India, he shared the view generally held by Europeans that Indians were a barbarous people, and that their religion was no better than a depraved superstition. In one of his earliest letters he writes of almost jovial iconoclasm. He and his colleague, on one of their walks abroad, had found outside a temple of the wife of Īsvara a large number of terracotta images: 'we overturned some, and knocked off the heads of others, to show the people that these were powerless and useless gods, unable to help themselves and still less to help their worshippers'.[13] Ziegenbalg never changed his view that Hinduism, as an idolatrous religion, was displeasing to God and could bring no salvation to its adherents.[14] But by 1709 he had come to realise that the Indians are a civilised people; and, as he penetrated more deeply into their classical writings, he was amazed to discover the depth of their moral insights and the admirable style in which their wisdom is expressed.

So it came about that this most devout and orthodox of Lutheran missionaries became one of the pioneers in the study of South Indian Hinduism and in making the results of his researches available to the Western world.[15] The most notable of his contributions is the work entitled *Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods*, which was completed in 1713. It was a remarkable work, based not only on books but also on extensive correspondence with educated Hindus, many extracts from whose letters are included in the book. Ziegenbalg is still speaking in terms of 'the blindness and idolatry of these heathens in their foolish heathenism',[16] but he is concerned to be scrupulously fair, and to represent things as the Hindus themselves understood and practised them.

The book was sent to Halle with the clear intention that it should be printed and circulated in Europe. It did not meet with a favourable reception. A. H. Francke, the renowned founder of the Orphan Asylum and other institutions at Halle, and director of the mission, wrote back to

Tranquebar that 'the printing of the "Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods" was not to be thought of, inasmuch as the Missionaries were sent out to extirpate heathenism, and not to spread heathenish non-sense in Europe'.[17] The manuscript slept undisturbed on the shelves at Halle for more than a century and a half, until it was discovered by the diligence of Dr W. Germann, who added to his many other services to Christianity in India the publication of the original German text.

Ziegenbalg was prepared to give much time to language study and to the investigation of Hindu ideas and customs. But all this was, to his mind, mere preparation for what he regarded as the most important of all his missionary tasks – the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Tamil.[18] He seems to have begun the work before the end of the year 1708. Before the end of 1709 he writes with understandable but perhaps premature satisfaction of what he has been able to achieve:

> In my doing of this work God has given me such notable support that everything has been reproduced in accordance with the original text, and in the exact sense intended by the Holy Spirit, and with such clarity that I hardly think that the Holy Word of God can be translated into European languages as clearly as into this Malabarian speech, even allowing for the fact that it has neither full-stops nor commas. I have made use of the most readily understandable words, and the most impressive forms of speech, so that a single style is found throughout.[19]

In his devotion to this exacting work Ziegenbalg had to endure one unexpected hindrance, and was gladdened by one unexpected help.

Towards the end of the year 1708 the friends of Ziegenbalg were dismayed to learn that he was in prison. He had managed to fall foul of the commandant Hassius by his intemperate zeal, and to have provoked him to what was undoubtedly high-handed action. As a prisoner he seems to have behaved with considerable patience and to have maintained an attitude of courtesy and consideration towards the commandant. After four months better counsels prevailed and he was released. A measure of reconciliation was achieved, but it does not seem that either party had any deep or lasting confidence in the other.

The unexpected help came from England. Anthony William Böhme, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, was in close touch with Halle and received reports of the work in Tranquebar. He believed that the English, who had no mission of their own but were increasingly aware of work outside Europe, would be willing to support so worthy an enterprise. A number of the letters from India were translated and circulated;[20] the response was immediate and enthusiastic. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge felt no difficulty about supporting work carried on by German Lutherans. In addition to direct financial aid raised by public subscription, the society arranged for a Portuguese translation of the New Testament to be printed in Amsterdam and for a large number of copies to be sent to Tranquebar.[21] Most important of all, the society purchased a printing press and despatched it to India. This had founts only in Roman type, and, while it could therefore be highly useful for printing in Portuguese, could not meet the yet more urgent need of the mission for the introduction of printing in Tamil.

While Thomas Tenison (1636–1715) was archbishop of Canterbury, certain strains developed in the relations between the Church of England and a Lutheran mission in South India. But when Tenison was succeeded at Canterbury by the ecumenically minded William Wake (1657–1737), complete harmony was restored. Nothing could exceed the cordiality of the terms in which in 1719 that prelate wrote to the Tranquebar missionaries.[22]

Amid many interruptions, the work of New Testament translation went forward.[23] On 21 March 1711 Ziegenbalg was able to report that the work had been completed: 'this is a treasure in India which surpasses all other Indian treasures'.[24] While this was still in process of revision, a second printing press arrived, accompanied by three Germans who had been sent out to assist in this department of the mission, and, still more importantly, by a fount of Tamil types which had been prepared in Halle. Work was at once put in hand on the printing of the first part of Ziegenbalg's translation, containing the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. This appeared from the press in 1714. The second part, printed in smaller type from matrices which had been cast in Tranquebar itself, was ready in 1715.

Only rarely has the first translation of Scripture in a new language been found acceptable. Ziegenbalg's achievement was considerable; for the first time the entire New Testament had been made available in an Indian language.[25] But from the start Ziegenbalg's work was exposed to criticism on a variety of grounds, some of which will be enumerated in another context. When Fabricius' New Testament appeared in 1772, its superiority was so immediately evident that before long the older version ceased to be used. This does not detract from the merits of the pioneer; where he had led the way it was not too difficult for others to follow.

As soon as the revision of the New Testament in manuscript was completed, Ziegenbalg turned his attention to the Old Testament. The first allusion to this new labour appears in a letter of 13 September 1713 addressed to H. J. Elers in Halle.[26] There are repeated references in the letters of the later years. As the work of the mission grew and interruptions became more frequent, Ziegenbalg built himself a little house in a quiet area away from the centre of the town, where he could pursue tranquilly what he regarded as the most important work of all. On 28 September 1714 he reports to Francke that the book Exodus has now been completed.[27] At the time of his death he had continued the work up to the Book of Ruth.[28]

It has frequently been stated that the early German missionaries, being pietists, had little sense of the church as the people of God and believed that their work had been done when a certain number of souls had been snatched as brands from the burning. There is little, if anything, in the existing records to support this view of them.

Ziegenbalg would more properly be described as a high church Lutheran. He had a strong sense of the dignity of his calling. He wore informal dress at home, and at times on his travels wore Indian dress; but outside his home he was habitually dressed in black, with the wig which seems to have been inescapable for Europeans in those days. Some of his younger colleagues complained bitterly of this imposition, and habits more suitable to a tropical climate came gradually to be adopted.[29]

As a missionary of the Danish crown, ordained in Denmark, Ziebenbalg felt himself bound by the liturgy and customs of the Danish church, though he translated such documents as Luther's shorter catechism directly from the German. Services were carried out with great solemnity. Accounts of funerals indicate participation by the entire community, and each seems to have been used as an occasion for witness to the non-Christians, who watched the habits of the Christians with more curiosity than understanding. Only in one respect does Ziegenbalg seem to have made a concession to the fact that this new church was growing up in India; he made use of the presence in the Christian community of a measure of literary and musical talent to introduce the singing of Tamil lyrics to Indian melodies, in addition to using in church the growing collection of hymns which had been translated from German but in which the original metres and tunes had been preserved.

The first pioneers, though loyal to Denmark, soon reached the conclusion that the mission ought to be directed from India, not from Europe. As early as 1709 we find Ziegenbalg writing that one of the missionaries ought to be appointed as head of the mission with the right to ordain.[30] Missionary candidates should be sent out unordained; only after having served their apprenticeship and proved their worth in the field should they be ordained. Again and again his letters revert to the idea of a missionary seminary in the East. A candidate might study Tamil for six years in Europe and yet not be intelligible to the inhabitants on his arrival in India; language study could be far better done in India. It should be possible to introduce into the seminary the study of other Indian languages – Telugu, Urdu, Sanskrit – and then to send out missionaries to areas whose language they had learnt.[31]

It has been suggested by some that the pietistic missionaries thought of the church as an assembly of saints and failed to take account of its character as a necessarily mixed society of saints and sinners. For this supposition there are no grounds in the records of the Tranquebar mission. Ziegenbalg was well aware that there were some, perhaps many, among those who presented themselves for Christian instruction who were activated by mixed motives. He defended his policy of accepting all who came, pointing to the example of the Lord himself who did not shun the society of publicans and sinners. But, he added, 'we do not baptize them readily – we may keep them as long as four years among the catechumens'.

Preparation of candidates for baptism was among the most laborious of the tasks which the missionaries laid upon themselves. Most of the candidates were illiterate; this meant that the lessons, based on Luther's shorter catechism, had to be gone over again and again, in the hope that gradually the meaning would sink in and that out of this necessarily rather rudimentary knowledge a living faith would grow. Every year some baptisms would take place, and gradually both the Portuguese and the Tamil congregations grew into sizeable fellowships.[32] But Ziegenbalg was well aware that baptism was a beginning rather than an end. The new Christians, not yet firm in their faith, would need for many years watchful supervision and ceaseless instruction. The building up of a living church in India would be the work of centuries rather than of years; all that the pioneers could hope to do was to lay a firm foundation on which others would be able to build.[33]

One of the major elements in a stable situation was necessarily the presence and activity of faithful Indian helpers. From the start the missionaries set themselves to lighten their burdens by choosing and training those whom they believed to be best suited to share in the work of the church.[34] With the increase in the number of those so employed, the missionaries adopted the custom of holding with all of them each day a session at which reports were given of the work done and problems were discussed. After ten years of experience Ziegenbalg reports favourably on the help rendered by these workers in the institutions, but regrets that they are of little value in the primary work of the mission, the conversion of non-Christians; 'for this we have to rely on ourselves, there is still therefore a great need for good missionaries'.[35]

Like all other missionaries, the Lutherans had to wrestle with the problems of caste, that all-pervasive element in Hindu society.[36]

The general attitude of Ziegenbalg and his colleagues can be summed up in a single sentence. It is not to be hoped that the system of caste can be completely abolished, but rules of caste must not be allowed to prevail within the church of Christ.

The majority of the converts in the Tranquebar mission were Sūdras. Thus they stood within the Hindu caste system, though in most cases not at any very exalted level within it.[37] Discrimination was so far permitted that, when the large cruciform church called the New Jerusalem was built (1718), the Sūdras occupied the central part of the church, while those of the depressed classes sat in the transepts, the men on one side and the women on the other. It is not clearly stated, but it seems probable, that at the Holy Communion the Sūdras came up first to receive the sacrament and the members of other communities after them.

In 1714 Ziegenbalg decided that he must return to Europe to sort out the endless difficulties that had arisen in the relationships between Halle, Copenhagen and Tranquebar. The mission had friends in Europe, but it also had many enemies, and these had been vocal both in spoken words and in the press.[38] Fuel was added to the fire by the reports of J. G. Bövingh, who had served in the mission from 1709 to 1711. From the start Bövingh had found it difficult to get on good terms with his colleagues; after his return to Europe he had no good word to say of them. Unfortunately, Bövingh's indiscreet letters were published by an anonymous friend and gained wide attention. Plütschau returned to Europe in 1711 to present in person the case for the mission; but, though a good and faithful worker, he lacked both the diplomacy and the force of character necessary to a successful ambassador. Ziegenbalg concluded that there were many matters which still needed his personal attention.[39]

During the ten months which Ziegenbalg spent in Europe fortune seemed to smile on him at every turn. On arrival he learnt that, just at the time of his leaving India, he had been appointed provost of the mission with the right to ordain (it is to be remembered that he was still only thirty-two years of age). He was received by the king and preached before him. He made the acquaintance of other members of the royal family – notably the crown prince, who succeeded to the throne in 1730 as King Christian VI and was a more reputable character than his father.

While Ziegenbalg was on the high seas, the king had taken steps to organise the mission at the home end. The pious Dr Lütkens, who from the outset had been the chief support in Denmark of the Indian mission, had died in August 1712; some measure of re-organisation was urgently necessary. The king had therefore brought into being a mission council,[40] to consist of two laymen, two professors of theology and, as secretary, the chamberlain to the prince, Christopher Wendt.

From Denmark Ziegenbalg moved to Halle, where he was most affectionately received and preached to receptive congregations a number of times. While there he married a former pupil of his own, Mary Dorothea Sulzmann, a lady who proved to be an admirable consort, and to provide a strong argument against the view that missionaries should not be married.[41]

From Halle the missionaries crossed to England, where once again their reception left nothing to be desired.[42] They were introduced to the royal family– German George I was naturally pleased to meet fellow Germans to whom he could talk freely (he was also quite at home in French), and seems to have been genuinely interested in the mission.

But throughout Ziegenbalg was homesick for India. After an unusually rapid voyage he landed at Madras on 10 August 1716, to be warmly received by the English governor and by the chaplain William Stevenson (in India 1712–18), a stalwart friend of the mission. All the news which was awaiting him from Tranquebar was good news. It seemed that a new era of prosperity and progress was opening out before the mission.

It was not long, however, before heavy clouds began to bank up in an unexpected quarter. The trouble arose from the character and the views of Christopher Wendt, the secretary of the council in Copenhagen. Wendt had definite ideas as to what the mission should become: he wished it to return to the pattern of an apostolic mission, unencumbered by property and financial cares, the missionaries going from place to place, preferably on foot, and preaching the Gospel to the non-Christians.

Like so many of those who have presumed to direct missions from a distance of 6,000 miles, Wendt had not the smallest idea of the conditions that prevailed in India – of the demands constantly made on health by an exacting climate, of the perils of isolation, of the resistance presented to the Gospel by the non-Christian mind, of the length of time required to nurture the seedlings of conversion if ever they were to grow into stalwart plants. But his errors and exaggerations should not be allowed to obscure the fact that at certain points he had a case to make; the missionaries had made mistakes and there were lessons to be learnt.

The errors of Ziegenbalg can be summed up in a few lines. He was a little too pleased with his position as a royal missionary, and too readily inclined to call on the help of the civil power in Denmark. In his controversies with the authorities in Tranquebar he was generally in the right, but a less impetuous and more temperate approach might in the end have been more beneficial to the mission. He was too ready to open the coffers of the mission to those who claimed to be needy Christians, though he was right in recognising that those who had lost all their property through becoming Christians could not be allowed to starve. He would have done well to allow the congregation to grow before providing it with so large and solid a church, built entirely by foreign money, though he was right in thinking that in the tropics solid building in the end always justifies itself as an economy. But, when full account has been taken of all these weaknesses, history has handed in the verdict that Ziegenbalg was a prudent pioneer, and that for the most part the foundations that he laid have endured the testing of time.

Wendt was in any case quite wrong in supposing that the 'apostolic' aspect of the work of the mission had been neglected. The missionaries, burdened as they were by many other tasks, took every opportunity to make contact with the non-Christians and to present to them the Gospel.[43] Ziegenbalg had hit upon the novel method of addressing to Hindus of good standing, many of them outside the area of Tranquebar, courteously expressed letters, asking them to put in writing the difficulties which they felt over accepting the Christian way. Many, naturally, took no notice; but quite a number of answers were received, in most cases expressed in equally courteous terms. Some of the correspondents felt difficulty over one or other point of Christian doctrine. Some raised objections to such Christian customs as are unacceptable to Hindus. Many expressed approval of the ethical aspects of Christian teaching and were prepared to consider it as a possible way to salvation. But in various letters there came up that difficulty which then stood, and still stands, in the way of securing converts from the higher levels of Hindu society – to become a Christian would mean persecution, expulsion from the caste, the loss of property and possessions, of livelihood and of everything that makes life possible. How could such sacrifices be considered with equanimity?[44]

Ziegenbalg was deeply wounded by the tone of Wendt's letter, and by the censoriousness which simply brushed on one side all that he had endured in the service of the mission. In a dignified letter of 15 August 1718 he answered many of the points that Wendt had raised, affirming that he had never for a moment swerved from that which is central to all missionary endeavour – to serve one's neighbour both in body and in soul, and to bring him to God.[45]

Ziegenbalg had never been a man of robust health. The distress caused by the letter from the council was without doubt one of the principal causes of the decline which set in in December 1718.[46] By the end of that year he seems himself to have been aware that he could not recover. On 10 February 1719 he handed over all responsibility for the mission to his colleague J. E. Gründler. The end came peacefully on 23 February. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg had not completed his thirty-sixth year.

Gründler was now left to bear the whole burden alone. He had shared with Ziegenbalg the shock occasioned by the tone of Wendt's letter. He set himself to indite a lengthy missive in which he dealt point by point with all the matters raised by the council. Among other points, he makes the obvious one that an 'apostolic mission', as Wendt conceived it, was made impossible through the absolute prohibition by the local rulers of any Christian activity by foreigners in their dominions. The work beyond the limits of Danish authority could be carried out only by Indian assistants.[47]

Help was at hand. Less than a month after the death of Ziegenbalg, three new missionaries – Benjamin Schultze, N. Dal (the first Dane to enter the service of the mission) and J. H. Kistenmacher – embarked at Deal; they reached Madras on 20 March 1719. Gründler seemed to recover from the depression which had assailed him ever since the death of his colleague. He began eagerly to teach the new recruits Tamil and to acquaint them with all the affairs of the mission. But he was still afflicted by one deep anxiety. The new workers had, in accordance with Ziegenbalg's desire, been sent out unordained. Gründler was the only ordained servant of the mission; what would happen if he died? Could he proceed, on his own authority, to ordain one of the new arrivals, without waiting for authorisation in due form to arrive from Copenhagen?

Fortunately he decided to act, and in January 1720 proceeded to ordain Schultze. He was just in time. He had never really recovered from the shock of Wendt's letter, followed by the death of Ziegenbalg. In the very next month it was clear that his health was failing. On 19 March he died.

With these two deaths, one following so closely on the other, the first period of the mission ended, and a new period began. It does not appear that Wendt ever realised what he had done. But when, in the following year, he fell from favour and was dismissed by the king from all his appointments, it was hard for the friends of the mission not to feel that the righteous judgement of God had followed hard upon him.

2 THE PERIOD OF BENJAMIN SCHULTZE, 1720–40

In comparison with the first great period of the Tranquebar mission, the second cannot but show itself as rather grey in colour. The excitements of the first beginnings were no longer there. The great pioneers had disappeared. The years that followed were to be years of consolidation rather than of extension, of conservative development rather than of rapid growth. To some extent, also, the character of the period was determined by the quality of those who stepped into the vacant places. Even those who were most faithful and diligent did not match the stature either of those who came before them or of those who came after.

Yet those twenty years were memorable for two events which came to mark deeply all the subsequent history of the mission – the foundation of the 'English mission', and the ordination of the first Indian Protestant pastor in 1733.

When Gründler died, Benjamin Schultze (1689–1760)[48] was the only ordained missionary left in Tranquebar. No one has ever denied that Schultze had a measure of ability, but it was ability neither controlled by self-discipline nor directed by a spirit of wisdom. Where Schultze was, there he had to be sole master and director; no other view than his was to be heard. He could rule but he could not co-operate; he carried this principle so far that he would not permit his unordained fellow-missionaries to address him as 'colleague'.[49]

Even in the time of Ziegenbalg, the missionaries had chafed under the restriction of their work to the Danish territory of Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg himself had visited Madras in 1710, had been most kindly received by the pious governor, Edward Harrison, and had written enthusiastically of the possibilities of a mission in that city.[50] He wrote again to the same effect in the following year.

The first practical step was taken in 1717, when the governor, now Joseph Collet, wrote to tell the directors in London that by arrangement the German missionaries had brought into being a charity school at Fort St David (Cuddalore), with one master to teach Tamil and another to teach Portuguese; at the same time two schools had been created in Madras – one (Portuguese) in the White Town, and one (Tamil) in the Black Town.[51]

In 1726, Schultze, in search of a kingdom, took the revolutionary step of moving to Madras and asking for permission to reside there. The directors in London, being well disposed to missionary work, raised no objection:

> if any of the Danish Missionaries shall visit or reside at places under the Company's jurisdiction, our Governors and officers, may give them their protection. We hereby consent thereunto, upon supposition that they behave themselves, respectfully and suitably to the Rules of the place.

On being assured by the governor and council, in a letter of 18 June 1731, that the Danish missionaries were quiet and modest, the directors noted that

> the behaviour of the Danish Missionaries being so agreeable to their profession is pleasing to us; and we hope all in your several stations will give due countenance to their laudable undertaking.[52]

So Schultze was able to settle in Madras. In due course the SPCK in London took responsibility for his support, supplying him with a salary of £60 a year, but did not try to interfere in the direction of the work. Schultze thus became the first member of what came to be generally known as the English mission.[53]

If account is taken of numbers, the work of Schultze in Madras must be regarded as successful. When he came no congregation was in existence. For the year in which he returned to Europe, 1743, the annual report records 678 Indian Christians and 13 as belonging to the Portuguese congregation. Some of these were, no doubt, former Roman Catholics, but the majority were converts from the non-Christian world.

From an early date Ziegenbalg and his colleagues had realised that, as soon as possible, the greater part of the work must be placed in the hands of Indian colleagues: a church in India must be Indian in more than the geographical sense. In 1733 the decision to ordain an Indian pastor was reached, partly on grounds of principle and partly as a matter of necessity. Permission for foreigners to travel and preach in the dominions of the *rājā* of Thañjāvur had not been given; the one attempt made by Ziegenbalg to penetrate the interior had ended ignominiously on the very day on which he had set out.[54] The number of converts in the villages was growing, but they could not always come to Tranquebar for sacramental ministries. The only remedy was to provide them with an Indian minister, one of their own who could travel among them without the restrictions under which foreigners suffered.

The missionaries proceeded systematically. As early as 1728 they had written to Copenhagen for permission to ordain an Indian colleague. At Eastertide 1733, the purpose to ordain was communicated to the congregation, and the three town catechists, Savarimuttu, Aaron and Diogo, whom the missionaries had had for a considerable period under their personal observation, were put forward as candidates to be considered. The senior catechist, Savarimuttu, withdrew on the ground of age. When the vote of the heads of families was taken, it was found that exactly half had voted for Aaron and half for Diogo; the division among the six missionaries was precisely the same. After further conference with the assembled catechists, it was announced to the congregation that a unanimous decision had been reached in favour of Aaron.

Aaron had been born in or about the year 1698. He was by caste a Veḷḷāḷa, this being generally reckoned as the highest caste, second only to the Brāhmans; he belonged to a well-to-do family. He had been baptised in 1718, and in the following year had become catechist in the city congregation and evangelist in the surrounding villages.

The ordination, which took place on 20 December 1733, was made an occasion of considerable solemnity. No fewer than eleven ministers took part in the ceremony – the six missionaries resident in Tranquebar, Sartorius from Madras,[55] the two Danish chaplains in Tranquebar and two ships' chaplains who happened to be in India at the time. After ordination Aaron was assigned to the district of Mayāvaram.

His ministry was not of long duration; he died on 25 June 1745. He bore throughout a high reputation, having behaved himself in such a way as to earn the respect and love of both Hindus and Christians. He was a man of courage and integrity, and wise in the handling of individuals.[56]

Notable among the Indian helpers was one who was never ordained – Rājānaikan, who had formerly been a subordinate officer in the army of the *rājā* of Thañjāvur and who belonged to one of the lower castes (Servai). This man, born about 1700, had been brought up as a Roman Catholic; but he had been given in early manhood the four Gospels and Acts in Tamil, had read them with avidity and was eager to be admitted into the Lutheran church. The missionaries were unwilling to admit him; but in July 1727 he arrived in Tranquebar, bringing with him three soldiers whom he had himself brought to the faith. After that there could be no doubt; in 1728 he was admitted to the Lutheran church, and before long he was recognised as catechist of Thañjāvur. This defection aroused the wrath of the Roman Catholics. Rājānaikan had to endure many hardships at their hands, but he stood firm throughout, and began a career of witness the effects of which were felt far and wide.[57]

When Rājānaikan began his work there were fewer than 100 Protestant Christians in the Thañjāvur area. Ten years later there were 367,[58] and the number was quickly growing. Rājānaikan lived in Thañjāvur, but he moved throughout the country, co-operating with the catechists in their various stations. As he himself belonged to one of the lower castes, most of his converts were from the same social level; but there were exceptions, and in Thañjāvur as elsewhere there was a nucleus of Christians from the higher castes.

3 THE PERIOD OF PHILIP FABRICIUS

John Philip Fabricius arrived in India in 1740. After two years of apprenticeship in Tranquebar, he moved to Madras to take over the position left vacant by the departure of Schultze. Like his predecessor, he joined the 'English mission', and he remained many years in its employ; but to the end he was proud to regard himself as a 'royal Danish missionary'. By degrees the number of Christians began to grow, and the Madras mission took on the lineaments of permanence.[59]

Fabricius had early evinced a capacity for language study, and possessed an ear for the finer shades of language and a sensitivity to the way in which Tamil people think and to the manner in which they express their thoughts. Not long after the beginning of his career in Madras Fabricius was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of a highly educated Hindu, Muttu, who later secured employment as an interpreter in the service of the East India Company and rose to be the most highly trusted of all the Indian employees of the Company. On his first arrival Fabricius had supposed that the Tamil New Testament of Ziegenbalg was as good a translation as could be hoped for. But as he read with Muttu he found reason to change his opinion. With all respect for his venerable predecessors in the work, he had to note with regret that, amid the multiplicity of their labours, they had not had the time to learn the art of speaking and writing briefly (*kurz*) and sensitively (*nervös*) in foreign languages.[60] The four qualities which Fabricius found in the originals were lucidity, strength, brevity and appropriateness; these were sadly lacking in the existing Tamil translation, but he hoped that by the help of God he had been able to restore them.[61]

By 1750 Fabricius had completed his revision, or rather his new translation, of the New Testament. He was an extraordinarily patient and diligent worker, testing his work by reading it aloud to a variety of hearers, and making sure that what he read was understood by them.

In 1753 he communicated his results to the brethren in Tranquebar, and only then learnt to his dismay that they had begun to print their own revision, made on principles which he regarded as unsatisfactory,[62] and that they had, indeed, completed the printing as far as the first epistle to the Corinthians. He hastened to Tranquebar, and sat down with his colleagues to work through 2 Corinthians and Galatians. When this point had been reached, the colleagues were so far convinced of the superiority of the work of Fabricius that they agreed, for the rest of the New Testament, to take it as the basis for printing, reserving to themselves the right to make suggestions and corrections. In fact, in the Tamil text of the remaining books of the New Testament the work of Fabricius survived with little alteration. In 1758 the new Tamil New Testament emerged from the press, but as a strange hybrid in which the first seven books, comprising about half of the whole, showed no sign of the influence of Fabricius while the second half was based almost wholly on his work. At last, in 1766, Fabricius was able to begin the printing of his own New Testament, now again carefully revised, on a press made available to him by the British government. Immediately on its appearance it was hailed as far superior to all its predecessors.

Once finished with the translation of the New Testament, Fabricius turned to the Old. As early as 18 October 1756 he expressed his intention of getting to work on the Old Testament, beginning with the books that were most in demand but would prove to be the hardest to translate – the Psalms, the books of Solomon and the prophets. At times he must have been irked by the endless delays occasioned through lack of type or paper at Tranquebar, but he continued ceaselessly the work of revision and improvement. In 1756 a new version of the Psalms was printed, but the final printing of the complete Old Testament was delayed till 1798, several years after the death of the translator.

For 150 years the Fabricius version was the only one in use in the Lutheran churches in South India. Even today there are Lutherans who prefer it to any other, and some who are not Lutherans would agree with the tribute paid to it by the poet Vadanāyaga Sāstriār in his old age – 'the golden translation of the immortal Fabricius'.[63]

This was, however, far from being the only service that Fabricius rendered. Ziegenbalg had made a start on Tamil Christian hymnody, but these earlier compositions were rough-hewn, and few of them have stood the test of time. Fabricius had the field almost to himself; no other European has attained to the same level of mastery in this art.[64] German chorales are better adapted for rendering into Tamil than the majority of English hymns, whose iambic metre makes them unsuitable for direct rendering into Tamil. In modern times the tendency has been away from translations of Western words set to Western tunes and towards the original compositions of Indian singers in their own metres and to their own melodies. But some at least of the hymns of Fabricius will be sung for as long as the Tamil language is spoken, and for as long as there are Christians in South India to sing them.

We are not yet at the end of the services rendered by Fabricius to the missionary cause. He composed a short Tamil grammar in English; this little work of only sixty-three pages was published in 1778, and in a second edition fifteen years later. For many years Fabricius was engaged in the work of lexicography. Ziegenbalg had made a beginning with the collection of Tamil words and their German equivalents; Fabricius went much further. Making use of the work of all his predecessors, he brought out in 1779 a Tamil–English lexicon, which may be regarded as the foundation stone of scientific work in this field. Less important, though not without its usefulness, was an English–Tamil dictionary of the year 1786.

The last years of Fabricius were a time of tragedy and darkness. In 1778 it came to the knowledge of the missionaries that he had involved himself inextricably in financial difficulties and was liable to imprisonment for debt. Those so imprisoned were not treated as common criminals; their friends had fairly easy access to them; and Fabricius had friends who were able to secure considerable alleviation of his sufferings. But it was a sad conclusion to a noble career. At long last the missionary Gericke, who had taken over the work from him and was less pharisaic in his judgement than most of the Tranquebar missionaries (perhaps because he had suffered less than they), was able to secure his release, and the old man was allowed to die in peace. The end came on 24 January 1791. He had served in India for more than fifty years.[65]

4 THE PERIOD OF CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ

Christian Frederick Schwartz[66] was born in Prussia on 8 October 1726, and arrived in Tranquebar on 30 July 1750. He had studied in Halle and had drunk deeply of the pietism which reigned there at that time.

Schwartz was without doubt the greatest of all the Tranquebar missionaries. Yet it is a little difficult to put this greatness into words. He had no particular gifts or talents. Those of his sermons which have been preserved are not marked by any theological originality or brilliance in expression; they give evidence rather of a solid and somewhat conventional piety. His letters to his friends reveal the intense and unchanging affection in which he held them, but tell us far less than we would like to know of the life of a missionary and of the circumstances under which his work was carried on. Yet it is clear that he was endowed with good intellectual capacities. He seems to have had no difficulty in expressing himself in both Tamil and Portuguese. From his later letters it is clear that he had a perfect mastery of English without any pretensions to eloquence. In Tiruchirāpaḷḷi (Trichinopoly) he learnt Urdu in order to be able to talk to representatives of the *nawāb* of Arcot who spoke that language; to this he later added Persian, the court language of the *rājā* of Thañjāvur, who was by origin a Marāthā, and encouraged him to learn some Marāthī.[67] To have mastered so many languages when burdened with all the cares of missionary life was no small achievement.

All this does not, however, account for the extraordinary esteem in which he was held by Indians and Europeans alike. This was due to the beauty of holiness, to the superlative purity and integrity of his life. On all he left an impression of perfect and transparent sincerity; he lived out his Christian life before their eyes in such a way as to make faith attractive even to the hardened and the cynical. He carried with him an atmosphere of quiet tranquillity; but it is clear that this was no natural gift. Like others who have attained to similar inner peace, he had had to make his way to it through inner conflicts and temptations, of some of which the records have been preserved.[68] But all that we know of the last thirty of the forty-eight years which he spent in India, without once returning to Europe, gives the impression of a joyful and confident faith and of an untroubled spirit.

The time at which Schwartz and his companions[69] reached India was not one of great prosperity for the mission. Schwartz had to go through the painful experience of learning that things were not quite as they had been represented. Eager and adventurous faith had been replaced by a somewhat passive conformity. Christians had become satisfied with a low level of achievement, in this reflecting the colour of their old, rather than of their new, environment. The Indian ordained ministers were inclined to sit in their comfortable homes without engaging too often in the long and arduous journeys without which the supervision of their widely scattered flocks could not be carried out. Saddest of all, the much-heralded catechist Rājānaikan had fallen into evil ways. He had become a victim of the ever present temptation to drunkenness; reproof and admonition had failed to bring him back to better ways, though in the end this was achieved and he was received back into favour. It was reported that two of the catechists had left the service of the mission in circumstances which did not redound to their credit.

So there was much up-hill work to be undertaken, and long patience was required before results could be seen in renewal. To all this Schwartz set himself with the necessary measure of zeal and patience. But the first twelve years of his Indian life gave little promise of the adventures that were to follow, nor of the eminence which this quiet man was to attain.

The one adventure of those early years came unsought and had about it an inescapable element of the ridiculous. Schwartz came back from one of his peregrinations to find that a bride was waiting for him in Tranquebar. He was horrified. He had no objection to the marriage of missionaries, but he swore to high heaven that he had at that time no intention of getting married and that, if he had had, this would not be the lady whom he would have chosen. The situation was serious. No funds were available to send the unwanted bride back to Europe, nor was any ship immediately sailing. It was impossible under the conditions which prevailed in India at that time for an unmarried woman without relations to live in Tranquebar. Fortunately a solution was found. An elderly lieutenant in the garrison had been left a widower; he agreed to marry the lady. The wedding was made an occasion of considerable rejoicing; honour was satisfied and Schwartz was set free to remain a bachelor till the end of his days.

The association of Schwartz with Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, which came about in 1762 and which was to lay the foundations of his fame, occurred almost by accident. After a visit to Thañjāvur, instead of returning directly to Tranquebar he decided to pay a visit to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, an important fort-town and the second centre of the rule of the *nawāb* of Arcot. Here he found Christians of the Danish mission and was so warmly received by the officers of the Company's regiment there that he decided to stay and minister to the white soldiers, not all of whom were English; to those of mixed race, many of the women among whom were married to soldiers; to Indian Christians; and to the non-Christians who formed the vast majority of the population.

Such was the attractiveness of his character that before long Schwartz had a group of sixty soldiers who met every day for prayer and mutual exhortation, and pledged themselves to visit the poor and the sick. When the elder Kohlhoff came on a visit, he affirmed that there was nothing like it in the whole of India. Two explosions had resulted in the death of a considerable number of European soldiers; Schwartz in consequence found himself in charge of a school for orphan children for which special funds had been raised. His work grew in every direction. Visitors record that 'he alone does the work of several missionaries, and we have found more here than we could have imagined'.[70]

When Schwartz had ministered for a considerable time in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, the government in Madras felt that something should be done to regularise the situation. The following communication was sent in 1767 to the commandant at Tiruchirāpaḷḷi:

> There being at present at Trichinopoly a large body of Europeans for whom we have no Chaplain; it is agreed to request of Mr Schwartz, one of the Danish Missionaries, who has long resided in that part of the country, speaks English perfectly well, and bears a most unexceptionable character, to officiate at that garrison . . . and to allow him £100 per annum to be paid monthly by the Commissary General.[71]

Schwartz continued to receive his modest salary as a missionary; he was therefore able to pay the whole of this government honorarium into the funds of the mission for the extension of the work. Throughout his ministry in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi he felt no difficulty in conducting worship according to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. He never pretended to be anything but a Lutheran; but, being no theologian and still less a controversialist, he was able without scruple of conscience to provide for the English soldiers Christian worship in the form to which they had been accustomed.

The situation which had by now arisen was unusually complicated. No fewer than five authorities had some say in the Christian affairs of South India. The missions council in Copenhagen still existed, and part of the income of the mission came from the royal bounty. The main direction of the work continued to be in Halle in the hands of the Younger Francke and his successors. The SPCK in London provided financial support but did not interfere in the details of administration. The government of Madras had now constituted itself paymaster for Christian work in English, though not interfering in the Indian side of the activity of the missionaries. In the background were the directors of the East India Company in London, to whom all important decisions had to be referred by their representatives in India. It might seem that the missionaries suffered from an excess of direction. In point of fact, as a result of distance and slow and imperfect communications, each enjoyed a considerable measure of independence.[72] There were four main centres of the work – Tranquebar, Madras, Cuddalore and Tiruchirāpalli – to which Thañjāvur was later added. The missionaries did meet from time to time, as they were able, for fellowship and consultation; but there was no central direction, and each missionary was to a large extent a law unto himself, controlling his catechists, determining policy and ruling over his flock with almost patriarchal authority. The system had advantages, as being free from the delays inseparable from committee administration; the drawbacks were seen most clearly in the affair of Rhenius in Pālayankoṭṭai, to which we shall come at a later stage in our study.

In 1772 Schwartz completed ten years of labour in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi. Everything had progressed under his hand. Officers and men of the English regiments delighted in his society and his ministrations. The number of Christians continued steadily to increase. There had been some notable conversions; one of the converts, Sattianāthan, was in course of time to become one of the outstanding Indian ministers of the church. The reputation of Schwartz had spread far and wide through the country, among Christians and non-Christians alike. A great part of the work was in the hands of catechists whom he himself had trained; and the convert Philip, a reliable man, was ordained in that same year 1772.[73] The eyes of Schwartz began to turn towards Thañjāvur as the ideal centre for future work.

In the period of the great expansion of the Marāthās, one of the leaders of the race, Ekosi, succeeded in 1674 in making himself *rājā* of Thañjāvur. With the usual ups and downs attendant on such dynasties, and with a number of changes in succession, the Marāthā rulers of Thañjāvur managed to maintain themselves in possession for the best part of two centuries. In 1763 Parthab Singh, who was in point of fact a usurper, died, and was succeeded by his son, Tuljajee.[74] This was the ruler with whom Schwartz had much to do.

The principality of Thañjāvur, though small, especially after its diminution through the depredations of the *nawāb* of Arcot, was exceedingly fertile even before the days of modern irrigation. According to Schwartz,[75] 'the Tanjore country is . . . as a well watered garden'. But he had regretfully to contrast the bitter oppression under which the people lived with their natural good fortune. A cultivator of the land was expected to give to the king seventy per cent of his crop and to live on the remainder; in case of war or other special expense, the levy might be even higher. But, he concludes, 'notwithstanding all the oppression and injustice, the inhabitants subsist tolerably well'.

Schwartz had paid his first visit to Thañjāvur as early as 1762. It was not until 1769 that he was introduced into the presence of the king. Tuljajee had at that time a good reputation, as being better educated than the majority of his class, disinclined to injustice and tolerant in matters of religion. He accorded a most friendly reception to Schwartz, who was ordered into his presence 'at five in the afternoon of the 30th of April'. At the invitation of the king, Schwartz gave a somewhat lengthy account, in Tamil, of the principal points of the Christian faith, leading up to the Passion, and to the reality of redemption in Christ.

There can be little doubt that the *rājā* would have liked to retain Schwartz permanently at Thañjāvur; he sent to him a message that 'I was to remember that the king looked on me as his *padre*'.[76] But with the responsibilities of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi still heavy upon him, Schwartz could not at that time make the change, and a number of years were to pass before he could settle in the city where he was to become widely known as 'the royal priest of Tanjore'.

During this period, three powers – the British government in Madras, the *nawāb* of Arcot (always eager for extension of his territory) and the king of Thañjāvur (naturally concerned for the integrity of his rights and the maintenance of his independence) were engaged in an endless series of intrigues and manoeuvres. In 1773 the *nawāb* and the English joined against the king; Thañjāvur was stormed and the king fell into the hands of his enemies. He was fated to endure more than two years of distressing and humiliating imprisonment, though at the insistent demand of the English his life was spared. When the English at last changed their minds and decided on the restoration of Tuljajee, it fell to Schwartz to visit him in prison and to communicate to him the news of his release.

For the remaining twelve years of the king's life Schwartz exercised immense influence over him and over the affairs of the little kingdom. He was always in hopes that the king, whom he really loved, would accept the truth of Christianity. But these hopes were not destined to be fulfilled. The king expressed to the English general Munro his view that Christianity was a thousand times better than idolatry;[77] but he could not free himself from his old vices of drunkenness and lechery. Moreover, being dependent on the support of the Brāhmans against his Muslim enemies, he could not bring himself to take a step which was certain to deprive him permanently of their help. So Schwartz had to report regretfully: 'I cannot say what is going on in his heart, but there are no external signs that his sufferings have done him any good.'

The most famous and best-recorded of all the adventures of Schwartz is his brief and amateur appearance on the stage of diplomacy. Haidar Alī of Mysore (1722–82) at that time was spreading alarm and despondency throughout South India. In 1779 the English government in Madras, threatened again with war and wishing to know more of Haidar's plans, decided to send an embassy; such was the reputation of Schwartz that he was requested to undertake this delicate task. He was unwilling to be diverted for so long from his proper task as a missionary, but, feeling that if he could make any contribution to the preservation of peace, this might be regarded as acceptable service to the Prince of Peace, he finally decided to accept.

His account of his embassy is an historical document of considerable importance. It records the impressions of a completely impartial European observer, who was able to live with Haidar for some time on terms of intimacy such as were rarely if ever accorded to Europeans. Like so many other travellers, he was entranced by the beauty of the scenery as he emerged from the plains on to the plateau of Mysore, but he was saddened by many sights of poverty and oppression. On 24 April 1779 the party reached the fort of Mysore; on the following day they arrived at Srīrangapatnam (Seringapatam), where Haidar had his camp.

Schwartz observed intently the methods by which Haidar kept his motley dominion with a mixture of efficiency and improvisation. Only two penalties were known – the sword and the whip; those among Haidar's servants who managed to evade the one were likely to find themselves encountering the other. 'Though Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, the mainspring of action here is terror.'[78] Yet Schwartz was fair-minded enough to note the elements of efficiency in Haidar's administration. Though illiterate he was shrewd and had an excellent memory; all matters of business were despatched expeditiously, secretaries being in waiting to take down the answers to any letters which had come in, the answers carefully checked to make sure that they corresponded to the ruler's intentions.

As far as religion was concerned, Schwartz detected that 'Hyder is quite unconcerned as to religion. He has none himself, and leaves everyone else to his choice.'[79] There were many Europeans in the service of the despots of Mysore, mostly French or Germans; Schwartz also encountered a number of Indian Christians:

> To find them, in that country, far from all Christian ordinances, was painful; but to renew the instruction which they had formerly received was very comfortable. Captain Buden, the commander of the German troops, lent me his tent, in which I performed divine service every Sunday, without asking permission; acting in this as one bound, in conscience, to do his duty. We sang, preached, and prayed, no one presuming to hinder us.[80]

So Schwartz was allowed to depart in peace. Once again he had demonstrated his astounding gift for making himself acceptable to all kinds of people, and for leaving on them a deep impression of his simplicity, sincerity and goodness. Otherwise his diplomatic mission bore no fruit.[81]

As Schwartz grew older, he became more settled in his ways. It is, however, remarkable that he never lost the capacity for entertaining new ideas and launching out into new forms of service.

Education was being given in South India in a variety of languages. At Tranquebar there were Danish, Portuguese and Tamil schools. When the schools for the orphaned children of soldiers was opened at Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, the language of instruction was naturally English. But it was a quite new idea that education in English should be provided for young Indians and not limited to those who were, or who had become, Christians.[82] This seems first to have been put forward by Schwartz' friend John Sullivan, at one time resident in Thañjāvur.[83] In 1784 Sullivan had asked Schwartz to accompany him on a visit to Rāmanāthapuram (commonly known as Rāmnād) the headquarters of a large and semi-independent *zamindāri*, at the heart of what had earlier been known as Marava country. Here discussion turned on the education of the young. In the first place, said Sullivan,

> the children, and the parents through their means, would become better acquainted with the principles and habits of Christians, and their obstinate attachment to their own customs would be shaken. The schoolmasters, if pious men, would exhibit the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, both to children and parents; a freer intercourse will be opened between natives and Europeans; and the children being instructed in the English language, would not need to rely on deceitful interpreters.[84]

It was unlikely that Hindu princes would long continue to support schools run on Christian lines and directed by Christian teachers. But the idea had within it germs of great usefulness. The first school of the new type was that set up in Rāmnād itself; in 1785 William Wheatly was sent as schoolmaster. Schwartz, at the time of his death, assigned a considerable portion of his personal fortune for the maintenance of this school. After nearly two centuries the Schwartz High School, Rāmnād, continues to supply education and a measure of Christian instruction to the young people of the neighbourhood.[85]

In 1778 Schwartz' long-expressed desire for relief from the charge of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi was met by the appointment to that position of Christian Pohle, who had arrived in India in the preceding year.

Pohle's career was distinctly unusual. Born in 1744, up to the age of twenty he was engaged, like David, in shepherding his father's sheep, but all the time with an eager desire to enter the work of the ministry. The pastor of his local church detected in him unusual gifts both of mind and spirit; under his friendly guidance Pohle made such progress that he was able to enter the University of Leipzig in 1766. Later testimonies suggest that he was never able to throw off completely the traces of the harshness and narrowness of his early years.

Pohle had much to learn. Like all new missionaries, he had expected too much of the new Christians and was deeply distressed to find how much of the old ways still remained in those who had put on the new faith. Still, it is startling to read, in a letter of 27 September 1779, the following account of a fierce quarrel which had broken out in public in the congregation:

> the catechist Gnānapragāsam and the schoolmaster Sānthappan fought with one another quite dreadfully like a pair of stable-boys, and have been disobedient to the Indian minister... I would subject Gnānapragāsam to 80 lashes and Sānthappan to 100, and 80 lashes each to all their helpers in this affair; and I would further dismiss Sānthappan from his office . . . But all this must await investigation by Mr Schwartz.[86]

The Roman Catholic missionaries certainly made use of corporal punishment in the exercise of church discipline, and there is evidence of the Protestant missionaries on occasion acting in the same way. But Schwartz seems to have been the exception; there is no evidence in the records of his making use of such methods, except once with a young apprentice who seemed to Schwartz to need this kind of fatherly correction. He believed in the power of love and gentleness to heal all ills. It seems that Pohle in time learnt from him. He served in the mission for no less than forty years and in his later years was greatly respected by all. He, like the younger Kohlhoff, served as a link between the earlier and the later phases of the mission.

Once free from the narrowness of Tranquebar and the many cares of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, Schwartz was able to turn his eyes to yet wider fields. The Roman Catholic missions had in the past been strong in the extreme south of India. The largest number of adherents was among the Paravas on the Coast, but from the seventeenth century on there had been congregations at Kāyattār and Vadakkankulam. But the withdrawal of the Jesuits and the final dissolution of their order had had the lamentable consequences elsewhere described, and the time was ripe for a new beginning.

The first reference to Pālayankoṭṭai (Palamcottah) and to the district of Tirunelveli, is to be found in Schwartz' journal for 1771.[87] The progress of the church in India was at all times linked to the mobility of Christians, and especially of Christian soldiers in the armies of the Company and of the local rulers. A member of the Lutheran congregation named Savarimuthu was resident in Pālayankoṭṭai. An English sergeant, who had an Indian wife, was interested in the Christian cause. A young accountant had listened with pleasure to the teaching; the sergeant had instructed him in the essentials of the Christian faith and had then proceeded to baptise him. Schwartz was disturbed by this action, not so much because it had been carried out by a layman, as because it ran contrary to his concern for careful preparation before baptism.

In February 1778 Schwartz was called to Pālayankoṭṭai by a European officer who wished to be married and who informed him also that there was a number of children to be baptised. The congregation in Pālayankoṭṭai now numbered about fifty – evidence of the strength of the Christian movement in places further north, from which these soldiers and their families had migrated.

On this occasion Schwartz encountered a Brāhman widow with whom he had already had dealings in Thañjāvur. This lady had been living in irregular union with an English officer,[88] who had given her some instruction in the Christian faith but who for some reason was unwilling to regularise the union. Schwartz had been in a difficulty; it was against his rule to marry unbaptised persons, but equally he felt it impossible to baptise a woman who was living, by strict Christian standards, in a sinful liaison. At that time nothing could be done, but now the difficulty had been removed – the officer had died. There seemed to be no doubt as to the reality of the lady's faith, so she was baptised, receiving in baptism the name Clorinda. For a number of years she was one of the great pillars of the Christian movement in the Tirunelveli district. With the help of English officers, a small church was built in or close to the fort, and became generally known as Clorinda's church.[89]

A strange intuition seems to have led Schwartz to a conviction of the great importance that Tirunelveli might have for the whole future of the Indian church. He was in Pālayankoṭṭai again in August 1785. He found much to encourage him. The number of Christians had risen to 150, of communicants to 80. While there he persuaded the former Roman Catholic catechist Devanāyagam to commit to him his son Vedanāyagam for further instruction, and carried the fourteen-year old boy with him to Thañjāvur.[90] Vedanāyagam became the first great poet and hymn-writer of the Indian church. He lived on into the second half of the nineteenth century and was another of the links between the great days of the pioneers and the period of growth that was to follow it.

Devanāyagam had not shown himself to possess the tact and vigour needed in a catechist who for the greater part of his time would have to stand alone, so Schwartz withdrew him to Thañjāvur, and sent to replace him Sattianāthan, in whom he placed more confidence than in any other of the Indian helpers. Of him he felt able to write:

> In regard to his integrity of heart, his aptitude for teaching, his willingness and inward zeal to bring souls to Christ the Lord, his unselfish behaviour, I set him above all the other country pastors and catechists; with great conviction, I have to admit that in his discussions with non-Christians he has put me to shame. He has laid before them the whole doctrine concerning Christ, and not only one part of it, and is so comprehensive and impressive that I have found myself not a little astonished and put to shame.

As lay catechist and ordained pastor Sattianāthan continued faithful in his ministry until his death in 1815, held the Christians together through the dark days when hardly any missionary supervision was possible, and left the church in such good order that when better days came it was ready for that amazing expansion through which it would come to surpass by far the churches of Tranquebar, Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Thañjāvur.

On 24 October 1786 Schwartz completed his sixtieth year. The weight of thirty-six years of missionary service in India was beginning to press heavily upon him. But the six months preceding this date and the six months following it brought him three special sources of consolation.

In July 1786 the government at Fort St George resolved to take control of the affairs of Thañjāvur into its own hands and to this end appointed a committee to consist of the resident, the commander of the forces and the paymaster, with Schwartz as adviser to the committee. Hardly had the committee begun its work when the resident Mr Hudleston proposed to the government that Schwartz should have not only a seat but a voice on the committee:[91]

> It is, and will be, as long as I live, my greatest pride, and most pleasing recollection, that from the moment of my entering on this responsible station, I have consulted with Mr Swartz on every occasion, and taken no step of the least importance without his previous concurrence and approbation; nor has there been a difference of sentiment between us in any one instance.

The government entirely concurred in this proposal; and further showed their respect for Schwartz by assigning to him a salary of £100 a year as interpreter at Thañjāvur, and a monthly allowance of 20 pagodas for a palanquin.[92]

The second consolation accorded to Schwartz related to the succession to the throne of Thañjāvur. Tuljajee was not an old man, but his continuous failure to control his desires had undermined his health, and in 1787 it was clear that the end could not long be delayed. Realising his condition and the danger to his state if the succession was not secured,[93] Tuljajee decided to adopt a ten-year-old boy, Serfojee, *rājā*. When this had been achieved, with all due legal ceremonial to make sure of its validity, Tuljajee called for Schwartz, and pointing to his newly adopted son, said: 'This is not my son, but yours; into your hand I deliver him.' Schwartz replied: 'May this child become a child of God.' Serfojee in later years saw little of Schwartz, but he never ceased to regard him as his true father. In 1801 he wrote to the SPCK in London, and in his letter refers to his desire

> to perpetuate the memory of the late Rev Father Schwartz, and to manifest the great esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him, my father, my friend, the protector and guardian of my youth.

The third consolation was the ordination to the sacred ministry of John Caspar Kohlhoff, Schwartz's protégé and almost his adopted son. (An unexpected and most attractive feature in the complex character of this great man was his unfeigned and simple love for children.) When John Caspar was ten years old, Schwartz had removed him from the care of his ageing father, and had made himself entirely responsible for his upbringing. The boy had responded well to the loving care of his preceptor. He had proved himself as catechist and preacher. He was perfectly at home in German and Tamil and had a good knowledge of English and Portuguese; he had a subsidiary knowledge of Hindustani and Persian. Schwartz felt the need of a helper in Thañjāvur; who could better supply the need than his own son?

The ordination took place in Thañjāvur on 23 January 1787. In 1786 John Balthasar Kohlhoff (b. 1711) had celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his own ordination; but old age had pressed hard on him and, though he was present at the ordination of his son, he seems to have taken no part in the service. When the ceremony ended, the new minister ascended the pulpit and preached in Tamil, the excellence of the style commending the sermon to all who were able to follow it. John Caspar continued in the service of the mission for fifty-seven years; he lived to welcome in Thañjāvur Bishop Middleton and Bishop Heber and the future Bishop Caldwell. His life and that of Schwartz between them covered nearly a century of the history of the church in India.

This section may end with remarks on three subjects not without importance in any general survey of the period.

A number of attempts have been made to assess the membership of the Lutheran church and the number of baptisms during the first century of its existence, but it cannot be said that any of them has been entirely successful. The records are incomplete, and at certain points the interpretation of them is uncertain. Julius Richter, following James Hough,[94] gives a figure of 36,970,[95] but there is reason to think that the number should be considerably higher. As the churches grew, an increasing number of children of Christian parents came to be baptised; a considerable number of former Roman Catholics was admitted to the church. No account seems to have been taken of these two sources in the figures as given by Hough.

Even if the correct figure be taken as substantially larger than that suggested above, the total, as the result of the labours of a century, may seem painfully small in comparison with the number of non-Christians who remained entirely untouched by the Gospel. Yet, when the difficulty of winning even a single convert is considered, the achievement must be regarded as considerable. In the five main centres – Madras, Tranquebar, Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, Thañjāvur and Pālayankoṭṭai – there were substantial congregations; these have persisted and grown to the present day, later generations having built on the foundations laid by the pioneers.[96]

An Indian Christian leader of the twentieth century has expressed the opinion that 'the only mistake which was made at this time... was to miss the opportunity to establish an Indian Church, which could thrust firm roots into the soil of India'.[97] The missionaries of the eighteenth century were men of their own time. It is not the case that nothing had been done to promote the self-reliance and independence of the church. It had been provided with numerous books, and especially the Bible, in the Tamil language. Indian pastors had been ordained and given a considerable measure of independence each in his own sphere. It does not appear, however, that the missionaries looked forward to a time at which the Indian church would be able to dispense with the services of the foreigner and to stand entirely on its own feet. Central direction remained in the hands of the missionaries, in a number of cases in the hands of a single missionary ruling without rival in his own field. For recruitment and financial aid the Indian church was dependent on a distant body in Europe, the decisions of which were at times made in total unawareness of Indian conditions. No comprehensive plan seems ever to have been worked out for transferring the central direction of the mission from Denmark and Germany to India.

Some excuses may be made for the missionaries of the time. They were always very few in number. It was never possible for them to engage in extensive plans for the education of their Indian helpers in a way that would have enabled some among these to become independent leaders. Theological training remained on an elementary level. And the attempt to produce leaders through the ordination of the best among the catechists had not in every case produced encouraging results. The Lutheran missionaries must be given credit for all that they achieved. At the same time it is possible to regret that their vision in certain directions was limited, and that they seem to have been unaware of some things which they might have done to the advantage of the Indian church and which consequently remained undone.

The story of the Tranquebar mission covers the period during which Britain was establishing itself as the dominant power in India. Some consideration should be given to the attitude of the missionaries towards the European powers.

First, it must be noted that the question became urgent only after the middle of the eighteenth century. Until that time, none of the European nations (except perhaps Portugal, whose power was steadily declining) was a colonial power in the ordinary sense of that term. England was in Madras, and Denmark was in Tranquebar, on the basis of perfectly legal and regular contracts with the local rulers. Rent was regularly paid, and the sovereign rights of the rulers were never questioned.

The attitude of Schwartz to these developments is particularly interesting. He was unsparing in his criticisms of every act of injustice or oppression committed by the English. The extraordinary incompetence of the military and the blindness of the government in Madras gave him ample scope for the exercise of his critical faculties. But he was fortunate in the majority of the English, both soldiers and civilians, with whom he had to do; he found in them both courage and a concern for the Indian peoples whom they governed or served. When the English took on the administration of Thañjāvur, he found that his suggestions for improvements in the administration of justice and for remedies to the oppression under which the people suffered would be carefully considered and in many cases put into effect. It seemed to him, therefore, a natural and suitable part of his Christian duty to ally himself with those whose concerns in many areas were the same as his own, and to put himself at their service.

Schwartz, Pohle and others received large sums of money from the English authorities, military and civil. But all these were payments for services rendered to the troops and other European residents. The missionaries accepted these appointments only on the understanding that their spiritual independence would be in no way infringed by their doing so and that no limitations would be set on their freedom to engage in missionary work. It may be held, and was probably felt by some at the time, that it was imprudent on their part to identify themselves so closely with the representatives of a foreign power. But, at a time at which so many Europeans were engaged in the service of the local Indian rulers, the lines between Indian and foreigner were much less strictly drawn than in later times.

It does not appear from the records that the spiritual character of the missionaries was prejudiced in the eyes of Indians by their association with the foreigners and the services which they rendered to them. The affection and admiration in which Schwartz above all others was held by foreigners and Indians alike indicate that his independence of spirit was fully understood by all. He moved with ease within the limits of his own century. It is hard to see how he could have done otherwise.[98]

3 · The Thomas Christians in Decline and Recovery

The story of the Thomas Christians in the eighteenth century is dark, obscure, distorted and for the most part highly unedifying. The difficulty arises not from the lack of authorities – there are, if anything, almost too many – but from the tendentious character of most of them; and, as Bishop Brown tartly observes, 'the assessment of the relative reliability of contradictory statements is almost impossible because no records seem to have been kept in the Jacobite Church at the time'.[1]

Account has to be taken of no fewer than six bodies or systems. Rome continued to appoint bishops of Cochin, but as the Dutch refused permission for any Portuguese bishop to reside in the territory which they controlled these appointments were little more than nominal. In the same way archbishops were appointed to Cranganore, but with limited opportunities for effective service. The Carmelites succeeded in winning the favour, or at least the tolerance, of the Dutch, and a continuous succession of vicars apostolic was maintained. The dissident Syrians were under the rule of their own bishops, all of whom took the name Mar Thomas, until in 1772 Mar Thomas VI changed his name to Dionysius. At various times Eastern prelates of differing allegiances succeeded in making their way to India and in establishing themselves for longer or shorter periods among the Thomas Christians. Finally, there was the tiny diocese of Āññūr or Tol̤iyūr,[2] which still exists, and has managed to maintain an unbroken episcopal succession for more than two centuries.

Cochin had been created a diocese in the sixteenth century, in order to care for Portuguese residents in that neighbourhood and for Indian converts who worshipped according to the Latin rite; its history, therefore, is involved only occasionally and episodically with that of the Thomas Christians. It may be noted that in 1722 the Portuguese authorities nominated to the see a Portuguese Jesuit, Francis Vasconcellos, who held the position for twenty years without ever being able to reside within the limits of his diocese.[3]

The determination of the Thomas Christians never again to submit to a Jesuit bishop remained unchanged. The appointment in 1701 of a Jesuit, John Ribeiro, to the position of archbishop of Cranganore aroused no small commotion. Ribeiro wisely withdrew to Ambalakkādu in the territory of the *zamorin*, and from there seems to have exercised some measure of authority over the Thomas Christians in the northern areas. He was succeeded by another Portuguese Jesuit, Antony Pimentel, who held office for more than thirty years (1721–52), and the succession was maintained for half a century after his death, but with ever diminishing influence over the lives and destinies of the Thomas Christians.[4]

Effective authority in the Serra was in the hands of the Italian Carmelites. Angelo Francis had succeeded in obtaining consecration, at the hands of the Eastern prelate Mar Simeon, in 1701; but the papal brief which nominated him to the titular see of Metellopolis specified that he was 'to rule the Syrians till the archbishop of Cranganore could take possession of the see'. As it became clear that this date was never likely to arrive, Angelo Francis became the only effective prelate in the main area of the Thomas Christians, and he worked diligently among them till his death in 1712. But when his successor, John Baptist of St Teresa (Morteo), was appointed bishop of Limira *i.p.i.*, the shadowy rights of the *padroado* were still respected, and the appointment was 'for the churches and places of both the dioceses of Cranganore and Cochin, where the ordinaries cannot fully exercise their respective jurisdictions'.[5]

John Baptist held office until his death on 6 April 1750. Amid all the turmoils of this troubled time this long and peaceful tenure of office did much to strengthen the position of the Romo-Syrians against the claims perpetually put forward by the dissident party. Moreover, to ensure continuity in the work, John Baptist had been provided in 1745 with a coadjutor having the right of succession, the Pole Nicolas Szostak, in religion Fr Florentius of Jesus Nazareth, bishop of Areopolis *i.p.i.*

For some reason the coadjutor had not received episcopal consecration. This defect was corrected in 1751, and he continued in office until his death in 1773. Thus in a period of seventy-two years there had been only three vicars apostolic, in marked contrast to the rapid changes in the archbishopric of Goa and the long periods during which there was no effective direction of that metropolitical see.

This long period of calm was broken by the events of the following year. In 1774, a Bavarian Carmelite, Eustace Federl, in religion Fr Francis de Sales, who had served ten years in Kerala, was in Rome. It seemed good to the authorities to select him as vicar apostolic for Malabar; after a long time spent on the journey he arrived in Varāppoḷi (Verapoly) on 13 October 1775. No sooner had he arrived than the new prelate showed himself arrogant and authoritarian; one of his first actions was to depose the vicar provincial, an

Italian who had held the position for twenty-five years.[6] The natural result was a rebellion of the Italian missionaries against their alien head. Agitation spread to the Thomas Christians, always restive under the protracted foreign domination, and there was a real possibility that the Romo-Syrians would drift back into fellowship with the dissidents, the strong point in whose position was the enjoyment of national leadership and freedom from foreign control. Rome acted with unusual speed; on 25 February 1777 Propaganda resolved to compel the resignation of the intemperate bishop, after less than eighteen months in office. There was in consequence no bishop of the Roman allegiance in the Serra.

At this moment it seemed that the long-frustrated dream of the Thomas Christians of having a bishop of their own race might become reality. These Christians had decided to send a delegation to Rome to report directly their grievances against the missionaries. At the head of this delegation was one Fr Joseph Kariaṭṭil, who had been educated in Rome. Rome seems to have taken little note of the delegation and its requests. But in 1782, when Joseph was in Lisbon, the queen of Portugal nominated him to the vacant see of Cranganore, a nomination which was approved by the pope. The new archbishop set forth for India, and reached Goa; but just when the expectation of the Thomas Christians was at its height he fell victim to a fever and died.[7]

The archbishop of Goa acted promptly, and appointed as administrator of the diocese of the Serra Fr Thomas Pareamakkal, who had been a companion of Joseph Kariaṭṭil on his journey to Europe. But this was far from satisfying the Thomas Christians. Inevitably the rumour spread that Joseph had been done to death by the Europeans. At the beginning of 1787 a well-attended meeting was held at Ankamāli, the ancient centre of their church, and a memorial was drawn up in which it was stated that

> as nothing but strife and grievance must continue to arise if we have our Metrans from a race which oppresses us, we have sent information to Rome and Portugal, to the effect that our Church should have Metrans from among its own body . . . and that our mind is made up that in future we will have no bishop but from among ourselves; and until we obtain such a one, we will receive ordination and holy oil according to the command of our honourable Governor [i.e. the administrator Thomas Pareamakkal].[8]

Such independence was not at all to the mind of the Carmelites. The vicar-general, now the famous Paulinus of St Batholomew, went off post-haste to Trivandrum, and secured a judgement from the court of the *rājā* of Travancore, condemning the action of the Christians and subjecting them to a fine. A similar judgement was obtained from the *rājā* of Cochin. The agitation soon subsided, and the Romo-Syrians had to wait another century for the appointment of bishops from among themselves. Fr Thomas continued in his office of administrator till his death in 1799; but another foreign vicar apostolic of Malabar had been appointed – Fr Louis Mary of Jesus (Pianazzi),[9] bishop of Usula, who held the office from 1784 until 1802.

We now turn to the story of the dissident Christians, who, disliking the term Jacobites, prefer to be called the Malankara church.

The story is constantly marked by the quarrels and tensions between those who had returned to the Roman allegiance and those who had maintained their independence. But in point of fact there was much more coming and going between them than might be supposed. One of our few independent observers, the highly intelligent Jacob Canters Visscher, who was Dutch chaplain at Cochin from 1717 to 1720, notes that some of the churches, such as the smaller church at Kōṭṭayam, were actually shared by the two parties. Many of the leaders were closely related to one another; the sector to which one or another belonged was determined in many cases more by locality than by conviction, and rivalries tended to be more personal than theological.[10]

At the beginning of the period under review the head of the dissident sector was Mar Thomas IV, who had succeeded to the title in 1688 and who died in 1728.[11] It is doubtful whether this Thomas had received any regular consecration as bishop.

Life was complicated for Mar Thomas by the arrival in Kerala in 1708 of one Mar Gabriel, who claimed that he had been sent by the Nestorian patriarch to win back the Thomas Christians to their allegiance to him and to the form of the Christian faith which he professed.[12] Thomas was by this time firmly rooted in the Eutychian or Monophysite form of the faith, and never regarded Gabriel as anything but a heretic.

Gabriel must have secured for himself a certain following and a measure of financial support, since he was able to maintain himself in India until his death in 1731. He seems to have made a favourable impression on the Dutch, but it is unlikely that he was ever a serious threat either to the Romo-Syrians or to the dissident party.

Visscher, in his sixteenth letter,[13] gives an interesting account of the Thomas Christians in his day, and includes a vivid picture of the bishops, both of whom he had encountered:

> Mar Gabriel, a white man, and sent hither from Bagdad, is aged and venerable in appearance, and dresses nearly in the same fashion as the Jewish priests of old, wearing a cap fashioned like a turban, and a long white beard. He is courteous and God-fearing, and not at all addicted to extravagant pomp. Round his neck he wears a golden crucifix. He lives with the utmost sobriety, abstaining from all animal food . . . He holds the Nestorian doctrine respecting the union of the two natures in our Saviour's person.

The impression made by Mar Thomas was considerably less favourable:

> Mar Thomas, the other Bishop, is a native of Malabar. He is a black man, dull and slow of understanding. He lives in great state; and when he came into the city to visit the Commandant, he was attended by a number of soldiers bearing swords and shields, in imitation of the Princes of Malabar. He wears on his head a silken cowl, embroidered with crosses, in form much resembling that of the Carmelites. He is a weak-minded rhodomontader, and boasted greatly to us of being an Eutychian in his creed, accusing the rival Bishop of heresy.[14]

Over a period of more than two centuries the Roman Catholics had had relationships, friendly and otherwise, with the Thomas Christians. In the Anglican and Protestant world there was little awareness of their existence (though the work of Michael Geddes (1694) seems to have had a fairly wide circulation) and little desire to help them. With the presence in India of Dutch Calvinistic chaplains and German Lutheran missionaries the situation began somewhat slowly to change.

The alert Visscher considered the possibility that the independent Syrians could be brought out of their darkness and ignorance to better ways. In the letter already cited, he writes:

> It would not be impracticable to bring over these people into the right way by suitable measures . . . It need not be supposed that these people would be averse to such a measure; for besides the claim that it would give them to the Company's protection, they show their favourable disposition, even now, by offering their children to be educated by us.[15]

Some contacts had been made between the German missionaries and the Thomas Christians. The SPCK in London, which was supporting the Lutherans in Tranquebar, and later in Madras, was much concerned about the ancient church which might one day become an instrument in the hand of God for the development of extensive evangelistic work in India. The missionaries were instructed to propose a union between the Syrians and the Protestant church, and to employ some of the Syrian priests to propagate the Gospel in India.[16] In accordance with these instructions the missionaries made contact with the Reverend Valerius Nicolai, another of the distinguished Dutch chaplains who served the Reformed church in Cochin.

Nicolai had other reasons for making contact with the Malankara Syrians. In 1729 Mar Thomas V wrote to the Dutch commander at Cochin, inveighing against both the Roman Catholics and Mar Gabriel, and asking for the help of the Dutch against both. Nicolai was ordered to reply to him. Accordingly he wrote both to Mar Gabriel and to Mar Thomas, pointing out that the one no less than the other was a heretic, and offering his services to lead them back into the true way. Naturally the reply of Mar Gabriel was somewhat negative. Mar Thomas wrote that he could not deal with the doctrinal issues until he had received permission from his patriarch, but promised that, if assistance was given against his rivals, he and his people would call upon God in their fasts and prayers to reward the Dutch governor.

In 1732 the missionaries in Madras wrote to report that they had frequently received visits from priests from Kerala, who were making the pilgrimage to St Thomas' Mount. These visitors seemed to be poor, ignorant and superstitious, understanding very little of the Syriac in which they had been taught to conduct the services.[17]

In the following year the Germans in Tranquebar entertained a priest who had been ordained by Mar Gabriel. This man was able to explain some of the differences between Nestorians and Jacobites, and was able to make out fairly well the Syriac New Testament which was in the possession of the missionaries. He added the interesting information that what was read in church in Syriac was explained to the people in Malayālam, and that the children learnt the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, other prayers and parts of the catechism in that language.

The considered opinion of the missionaries was that it was vain to hope for any union of these Christians with the Protestant church, the human mind being too strongly wedded to traditions inherited from forefathers. Thus it appeared that all the trouble taken by Nicolai had been in vain. Nicolai himself wrote to the Lutherans in 1735 and explained that he had made no more progress with the Eutychian followers of Mar Thomas than they had with the Nestorian followers of Mar Gabriel. For the most part the Dutch maintained their neutrality and avoided being involved in the endless strife in which the various factions of the Syrians exhausted their strength and squandered their resources.

One of the recurring motifs in the whole affair of the dissident Thomas Christians was the intense desire of each successive bishop to be recognised as the sole bishop of all the Thomas Christians. They had a stronger case than is allowed for in some Roman Catholic presentations of the history. The Jacobite bishops all belonged to the Pakalomaṟṟam family, from which traditionally the archdeacon had always been drawn and which was held in high estimation by all parties in the church. Each bishop was well aware of the dislike of the foreign bishops which was almost universal among the Romo-Syrians, and of the strength of the desire among them to have a bishop of their own race, familiar both with their language and with all the customs of their peoples. But these bishops were also well aware that the reunification of the church could not take place until the Roman authorities were willing to recognise both the orthodoxy of their faith and the validity of their episcopal consecration. Thus it came about that they were willing to go to almost all lengths in making professions of faith, while the Roman authorities maintained a considerable measure of scepticism as to its sincerity.

The records being as fragmentary as they are, it is impossible to state with confidence which, if any, of the early dissident bishops had any kind of consecration that could be recognised either by the great Eastern churches or by the Roman Catholic church. From 1685 to 1697 a Jacobite bishop named John, sent to India by the patriarch, was resident in Kerala. It is said that this bishop consecrated Mar Thomas III, who held office for only ten days in 1686, and also his successor Mar Thomas IV, who lived until 1728. But this is quite uncertain; and the anxiety which Mar Thomas IV manifested about his own status makes it appear extremely improbable.

We have two letters written by this Mar Thomas to the patriarch. In 1709 he wrote complaining of the presence of Mar Gabriel, and pleading that bishops might be sent to aid him in countering this heresy. The history of this letter is peculiar. The Dutch authorities in Cochin were asked to arrange for its transmission, but when it finally reached Amsterdam no one quite knew what to do with a letter in Syriac; it was therefore handed over to Dr Charles Schaaf, a lecturer in oriental languages in the University of Leiden. Schaaf found the letter interesting, and published it in 1714 in Latin translation in his *Relatio Historica*. This had the unfortunate effect of warning the authorities in Rome of the plan to bring Eastern bishops into the territory which they had long regarded as being under their exclusive control, and led to counter-plans to make sure that no such Eastern bishops should reach the Serra.

In 1720 Mar Thomas tried again. It is almost certain that his second letter also failed to reach its destination. The orientalist J. S. Asseman found a copy of it in the archives of the Propaganda in Rome and published it in Latin and Syriac in the fourth volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.[18] A few sentences may serve as illustration of the florid style of oriental correspondence:

> Lord, I am not worthy to write to thy greatness. But we write and we send letters because of the necessity of the orthodox Syrians of India, and we pray that thou mayest send to us one Patriarch and one Metropolitan and twin priests, who may be philosophers and may understand the interpretation of the holy and divine scriptures . . . If thou wilt come to us, then, as God the Father promised to the sons of Israel, so may Jesus Christ the Merciful and the Ruler, deal with you and so may the Holy Spirit the Paraclete console you. Amen.

There follow some rather fulsome remarks about 'Charles [Schaaf] . . . a learned man and a proved philosopher, our dearest and most beloved companion', and a request that the patriarch will write to the Dutch commander in Cochin. Mar Thomas signs himself 'The Gate of all India'.[19]

Naturally, no reply was received to this communication. Mar Thomas IV, before his death in 1728, had followed custom in arranging that the succession should fall to his nephew, Mar Thomas V; but by what form of consecration the succession was transmitted the authorities do not reveal.

This being so, and Mar Thomas V being plagued by the same uncertainty as to his status which had troubled his predecessors, he pursued the question of bringing over an Eastern bishop to settle the question once for all by giving to the Indian bishop undoubtedly valid consecration and regularity of succession. He asked the Dutch to handle the matter and promised them a payment of Rs. 4,000 for the transportation of the required bishop. A bishop was found, but it would have been better if he had never been brought to India. This John turned out to be the most disreputable of all the *episcopi vagantes* by whom from time to time the Indian churches have been troubled.

The learned orientalist Anquetil-Duperron, who was in Cochin in 1758, exercised his somewhat impish sense of humour on the memory of this bishop:

> The schismatic Christians... asked permission from the Dutch to get a bishop from Syria. The Council of Cochin consented and gave an order to the Dutch ships of Bessora [Basra] to catch the first bishop that they found... The passion which this bishop had for wine soon made him contemptible in the eyes of the Malabar Christians... The Commander, hearing this story, put Monseigneur under arrest in Cochin, and in 1751 sent him back to Bessora... Notwithstanding these grave vices, this bishop had never been willing to consecrate Mar Thomas.[20]

Paulinus, who is not wholly reliable when writing of the dissidents, confirms the report of Duperron, when he writes that this man 'burned with fire the images of the saints and even of our Lord Christ and also Crosses. He gave wives to the priests, he stole the silver plate of several churches, he drank wine to excess and when drunk caused various disturbances.'[21]

Disappointed by the refusal of the recreant to consecrate him as bishop, Mar Thomas seems at this point to have made an approach to the pope. In a letter of the year 1748, he complains sorely that the ancient church is divided into three parties. If the pope will make the single concession of allowing the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, all will be well. 'We supplicate to concede this use to us for all the churches of our diocese, and if Your Holiness will grant this favour we shall all be at one in obedience to your throne.' Two years later Propaganda wrote at considerable length expressing that deeply rooted suspicion as to the sincerity of Eastern bishops with which, one after the other, approaches from the side of the dissidents were rebuffed in Rome. But in this case the cardinals were probably right.

Just at this dark moment the fortunes of the Malankara Syrians began to take a turn for the better. The Dutch continued to prosecute the search for a bishop. This time they fared better. On 23 April 1751, no fewer than three bishops arrived in Kerala – Mar Basil, Mar Gregory and Mar John, accompanied by a chorepiscopus, George Nameatallah, a well-educated man who spoke Arabic and Portuguese and also had some knowledge of Latin and

Ethiopic. All seemed set fair for the regulation of the affairs of the church, when a stone was cast into the apparently peaceful water by a wretched dispute about the passage money of the bishops. Mar Thomas fell out with them. They refused to proceed to his consecration, and the resulting difficulties were not eliminated for twenty years.

The three bishops seem to have been good and quiet men, who decided to make India their home, and as far as possible to live at peace with all men. Mar Basil lived at Kandanāte, Mar Gregory at Mulanturutti, and Mar John at Kayamkulam.[22] Some appearance of peace was patched up in 1754 through the intervention of the Dutch authorities; it was agreed that Mar Basil, who seems to have been the senior of the three newly arrived bishops, would not carry out ordinations or appoint priests to cures without consultation with Mar Thomas,[23] and that the customs of the Syrian churches would not be changed. But neither party seems to have found it possible to keep the agreement in all its details. The Malankara Syrians had for a century lived without adequate supervision and with only the most erratic contact with the mother-church in Mesopotamia. Inevitably errors and irregularities had crept in, and, unlike the Romo-Syrians, the Malankara Syrians had no regular seminaries for the instruction of candidates for the priesthood. The Syrian bishops, accustomed to stricter standards, felt themselves bound to press for measures of reform, and this was felt by Mar Thomas to be aggression in the sphere which properly belonged to him and to him alone.

The Dutch in their perplexity turned to Martānda Varma the *rājā* of Travancore, who during the whole of the period now under review had been increasing his power and extending his territory. The Dutch governor, Moens, stated clearly that this action was in line with the former policy both of the Portuguese and of the Dutch themselves. He says that

> the Company never had any authority, nor could have, over the S. Thomas Christians, who were always subject to the country princes. Not even the Portuguese exercised any jurisdiction over them, though they did their utmost, with the consent of the king of Cochin, to make these Christians accept the doctrines of Rome and acknowledge the hierarchy of the Pope.[24]

Martānda Varma recognised the authority of the Syrian bishops, and Mar Thomas had unwillingly to accept his decision. But when this powerful ruler died (1758) Mar Thomas again raised the old controversies, and denounced the Syrians as intruders. To mark his independence, in 1757[25] he consecrated his nephew as coadjutor and successor. When Mar Thomas V died in 1765, this nephew succeeded him as Mar Thomas VI.

At last the long dispute was brought to an end by the successful intervention of the *rājā*. In 1772 Mar Thomas VI received episcopal consecration in the church at Niraṇam at the hands of Mar Gregory in the presence of Mar John. According to his own account, in '1772 I received anew in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Neranam all the Holy

Orders from the tonsure to the episcopal consecration from the Jacobite Metropolitan, Mar Gregory'.[26] At this time he received the name Mar Dionysius, by which he was subsequently known.[27]

One of the chief aims of Mar Dionysius had now been accomplished. He had received episcopal consecration, the validity and regularity of which no one was likely to doubt; indeed, under this head no further difficulties seem to have arisen. But the other great aim – to be recognised as the sole supreme head of all the Thomas Christians – was always present to his mind. To this end he continued to make approaches to the authorities of the Roman church, both in Kerala and in Rome.

The question seems to have been brought to the notice of the Propaganda. We find that on 22 July 1774 the case was discussed, and instructions were sent to the Carmelite vicar apostolic at Varāppoḷi to offer to Mar Dionysius temporal but not spiritual authority over his adherents. This meant that Mar Dionysius would be recognised as having the authority which in past times had pertained exclusively to the archdeacon. It was further indicated to the vicar apostolic that the claim of the Thomas Christians to have a bishop of their own race and their own rite was not even to be discussed. Naturally these were terms which no bishop could possibly accept.

This was not the end of the discussions. In 1779, when Fr Joseph Kariaṭṭil was about to leave for Rome, Mar Dionysius put into his hands a lengthy epistle, in which he complained that, as all his requests addressed to Archbishop Salvador de Reis of Cranganore and Bishop Florentius, vicar apostolic of Malabar, that he and his people might be absolved from the excommunication which they had incurred in the days of their forefathers, had met with no favourable response, he must now have recourse to Rome itself with the earnest plea that he and his flock might be admitted to the fellowship of the Catholic church.

It is clear that this plea was considered in Rome. A letter from Propaganda to the vicar apostolic of Malabar informs him of the visit of Fr Kariaṭṭil and Fr Pareamakkal, and of the information brought by them that the 'alleged archbishop... named Mar Thomas or Mar Dionysius has long been desirous of entering into union with the church, and is earnestly pleading for reconciliation, it being understood that he will be sustained in his episcopal jurisdiction and dignity'.[28] All these protestations failed to carry conviction, however, and Rome maintained its position that without further testing and examination no confidence could be placed in the sincerity of the archbishop.

Further evidence concerning these long-drawn-out and in the end abortive negotiations appears from time to time in the documents. Special interest attaches to a vivid description given by the vicar-general, Paulinus, of a visit that he had himself paid to Mar Dionysius:

> When I entered his chamber, I saw an old man seated among his Cattanar priests, with a long white beard, holding in his hand a silver crozier curved at the top in the Greek style, wearing a pontifical cope, on his head a round mitre, such as the oriental bishops wear, bearing a cross worked on it in Phrygian fashion, from which a white veil flowed from head to shoulders. I tried him in a long discourse. I found him shrewd enough, talking grandly of his house and dignity; the matter of his conversion putting by for some other occasion, and striving that his nephew may succeed him. I knew the beast by its horns, and so having left him I proceeded on my journey.

From documents belonging to a period later than that dealt with in this chapter, it is clear that Mar Dionysius remained firm throughout on one single point – that all the Thomas Christians, Romo-Syrian and Malankara alike, must be re-united under one single bishop, that that bishop must be a member of the same race as the other members of the church, and that, as he was the only bishop who fulfilled this condition, that bishop must be none other than himself. The Roman Catholic authorities, in Rome and in Kerala, seem to have been divided in their views as to the extent to which concessions should be granted to the claims of Mar Dionysius. There was therefore no real possibility of agreement's being reached. As long as there was any reasonable hope that one side or the other would give way the negotiations could continue, but long before the death of Mar Dionysius in 1808 the futility of the operation had become evident to all those concerned.

Mar Dionysius had not gained all that he desired. Nevertheless the gains had been considerable. The strong rule of Martānda Varma had eliminated many of the petty princes, and with them the rivalries which had so often perplexed the situation of the Thomas Christians. The attitude of the ruler of Travancore towards the Christians was marked by fairness and equity; though on occasion he found it necessary to interfere in their affairs, this was always with a view to peace and good order. The rule of the Dutch was tolerant towards men of all faiths. In spite of their own ardent Calvinistic faith, they took no action against Roman Catholics as such, except in their refusal to permit those of Portuguese nationality to reside in the areas that they controlled. Relations between the Romo-Syrians and the rest could not be described as good. But there was in both parties a strong sense of their common origins, and the animosities of the Romo-Syrian party were directed at least as much against their Italian ecclesiastical rulers as against their compatriots of the other party. Once Mar Dionysius was firmly established in control, those of the Thomas Christians who accepted him as their spiritual head seem to have lived peaceably under his authority. As the bishops from Mesopotamia died and were not replaced, there was no rival to Mar Dionysius in the Serra. Above all, having now an unexceptionable episcopal consecration, he could claim, as none of the foreign bishops could, to stand in the direct succession of those bishops who had ruled before the coming of the Portuguese, with the further advantage that, whereas those earlier bishops also were foreigners from Mesopotamia, he was bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, having been born into that family to which, as all believed, the apostle Thomas himself had given the glory of the priesthood.

This chapter must end with a note on the formation of the tiny independent diocese of Āññūr or Toḷiyūr.

As usual, there were divisions even in the body of the Malankara Syrians, whom it has been convenient to treat as a single corporate body. In 1772, the very year in which Mar Thomas–Dionysius received episcopal consecration, Mar Gregory, having become dissatisfied with the way in which Mar Dionysius cared for him in his old age (he died later in that same year or in 1773), consecrated as bishop the head of the opposition party, the *rambān* (monk) Kāṭṭumangaṭṭ Kurien in Muḷanturutti church, giving him the name Mar Cyril. Mar Gregory appointed Mar Cyril as his heir and left to him all his property.

This consecration, having been carried out in secret, without the presence or consent of any other bishop, was highly irregular, yet on a strict interpretation of canon law it must be accepted as valid. Mar Cyril claimed jurisdiction over the churches in the Cochin area, and his right to this authority was recognised by the *rājā* of Cochin. In 1774, however, on representations from Mar Dionysius and Mar John as to the illegality of the consecration, the *rājā* withdrew his recognition and delivered Mar Cyril over to the custody of Mar Dionysius.[29] The prisoner succeeded in escaping from prison, and withdrew from the area controlled by the *rājā* of Cochin. He established himself at the small village of Toḷiyūr, which was at that time in the dominion of the *zamorin*, later British Malabar. His following was very small, but he was supported by a number of priests and regarded himself as the head of a church which was constituted with every element of regularity and order. In 1794 he consecrated as bishop his brother, who became Mar Cyril II, succeeding Mar Cyril I in 1802. Since then the episcopal succession has been maintained without a break up to the present day.

This minute church has had an importance in the history of the Thomas Christians far greater than its numbers would suggest. On more than one occasion, when there has been danger of the episcopate dying out in other sections of the Syrian churches, the bishops of Toḷiyūr have moved in to maintain what might have become a broken succession.

For the Thomas Christians of all sections, as for other churches, the end of the eighteenth century was a time of decline and distress; but there were already signs of recovery. All was in readiness for the great revivals of the nineteenth century, as the Thomas Christians emerged from their seclusion to take their part in the general life of the Christian churches.

4 · Roman Catholic Missions

I INTRODUCTION

To write the history of Roman Catholic missions in India in the eighteenth century is no easy task.

The contemporaneous decline of Portuguese power and the disintegration of the Mughul empire, together with the endless regional and minor wars to which these gave rise, were exceedingly harmful to Christian work and, while making it difficult even to maintain what had been achieved, imposed almost insuperable obstacles in the way of penetrating new regions and of extending the work to areas where no Christian church of any kind had been established.

There was, in the Roman Catholic church, no central directive power by which the various enterprises could be held together in any kind of unity. The efforts of the Propaganda to achieve this aim had been in large measure unsuccessful. Missionary work was still largely in the hands of the religious orders, which were jealous of their independence and suspicious of any attempt to control them. The picture, therefore, tends to be rather a kaleidoscope of disparate units than an orderly map of experiment and progress, each part making its contribution to the riches of the whole. To some extent this must be attributed to the difficulties of communication in a land where roads were few or non-existent and movement by water was limited to certain favoured areas. But it is also the fact that certain missions liked to have things remain just as they were. Control from Rome could not be more than sporadic, though the Roman records give evidence of almost continuous efforts to remain abreast of situations in India, and what the religious orders tended to regard as a harmful measure of control could in a great many cases be averted.

The missionary enthusiasm by which the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been marked seemed almost to have died away. The numbers of missionaries tended to decline, in many cases sharply. Recruits sent out from Europe were too few even to fill the gaps left by those who had died or who from ill-health or from other causes had found it necessary to withdraw from the work. The Society of Jesus still had more representatives than any other order, but the great numbers of the end of the sixteenth century were never again attained. The figures are highly significant:[1]

1626	*Goa* – 820	*Malabar* – 190
1717	219	67
1749	150	47

The decline in foreign personnel was not made up for by an increase in the number of Indians in the Christian ministry. The experiment of appointing Indians as vicars apostolic had come to an end; not a single appointment of this kind was made in the eighteenth century. One Indian was chosen and consecrated for the archbishopric of Cranganore, but he died without ever reaching his diocese, and the vacant see was not filled by the appointment of an Indian. The Portuguese, in Goa and their other possessions, had ordained too many Indian priests. The presence of so many men ordained with little sense of vocation and with only slender chance of employment could not but be harmful to the life of the church. The reputation of Goanese priests, never very high, at the end of the eighteenth century was if anything lower than it had been at its beginning. During the long and distinguished history of their missions in India the Jesuits had brought forward hardly a single candidate for the priesthood, and after the end of the sixteenth century they had not admitted an Indian to their own ranks. The arguments in favour of this restrictive policy were felt by the Jesuits to be convincingly strong. But in India, as in Paraguay, the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773 made it plain that the policy contained within itself the seeds of destruction.

When all these things are taken into consideration, the Roman Catholic missions in India in the eighteenth century cannot be depicted as engaged in a process of orderly and continuous development. Two factors, however, save the picture from being one simply of a number of disconnected episodes marked more by failure than by success, and yield an impression of continuity and of planning for the future.

The first is the increasing internationalisation of the missions. The dominance of the Portuguese had never been absolute and had never received the support of Propaganda. In the eighteenth century the number of Italians sensibly increased; among the comparatively small numbers drawn from Italy were some of the most eminent of all the members of the missionary body. France only gradually attained to the pre-eminence which was to endure through the greater part of the nineteenth century; but numbers were increasing. French Jesuits and missionaries of the Paris Society did not yield in zeal and efficiency to their brethren of other nations and orders, and by the length and excellence of the documents which they produced they have added greatly to our knowledge of the events of the eighteenth century. Among the scattered minorities, even England was not without its representatives.

The way of traffic – military, commercial, political, social, intellectual, religious – between East and West, had been opened up. It was vitally important that the West should come to understand the East, and that the East should come to understand the West. The immense contribution made to this process by missionaries has often been underestimated and almost overlooked. A number of missionaries in the eighteenth century, not having very much else to do, plunged deeply into the languages and cultures of India, believing that this too was a service to the Gospel which they had come to proclaim. One produced the best and most complete account of Tibetan lāmaism ever written. One acquired the first copy of the four *Vedas* ever to come into the hands of a European. A third learnt to write the Tamil language better than almost any Tamil of his time. A fourth put forward views as to the interconnections between languages of the Indo-European family, anticipating the observations made later by scholars of the English race. These and similar missionary contributions attracted less attention in Europe than the similar contributions made by their fellow-missionaries in China, perhaps because they were not brought to public notice by writers of the eminence of Voltaire and Montesquieu. Indeed, the value of some of these achievements hardly came to be recognised until the twentieth century. But together they constitute a golden thread of investigation and intellectual adventure, bearing witness to the truth that the commerce of the Gospel is always two-directional, making for the mutual illumination of those who give and those who receive.

2 THE WELL-ESTABLISHED CHURCHES

Throughout the eighteenth century the main centres of Roman Catholic strength in India continued to be Goa and its neighbourhood, the Serra of the Thomas Christians[2] and the coast of Coromandel.

The primacy of the East was still a post to which even the aristocrats of Portugal might aspire. It had come to be taken almost for granted that, if the viceroy was absent, the primate would be called to take the reins of government into his hands, thus maintaining the close connection between church and state which had existed in the Portuguese colonies from the beginning. And it was quite likely that the king would not forget those who had served him faithfully abroad. When the Augustinian Ignatius of St Teressa had held the post of archbishop of Goa for eighteen years (1721–39),[3] he was recalled to Portugal to become bishop of the Algarve, and served in this post until his death in 1751. A slightly later archbishop, the aristocrat Antonio Taveira de Neiva Brum, held the archbishopric for the record period of twenty-three years (1750–73) but did not survive to enjoy promotion in Portugal; he died on the voyage to Europe and was buried at sea. He had twice held the office of acting governor, from July 1756 until September 1758, and from October 1765 until March 1768.

Statistics of the period are in many cases unreliable. Information dating from the year 1779, but probably referring to an earlier period, seems, however, to be based on reliable sources. It is stated that in Goa and the other Portuguese possessions properly so called there were 266,770 Christians. In the two areas (both under Portuguese control) for which figures of non-Christians are also given, Christians outnumbered non-Christians by more than six to one.[4]

Figures for the diocese of Cochin, for a rather later period (perhaps 1759), have recently become available.[5] The total number of Christians was about 98,000. Included in this figure are the considerable number of fisher-folk in Travancore and on the coast of Coromandel, and the not inconsiderable congregations in the Marava country. These areas were not in the possession of the Portuguese crown, but the influence of Portugal was strong all along the coast, and the inhabitants of these areas had been able to count on a measure of Portuguese protection until the Portuguese were ousted by the Dutch.[6]

The documents sedulously collected by C. C. de Nazareth – and by him listed, summarised or quoted, with almost tedious precision – give a clear picture of ecclesiastical life in the period, at least as seen from the administrative centre. Three features recur with almost monotonous regularity: minute regulations regarding propriety of clerical conduct, strict rules to prevent the resurgence of pagan ceremonies and ideas, and endless controversies between the prelates and members of the religious orders, especially those in charge of parishes, regarding privileges and exemptions which the regulars believed themselves to have and which the prelates were in many cases anxious to deny them. The episcopal offices must have been models of order and efficiency. But from such official documents it is hard to penetrate the hearts of ordinary people or even to conjecture the extent to which Christian truth had entered their minds and ordered their conduct.[7]

For the Fisher Coast we have no such detailed records as for the Portuguese areas.

For the first half of the eighteenth century the Coast seems to have been well staffed. For the year 1713 it is reported that there were twelve Jesuits in the mission, and that they were distinguished for their zeal and exemplary conduct. Relations with the Dutch were generally good, but there was always a haunting fear that the presence of 'the heretics' might lure some among the Paravas away from the faith of Rome.

The number of Jesuits resident on the Coast seems ordinarily to have been seven or eight. In the year 1761 it was reported that there were among the Paravas eight principal stations with thirty-five churches dependent on them.[8] There was at that time no Indian priest in the service of the mission.[9] Pastoral care was mainly in the hands of catechists, and these were not always men of high character and attainments.

Fr Besse gives an amusing example from the year 1734 of the survival of pagan and magical practices among these people who had been Christians for nearly two centuries. In the Parava community there was always great rivalry for the attainment of the title 'chief of the Paravas'.[10] The title was conferred by the Dutch governor of Ceylon, usually on the highest bidder. One who had held the title but had lost it, having been outbidden by a rival, was so determined to recover what he had lost that he called in the services of a Hindu magician to help him in his designs. He was told to choose a fine black donkey, to cut off its head, and to sacrifice its liver, heart and lungs to the demon. If this was done, his hated rival would share the fate of the donkey. Words of these plans leaked out and reached the ears of the rival. He, to protect himself, went to the local Jesuit and obtained from him a relic of St Ignatius whose name he bore. This relic he wore continuously round his neck. The protection of the saint proved effective, and the wearer of the relic lived on unharmed by all the malpractices of his enemy.[11]

There are occasional records of the baptism of adults on the Coast. For instance, it is stated that in 1733 nine adults were baptised in Tuticorin. But the caste to which the converts belonged is not mentioned. For the most part the Paravas lived enclosed in their own world, and exercised little influence on the other communities around them. The Jesuits who cared for them were presumably too busy to have much time for extensive evangelisation. From the reports of the Protestant missionaries who began to penetrate the area in the period under review, it appears that there were few extensions inland of the Roman Catholic mission, though of course Paravas were found in all the main centres, the marketing of dried fish being quite a considerable source of income. Also, soldiers in the various armed forces came in from the north. But this considerable Christian community was not an expanding one; 'business as usual' seems to have been the principle on which it lived.

3 THE MALABAR RITES

The history of the Roman Catholic missions in South India during the first half of the eighteenth century was darkened by the long tale of the disputes over the 'Malabar rites'.[12]

It might have been thought, and was thought by the Jesuits in India, that the questions at issue had finally been settled by the bull of Gregory XV *Romanae Sedis Antistes* (31 January 1623), in which on almost every point judgement had been given in favour of Robert Nobili and the policy of 'accommodation'. The revival of the dispute was due to three separate and independent causes. The policy of the Jesuits in China, and especially of the great Matthew Ricci, had been violently opposed by missionaries of other orders, as yielding far too much to Chinese tradition and compromising the varieties of the Christian faith. The growth of the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, and anxiety over the inroads of Jansenism, had produced in Rome a somewhat timid spirit of conservatism. Tensions between the various religious orders, and between the church and the civil powers, had brought about in India a hostility towards the Jesuits similar to that which they were experiencing in China.

The storm-centre was Pondichéri. First in the field had been the Capuchins. The arrival of the French Jesuits in 1688 could not but lead to situations of strain: the Capuchins eyed the Jesuits with some acerbity, and were only too ready to find fault. The situation was not eased when in 1708 a Portuguese Jesuit, the admirable Francis Laynes, became bishop of Mylapore; and when, in the following year, a former Jesuit, Claude de Visdelou, who had been secretly consecrated by Tournon in Macao as vicar apostolic of Kweichow in China, arrived in Pondichéri, separated himself from his former confrères and took up his residence with the Capuchins.[13]

The Capuchins drew up a list of no fewer than thirty-six questions arising out of Jesuit practice, and in the year 1703 one of their number, Francis Mary of Tours, made his way to Rome to lay these complaints before the Propaganda. The moment was propitious. Rome, much exercised by the question of the Chinese rites, had decided to take action, and a special legate had been chosen and was despatched to the Far East armed with exceptionally extensive powers.

Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710), a Piedmontese aristocrat, was only thirty-three years of age at the time of his appointment as apostolic delegate and *legatus a latere* 'for the East Indies, the Chinese Empire, and neighbouring Islands and kingdoms'.[14] Young, eager, very conscious of the authority conferred upon him, and ceaselessly hindered by ill-health in the performance of his duties, Tournon lacked the patience and diplomatic skill necessary for the carrying out of two such delicate missions.[15] The legate's work was not made easier by the intense hostility of the Portuguese, who regarded the appointment as an infringement of their rights under the *padroado* agreement. The archbishop of Goa declared that the legate had no authority in India, and that his decisions were not to be obeyed. Similarly the sovereign council of Pondichéri affirmed in 1708 that Tournon could exercise no jurisdiction on French territory.[16]

The main concern of Tournon was not with India but with China. However, he remained for eight months in Pondichéri – from November 1703 until July 1704. This should have given him sufficient time for a thorough investigation of all the problems involved. He did spend a good deal of time with the Jesuits Bouchet and Bartold, and he arranged for Indian Christians to be brought to his bedside. But his proceedings give the impression of haste and superficiality.

On 23 June 1704 the legate was ready with a decision, which fifteen days later was made public. At every point Tournon gave judgement against the Jesuits, seeming to withdraw almost all the liberties which had been granted by the bull of 1623.

In baptism no ceremony was to be omitted. The use of salt and saliva and the 'insufflations' (breathing into the nostrils of the baptised) were obligatory. All this was to be carried out in public (*omnia palam adhibeantur*). In baptism Christians should be given the names of saints inscribed in the Roman martyrology. Names of pagan deities or of Hindu devotees were strictly to be avoided. In translation of Christian terms the greatest care must be taken to make sure that the Indian term exactly represents the Latin, without any admixture of heathen superstition. Various rules were laid down with regard to marriage; among these was prohibition of the wearing of the *tāli*, the Hindu sign of marriage, which often bore a Hindu image not always of the most suitable kind. The priests were instructed that they must be willing to visit the homes of outcaste Christians in time of sickness, and especially on their death-beds.

What the Jesuits received was worse than the worst that they had feared. The mass of prohibitions and restrictions to which they were now made subject would, in their opinion, most seriously hinder the work of evangelisation and the progress of the church. The worst of all was that which required their presence in outcaste dwellings. They had been able to maintain contact with Christians of the higher castes only by scrupulously avoiding what would be regarded as defiling contact with those of the lower orders; to enter the dwellings of those on the lower social level would inescapably involve them in defilement of the kind that would separate them from all those on higher levels of society.

The Jesuits could not submit tamely to the destruction, as they understood it, of all that had been achieved in a century of labour. It happened that two Jesuits, Francis Laynes, as procurator of the Mathurai mission, and Fr Bouchet, superior of the mission of the Carnatic, had occasion to be in Rome in 1704 on the business of the Society. Laynes set himself to work, and produced a considerable treatise defending the work that had been done and the principles on which it had been based.[17] For a moment hope dawned. But it soon became clear that there was no intention in Rome of departing in any important particular from the Tournon decisions. There was nothing for it but for the Jesuits to comply, to prepare the minds of the Christians for the changes, and to introduce them with as little disturbance as possible into the congregations.

The Jesuits for the most part accepted the decisions and carried them out as best they could. The decision of Tournon, supported as it was by the pope, should have been final; in actual fact forty years were to pass before Pope Benedict XIV in the bull *Omnium Sollicitudinum* of 12 September 1744 put the final nail in the coffin of Jesuit hopes for better days.[18]

The bull of 1744, when it came, added little to all that had gone before.[19] Two points only require attention.

All the missionaries in Mathurai, Mysore and the Carnatic were placed under an obligation to take a solemn oath that they would observe all the sixteen prohibitions laid down in the *Compertum* of 1734, and now repeated in the strictest terms in the bull. This obligation was removed only on 9 April 1940.[20]

The pope agreed to the suggestion that a number of missionaries should be set apart for the service of the Paraiyas, the others restricting themselves to the higher castes alone. Even Fr J. Bertrand, who is inclined at all points to defend the actions of the Jesuits, is moved at this point to a justifiable protest:

> The result was to confirm this unhappy principle [of segregation] and to give to it a reality more true and absolute than it had ever had before . . . The result was, in effect, that the entire mission of the Paraiyas and the higher castes formed two completely distinct churches, separately administered by their pastors, and with no visible and admitted relationship between them. Now for the Indians two churches were equivalent to two distinct religions.[21]

The bull of 1744 caused widespread distress among the Christians of higher caste. Usages to which they had become accustomed over a period of more than a century had been interfered with, and the rites (such as the use of saliva in baptism) which they regarded as particularly objectionable had been insisted on without qualification. It is not to be wondered at that a number of these Christians withdrew from the faith and returned to the ancient ways of their fathers.

No reliable figures exist as to the numbers of these apostasies. Tradition has it that they were very numerous. Bertrand, writing in 1854, asserts that

> the number of these defections was incalculable, especially in the mission of the Carnatic, the most recently founded, and therefore the least solidly grounded in the principles of the faith . . . in this area alone the number of apostasies caused by the publication of the decree was not less than fifty thousand.[22]

The first archbishop of Pondichéri, Mgr Francis Laouënan (1886–92), after careful study of all the evidence, gives a rather different picture.[23] He does not deny that there must have been deep dissatisfaction in a Christian community which had become deeply 'Brahmanised':

> We are of the opinion that these new Brahman Christians, seeing that customs to which they attached even more importance than to Christian doctrine had been

> suppressed, hastened to leave a form of religion which did not do adequate justice to their vanity, and that they drew after them a number of those who depended on their influence.

But he continues:

> It does not seem that the defections caused among the Christian Brahmans [*sic*] by the condemnation of the rites produced immediately the disastrous effects which have been claimed. Nothing in the documents which have survived to us from that period indicates that considerable defections took place as long as the Jesuit missionaries continued to reside in the midst of their converts.[24]

This judgement of Mgr Laouënan may be a little too favourable. But it remains the fact that, when Roman Catholic missions began to recover in the 1830s, the newly arrived missionaries found churches still in existence, weakened by isolation and lack of pastoral care but not beyond the possibility of recovery. The major setbacks which have to be recorded in the life of the churches in the eighteenth century were due to the withdrawal of the Jesuits in 1759 and to the final suppression of the Order in 1773. The missionary in exile found himself taking up the words of the prophet Zechariah: 'These are the wounds wherewith I was wounded in the house of my friends.'

Rome had now put the clock back by a thousand years.[25] Matthew Ricci and Robert Nobili had made bold, and at certain points undoubtedly imprudent, experiments in adapting the divine seed to the recalcitrant soils of non-Christian worlds. Instead of commending their zeal and gently restraining their extravagances, Rome had declared that everything must be done after the high Roman fashion, that there must be no variation and no experiment. For two centuries *Omnium Sollicitudinum* was the last word of wisdom. Only after that lapse of time did a thaw set in with the great missionary encyclicals of the mid-twentieth century.

4 THE MISSION TO TIBET

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Tibet held a strange fascination for the mind of the Roman Catholic world. But, whereas the seventeenth-century missions had penetrated only outlying regions of Tibet, those of the eighteenth were much more centrally located and nearer to the heart of Tibet and its life. Through nearly thirty years in the first half of the century Roman Catholic missionaries from India were able to maintain themselves in Lhasa, the acknowledged capital of the country. Their reports, as yet imperfectly studied, and incomplete in a number of respects, are nonetheless recognised by experts in Tibetan history to be in the main accurate, and to be important sources for the history of the times.[26]

The Jesuit mission of Tsaparang (or Tsa-bran) had come to an end in 1641, but the Jesuits had never given up hope of being able once again to enter the forbidden land. Various abortive attempts had been initiated; at last in 1713 it was possible to make an effective new beginning, and two missionaries were launched on the arduous journey to Tibet. The Jesuits were unaware of, or disregarded, the fact that the Capuchins had been before them in the field.

The Capuchins claimed that by decisions of Propaganda they and they alone had the right to carry on missions in Tibet and that the Jesuits were unlawful intruders. Decisions of 15 January 1656 and 25 April 1698 might be thought to be rather out of date; but the Capuchins could quote more recent and undeniable authority. On 14 March 1703 a French Capuchin named Francis Mary of Tours,[27] who had worked for many years in Pondichéri and Surat, was introduced to a session of the cardinals of Propaganda, gathered to consider the affairs of the East Indies and of China. He set before them a proposal for a mission in the interior of Bengal, tending towards the source of the Ganges and aimed at the penetration of the Himalayan region. Having heard his allocution, the congregation on the same day decided to approach the procurator-general of the Capuchins with a view to setting up a new mission of the Italian Capuchins, situated on the banks of the Ganges and directed towards the kingdom of Tibet, or in some more convenient place.[28]

On 25 January 1704 the first missionary party was appointed, with John Francis of Camerino as prefect and Francis Mary as director.[29]

After many losses, frustrations and disappointments, the Italian Fr Joseph of Ascoli and the French Fr Francis Mary set out from Patna on 17 January 1707 and reached Lhasa on 12 June of the same year. Here they had the good fortune to be warmly welcomed by a wealthy Armenian merchant, of whose existence they had been informed in Patna; this good man, Khwaja Dawith, found them a lodging and enabled them to begin missionary work in a modest way. Medical work was one of the principal activities of the Capuchins. As they felt bound by the principles of their order not to accept any kind of payment for their services, they became very popular among the common people, to whom their care of the sick gave them ready access; but this activity did nothing to relieve the dire poverty from which the mission suffered throughout the whole of its existence.[30]

One disaster followed upon another. The expected financial aid did not arrive. Missionaries were few, and isolated from one another by the immense distances. It was clear that radical reconstruction was necessary. The new prefect, Fr Joseph of Ascoli, decided to send Fr Dominic of Fano to Rome to lay the problems of the mission before the cardinals and to secure aid and reinforcements. All those who remained in the field were then gathered together at Chandernagore; not a single missionary was left in Tibet.

Precisely at the moment of the departure of Fr Dominic the mission received unexpected and welcome aid from Francis Laynes, the Jesuit bishop of Mylapore, who at that time was making an apostolic visitation to Bengal. He warmly welcomed the missionaries on their temporary withdrawal to Patna and Chandernagore, and was deeply impressed by their courage and devotion. In a letter dated 3 December 1712 he commended their work to the cardinals, and made wise suggestions as to the steps to be taken for the reorganisation of the mission. The number of missionaries should be greatly increased and, in view of the immense distances, intermediate stations should be organised. Moreover, the missionaries on entering upon their work should be given resources to cover the first two or three years of their stay.[31]

This advice was taken. When the mission was reorganised in the following year, it was planned that two fathers should reside in Patna and two at Kathmandu, but that four should be assigned to Lhasa. The base would continue to be at Chandernagore.

It was at this moment, when the fortunes of the Capuchins were at their lowest ebb, that the Jesuits, without prior consultation, decided once again to enter the field.

Hippolytus Desideri was born in 1684 of an aristocratic family in Pistoia, and joined the Jesuit order in 1700. In circumstances that are not clear he had become fired with the desire to become a missionary in Tibet. In 1712 he received from his general the order to proceed to India with the understanding that his ultimate destination was to be Tibet.

After a terrible journey and endless hardships, Desideri, with his older companion Manoel Freyre, reached Lhasa on 18 March 1716. Freyre without delay put in hand his departure for India, and Desideri was left entirely alone.[32]

Once established in Lhasa, Desideri concluded that this was the place in which he should make his permanent abode. Lhasa was a busy commercial centre, linked to both China and India. There was a not inconsiderable Christian community of Armenians and Chinese, neither of whom had taken any steps towards the evangelisation of the Tibetans. Desideri had no reason to suppose that the Capuchins intended to return – he stated emphatically that in all his journeyings he had not seen a single Capuchin, and that he found none in Lhasa on his arrival.[33] The Capuchins, on the other hand, do seem to have heard in the course of their journey of the arrival of the Jesuit missionary. The mutual discovery of each by the other caused no little perturbation.

The Capuchins who came from India to Italy had been extremely well received in Rome. Fr Dominic proved an excellent ambassador. At the command of his superiors he had prepared a statement which, though it is called a *Breve Relazione*, fills thirty-five large pages of print; it deals mainly with the city of Lhasa.[34] His discourse proved so persuasive that the mission was reorganised very much on the lines laid down at Chandernagore. There were to be twelve priests; hospices were to be opened at Chandernagore, Patna, Kathmandu, Lhasa, and Dvags-po-Kʾyer,[35] and large sums of money were allocated as financial support for the mission. On 13 December 1713 Fr Dominic was himself appointed prefect of Tibet.

Dominic, on his return to Chandernagore, found there a number of new missionaries,[36] the most distinguished among whom was Francis Horace della Penna (Pennabilli). This young aristocrat[37] was destined to spend the greater part of thirty years in Lhasa. He was the only one among the Capuchins who gave himself seriously to the study of the Tibetan language; he was not the equal of Desideri, but his writings were meritorious and his *Relazione* is full of interesting material.[38]

Dominic, together with Della Penna and John Francis of Fossombrone, reached Lhasa on 1 October 1716, and the confrontation between Capuchin and Jesuit inevitably took place. The new missionaries shared the accommodation already secured by Desideri. Their relations were correct, if not always cordial, though it is recorded that they lived together as though they had been members of the same order. The Capuchins, however, made no secret of their determination to get Desideri out; he was equally resolved to stay.

Things moved slowly in Rome, but they had not been allowed to stand still. The case of the Capuchins was strengthened by a decree of 12 December 1718, in which the general of the Jesuits was explicitly instructed to recall without delay or tergiversation those members of the society who had gone to Tibet without permission from the Sacred Congregation, and indeed in direct contravention of its orders. In obedience to this decree the general wrote directly to Fr Desideri on 16 January 1719, informing him that, at the time at which he had been permitted to go to the kingdom of Tibet, the general had been unaware that these regions had been entrusted by the Sacred Congregation to the Capuchins. Things being as they are, there is nothing for the Reverend Father to do but to add to the merit acquired by undertaking such arduous service in the name of Christ the even greater merit which will accrue to him from immediate obedience to orders.[39]

Desideri would have preferred to remain in Tibet; but, naturally, Jesuit obedience prevailed over personal inclination, and he felt himself bound to accept the sentence of withdrawal. He reached Agra just one year after leaving Lhasa. In 1725 he was in Pondichéri, and in 1727 he was sent to Rome in connection with the process for the beatification of John de Britto. He was never able to return to Tibet, and died in the Jesuit College at Rome on 14 April 1733. 'Quod optabat maxime ut Tibetanum in Regnum rediret obtinere non potiut, morte intercedente quae illum ex Collegio Romano ad superos evocavit.'[40]

Desideri had entered Tibet without difficulty, and when there enjoyed almost unrestricted freedom of movement. There was at that time none of the xenophobia which was later introduced by the Chinese. Six weeks after his arrival,[41] he was granted an audience with 'the king',[42] at which he was favoured with freedom to preach and also accorded the very unusual privilege of being allowed to buy a house.

From the first moment of settling in, Desideri devoted himself with ardour to the study of the Tibetan language, with such success that at a second audience with the king, on 6 January 1717, he was able to present to him an account of the Christian faith in that language. Following the advice of the king that he should study the religion of the *lāmas* in their own writings, he moved to the bŽi-Sde monastery, where he spent rather more than four months in mastering the intricacies of lāmaistic thought and religious usage. Finding that a university, to which *lāmas* came from many parts of the world, would serve his purposes better than a monastery, he moved to the Se-ra University two miles from Lhasa, where he was able to use the library and to converse freely with the teachers. His diligence was extraordinary. Without the help of grammar or dictionary, he succeeded in mastering a difficult language, and by a kind of sympathetic intuition penetrated the mystery of religious writings translated into Tibetan, in which the original Sanskrit (a language of which Desideri was wholly ignorant) constantly shows through and increases the difficulty of understanding.

From the start it had been his intention to produce a refutation of Buddhism and an exposition of the Christian faith in a form that would appeal to the Buddhist mind. The work, in three volumes, took him nearly three years to complete; it seems to have been finished just before his departure from Tibet.[43] The work is in three parts: first a refutation of the doctrine of the migration of souls, which Nobili in his disputations with the Brāhmans had found it so difficult to answer; on this follows a discussion of the doctrine of God as absolute being and creator of the world; the third part gives an account of Christian doctrine in dialogue form. Desideri intended his work to be comprehensive, and it is the opinion of experts that in this he fully succeeded. He entered on questions of religion at great length also in his

Relazione, and 'he has thus given to the world what is probably the most complete survey of the whole lāmaistic system composed by any European who lived on the spot'.[44]

During his voyage from India to Italy in 1727 Desideri had begun to put together his scattered notes in the form of a continuous *Relazione*, a work in the definitive revision of which he was still engaged at the time of his death. Here he has poured out all the wealth of his knowledge of geography, of customs, of contemporary history, of religious thought. He himself has written of his work: 'All this I have written after traversing all three Tibets and living in these parts continuously for several years; after obtaining, moreover, a knowledge of the language fairly wide and deep, and after reading and examining with protracted study and serious application a great number of the principal and also very abstruse books of that people.' Desideri intended his book to be printed, but this hope was not fulfilled. His great work remained almost unknown, and the *Relazione* slept forgotten until in 1875 a manuscript was discovered in a library in his native Pistoia.[45]

The merits of Desideri are manifold. As a geographer he stands head and shoulders above all the others of his time: 'Desideri's geography remains for ever a classic work.'[46] His clear and accurate account is a historical source of the highest value, without which the confused accounts given by the Tibetans and the dry chronicles of the Chinese could not provide a living sense of the tragic events through which Desideri had lived.[47]

His greatest strength, however, lies in his deep understanding of the Tibetan hierarchy, of the religious literature of Tibetan Buddhism, and of the beliefs of its adherents. But with it all Desideri was first and foremost and all the time a missionary. His central thought and hope were the introduction of Christianity in its Roman Catholic form into Tibetan society. He believed that, after the acquisition of the language, his task must be the winning of the confidence of the ruling class. He was less in touch than the Capuchins with the common people; but perhaps in the end his method was better than theirs.

In 1724 the Capuchins were relieved of the unwelcome presence of Desideri. The mission had survived the terrible period of the Dsungar invasion of 1717, but Fr Dominic was worn out with his many labours and the sufferings of that time. His request to be permitted to withdraw from Lhasa was granted,[48] and Fr Francis Horace was appointed as prefect in his stead.

The period from 1722 onwards was full of the promise of success. In 1724 the Dalai Lāma issued an order permitting the missionaries to erect a sanctuary, and instructing all the inhabitants in detail not to cause any hindrance to these 'Gokhan lāmas', and not to do anything that could cause them trouble or annoyance.[49] In the following year permission was given for the building of a church.

The path of the missionaries, however, proved very hard. By 1732 nine out of the original team had died, and it was thought advisable that Fr Francis Horace should return to Europe in search of recruits and fresh support. The reception accorded to him left nothing to be desired. Pope Clement XII was delighted by the news from Tibet and by the prospects of success. Nine new candidates from among the Capuchins were accepted for service in Tibet, and a fount of Tibetan type was cast in Rome. The pope took the opportunity of the return of Fr Francis Horace to write on 24 September 1738, in courteous, not to say flowery, terms, both to the Dalai Lāma and to the king;[50] the letters were naturally accompanied by suitable presents. In due course the king and the Dalai Lāma wrote to the pope, and in the meantime the king, 'actuated more by gratitude than by conviction',[51] issued a proclamation making generous provision for religious toleration, and even giving permission, as it seems, for those of his subjects who became convinced of the truth of the Christian way to follow it.

The mission had now been at work for sixteen years, and the results may well have seemed negligible. The fathers had about fifty hearers, among whom ten or a dozen had been baptised.[52] To the missionaries their logical demonstration of the truth of Christianity and the falsehood of Buddhism seemed entirely convincing: they had under-estimated the hold which Buddhism has on the minds of its adherents, a hold which has kept very small the number of converts in every Buddhist country.

To these natural obstacles were added the relentless hostility of the *lāmas* and an outbreak of persecution.

On 28 April 1742 a young man who had been baptised under the name Thomas refused to receive a blessing from the Dalai Lāma, maintaining that as a Christian he could receive a blessing only from the true God. This was bitterly resented by the bystanders as an insult to the Buddhist faith. A few days later, on the eve of Whitsunday, which in that year fell on 13 May, a number of catechumens were solemnly baptised. The very same day, one of them was summoned by a magistrate, and told to repeat the mysterious Buddhist prayer *Om mani padme hum*. 'I pray for the king, but that is a prayer which I cannot use', replied the convert.

By this time the population was greatly incensed against the missionaries, and the king was inclined to share their indignation. When the fathers tried to see him, the king refused to receive them. 'The king will not receive you', they were told, 'you who affirm that the Buddha cannot become incarnate, that our legislators are not saints, and that the Dalai Lāma is no more than an ordinary mortal, whose predictions are not to be believed.' The converts were told that, if they refused to use the Buddhist prayer and continued to proclaim their religion, the king would have them beheaded. Nine days later the death sentence was revoked, but five of the Christians were sentenced to be flogged.[53]

Friendly relations were restored. But the work of evangelisation had become almost impossible, and the missionaries, with heavy hearts, reached the conclusion that there was nothing to be done but to withdraw. Of the party of seven, three had already made their way to Nepal. On Easter Monday (20 April) 1745 the other four, accompanied by one Nepali Christian, left the capital, and, having evaded the soldiers who had been sent to prevent their departure, six weeks later safely reached Bettiah in northern India. No record seems to have survived to tell what happened to the Tibetan Christians after the departure of their Western friends.

Tibet had been evacuated. Then came the turn of Nepal. Two or three Capuchins did enter Nepal after the general exodus of 1769, but nothing like a mission could be said to exist. Until 1952 no missionary was again able to live and work in Nepal.[54]

The mission of the Capuchins, carried on for sixty-five years with so much zeal and self-sacrifice, ended in failure.

The main reasons for this failure are to be found in the character of the mission itself. Rome had taken the mission to Tibet out of the hands of the Jesuits, an order which with its careful and strenuous training of its missionaries would have had greater chances of success. The Capuchins had received nothing beyond the formal training of the seminary and no special preparation for the work they were to undertake. They might have done better to choose a remote area where they could work quietly among less educated people; instead they chose to take the bull by the horns and to settle in Lhasa itself. As long as they attracted little observation and worked mainly among the foreigners resident in the capital, they were able to maintain themselves without too much difficulty. As soon as the mission was strong enough to make an impression on the Tibetan population and to win its first Tibetan converts, all the forces of lāmaism were arrayed against it. The result was disaster for the converts and destruction for the mission.

There was the further weakness that, fervent as the Capuchins were in spirit, they had too few leaders of outstanding quality to direct so difficult an enterprise. Only two among those of whom we have record showed any notable gifts of organisation and direction – Fr Dominic of Fano and Fr Francis Horace della Penna; and of those two only the latter attained to profound mastery of the Tibetan language and of Buddhist thought. As long as the mission enjoyed the support of the powerful Cardinal Louis Belluga y Moncado in Rome, there was some chance of continued existence for it; but after the death of these two stalwarts (the father and the cardinal), in 1745 and 1747 respectively, the mission existed only in name as the mission of Tibet.

5 OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE JESUITS

For a century the work of the Mathurai mission had been rich in adventure and in notable personalities. After the withdrawal of Robert Nobili from its work, there had been a recession; but with the career and martyrdom of John de Britto the mission re-emerged into the full blaze of publicity.[55] Again a quieter period followed, illuminated by the less conspicuous but still considerable merits of Francis Laynes, bishop of Mylapore. The eighteenth century cannot compare in interest with the seventeenth; yet the Society still showed itself capable of attracting to its service men of outstanding gifts, and also of extending itself to new fields, each with its own special problems and perplexities.

In 1710 the mission of Mathurai was enriched by the services of one who, if not the greatest, was certainly among the most remarkable of all those who have served the cause of Christ in India. Joseph Constantius Beschi was an Italian, born in the neighbourhood of Mantua. At the time of his arrival in India he was just thirty years old. He served in the mission for the remaining thirty-seven years of his life, without ever returning to Europe.

Beschi's early years of service were marked by one unusual adventure. In 1714, when he was in the far south of the area of the mission at Gurukkalpatti, he was arrested and condemned to death by the Brāhman commander of the local troops; at the last moment he was reprieved by orders from higher authority.[56] For the rest, his time was spent in the tranquil work of a district missionary. From 1720 onwards his residence was ordinarily at Ellakurichi in the district of Thañjāvur, from which he was able to supervise the work over a considerable area. In his report for the year 1732 he notes that he has baptised 235 adults and 708 children, many of the latter no doubt *in articulo mortis*. Only at the very end of his life was he entrusted with high ecclesiastical authority, as visitor of the college of Ambalakkādu not far from Cranganore, where he died on 4 February 1747.

The fame of Beschi rests upon his extraordinary prowess in the Tamil language.[57] Dr G. U. Pope, who alone might be regarded as rivalling his eminence, refers to him as *vir praestantissimus*, most outstanding of men. No one who has studied Tamil is likely to question the appropriateness of this term. Beschi stands unique among European scholars and writers in that language.

His lengthy poem[58] on the life of St Joseph, the *Tēmbāvaṇi*, or 'unfading garland', is generally regarded as his greatest work. It is indeed a remarkable achievement, flawless alike in diction and metrical precision. But the praise bestowed on it has perhaps been somewhat uncritical. It would be unfair to expect the work to stand comparison with the great masterpieces of Tamil literature. The nearest comparison would seem to be with such a similarly artificial composition as the *Naidatham* of the sixteenth century, equally prolix and in many passages equally tedious. Beschi's work is pure pastiche; he lacks originality and poetic fire; in the end the *Tēmbāvaṇi* is splendid as a *tour de force* and little more.

Greater credit should be given to Beschi as one of the founders of literary prose in Tamil. His *Vetha-Viḷakkam*, or 'elucidation of the faith' (1727), is a sharp and pungent tract against the Lutherans, whose progress Beschi could not but view with distaste and dismay. Of much greater value is his *Vethiar-oḷukkam*, or 'guide for catechists' (1725), an excellent manual in clear and flowing Tamil, based largely on the work of Gregory the Great. By far the most famous, however, of all the prose writings of Beschi is his lampoon on the pretensions of the learned Brāhmans, *Paramārtha Guruvin Kathai* – the story of Guru Noodle, written originally, as it appears, as an exercise in Tamil conversation for missionaries undergoing training. Beschi, unlike most missionaries, had an ebullient, and rather coarse, sense of humour.[59] The adventures of Beschi's pedant have been printed a number of times in Tamil, and have appeared in various translations.[60]

Even more important than these prose writings was the work of Beschi as a grammarian. He was the first European to grasp the nature of Dravidian language. Before the beginning of the Christian era Pāṇini (400 BC?) had reduced Sanskrit to highly systematic grammatical form. Following this example, a series of notable grammarians had rendered the same service to Tamil.[61] Beschi, basing himself on these classic works, which he had studied so thoroughly as to have mastered completely the structure of the Tamil language, produced no fewer than four grammars, two of the ordinary spoken language, and two of the higher and poetical form of Tamil.[62] Europe in India has never produced works more distinguished by scholarship and elegance than these.

Second to Beschi in rank is John Ernest Hanxleden (1681–1732), who specialised in the study of the Malayalam language. Jesuits had been using this language, by the sixteenth century sufficiently distinct from Tamil for the two languages no longer to be mutually intelligible, and a number of them had come to speak it well; but few contributions of philological merit had been made, and hardly anything worthy the name of literature had been produced. Hanxleden, by the merit of his two poems *Mishiāda Pana* (1728), and *Nāla Parvam* (a study of the four last things), did much to remedy the defect. Of these poems it has been said by an Indian scholar that they are excelled only by the work of the famous Malayālam poet Ezhuthachan.[63]

In addition Hanxleden was among the early students of Sanskrit. His *Grammatica Grandonica*[64] seems to have been based on the *Siddharūbam*, and to have been prepared with the help of two Brāhmans. Hanxleden is moreover credited with a Sanskrit–Malayālam–Portuguese dictionary and a Malayālam grammar in Portuguese – all notable achievements in an era when the aids to scholarship were so few and so rarely obtainable.[65]

Almost more remarkable was the achievement of Gaston Coeurdoux (1711–99), one of the French Jesuits who had settled in Pondichéri. Coeurdoux, who had acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit, was in correspondence, between the years 1765 and 1775, both with Anquetil-Duperron and with the Abbé Barthélemy (1716–95), the famous head of the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres in Paris. He had recognised the close connection between Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, and as early as 1768 had communicated to the abbé his idea of the philological connection between the three languages, thus anticipating by nearly twenty years the famous discourse by Sir William Jones to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1786), in which that great scholar put forward the idea that the three languages had 'sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists'.[66] The letters of Fr Coeurdoux were passed on by the abbé to Anquetil-Duperron, but for some reason they were not published in the *Mémoires* of the Académie until 1808. So the Jesuit was robbed of the acclaim which he had earned by his philological acumen, and the glory passed to the British scholar.

After the death of Aurungzīb the disorders by which the Mughul realm was afflicted struck hard at the Jesuit mission to Mogor. The mission continued to exist, but there is little to record of spiritual progress or of the development of an Indian church. The contribution of the Jesuits lay in the fields of science and learning rather than in that of direct missionary work.

Of special interest are the relations of the Jesuits with Rājā Jai Singh Sawāī, who ruled in Jaipur from 1699 to 1743. This remarkable man, unlike many potentates, had strong intellectual interests, especially in the fields of astronomy and mathematics. He was instrumental in bringing into being the notable observatories of Jaipur, Delhi, Muttra, Ujjain and Benares.[67] When he had come to the end of what his Brāhman helpers could impart to him, he decided to seek the help of wise men from the West, and turned to the superior of the Mogor mission. After various somewhat abortive beginnings, in 1737 two Bavarian fathers, Gabelsperger and Strobl, were sent to Jaipur, the *rājā* meeting all their expenses.

The troubles of the period and the invasion of Nādīr Shāh delayed the journey of the fathers, and they did not reach Jaipur until 4 March 1740. There they found the *rājā* extremely well disposed towards them; he attended mass regularly with all due reverence, and left generous alms upon the altar.

In 1741 Fr Gabelsperger died. He was followed to the grave by Jai Singh in 1743. From that time on the fortunes of the observatories declined. The successors of Jai Singh had no interest in learning. It is recorded that one among them dissipated the careful astronomical record which had been preserved, and broke up for sale the copper instruments which had been used in the observatories.[68] Fr Stobl, finding that there was nothing further that he could usefully do in Jaipur, in 1746 withdrew to Narwar. He died in Agra in 1758; with him died the memory of this interesting Jesuit enterprise.

6 THE CARNATIC MISSION

The French Jesuits had been established in Pondichéri with the approval of the bishop of Mylapore; but it was unlikely that they would be satisfied with the limited opportunities afforded by a small French colony. The Mathurai mission had expanded to the north and to the south, but there were still vast areas in India untouched by the Gospel and unreached by any missionary. The French turned their eyes north-westwards from Pondichéri to the extensive region commonly called in those days the Carnatic, and corresponding to the area in which Telugu is spoken.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the superior of the Pondichéri mission of the Jesuits was Fr Guy Tachard (1651–1712), a man of immense energy and vision. He launched the Carnatic mission by bringing up from the south Fr John Venantius Bouchet (1655–1732), who for twelve years had resided at Āur not far from Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, and was believed to have baptised during those years no fewer than 20,000 Hindus.[69] He brought with him another experienced missionary, Fr John Baptist de la Fontaine (d. 1718). Fr Peter Mauduit (1664–1711) was already resident in the Telugu country.

The three missionaries agreed that they would work on the lines laid down by Robert Nobili for the mission of Mathurai. They would live as *sannyāsis*, renouncing everything that could give offence to high-caste Hindus, and would direct their message primarily to those of the higher castes. As the experience of the Mathurai mission showed, not all missionaries, even with the best will in the world, could adapt themselves to this extremely exacting manner of life and of ministry. During the course of the eighteenth century forty French Jesuits served in the Carnatic mission. A few of these survived into the nineteenth century and died at Pondichéri, but only a rather small minority was able to give a long period of service to the mission among the Telugus.

Wisely, Bouchet decided to move gradually across the border area – in which Tamil, with which he and de la Fontaine were fully familiar, would still be useful – before launching out on the area where Telugu alone was spoken. He made his own headquarters at Arkonam, not far to the west of Madras. But before long missionaries are found at Punganur, and a few years later they are at work in the Anandapur district, not far from the borders of the *nizām*'s dominions.

Our main authority for the work of this mission is the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. The letters are immensely long, but they are sporadic; there are many gaps, and some of the crucial years in the history of the mission remain unrecorded.[70] On many subjects information is lacking. For instance, it is clear that the missionaries had at their disposal the services of a number of catechists, but we are told hardly anything about the origin and qualifications of these men. Were they Tamils who had been brought up from the south? If so, how did they communicate with people whose language, at least in the early days, was unfamiliar to them?

The existing letters cover the period between 1703 and 1743.[71] The next thirty years are almost wholly hidden in darkness. With the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773, this mission, like so many others, was almost wholly destroyed.

In the period under consideration the decline of the Mughul power was far advanced, and the Telugu area, like other territories further south, was exposed to every kind of chaos and disorder. The Muslims were a constant threat, and their raids were carried out with great brutality. The Marāthās were not far away, and they were liable to emerge from their fastness to demand tribute to which in all probability they were in no way entitled. The local rulers were oppressive and capricious in their manner of exercising justice. The worst problems, however, that the missionaries had to face arose from the relentless opposition of the Brāhmans, and of the *dāsaries* (the worshippers of Viṣṇu), to everything that departed from their traditional ways. There are many stories of hardship endured by missionaries and Indian Christians alike. This rarely reached the level of actual danger to life, though it was widely believed that Fr Mauduit and Fr Maximilian de Courtville had been poisoned by the Brāhmans in 1711.[72] It is certain that Fr Mauduit endured a period of painful captivity. 'I and my good catechists', he wrote, 'have been beaten, scoffed at, and almost done to death; but I am still alive and able to serve God, if my sins do not make me unworthy of it. Everything has been taken from me. I pray you to help me.'[73]

In spite of all these threats and painful experiences, in certain places the mission was attended by notable success. A typical entry is found in a letter of Fr Tachard, dated 4 February 1703:

> Fr de la Fontaine has had extraordinary success from the beginning of his mission ... Apart from nearly a hundred adults, all from the higher castes, whom he has baptized, he has among his adherents nine Brāhmans, that is to say that in eight months he has baptized more Brāhmans than almost all the missionaries of Mathurai have done in ten years.[74]

What was it that led so many Hindus at least to consider the adoption of the Christian faith? As in so many other cases, we have nothing from the Indian side. From the Jesuits' own accounts, their discussions with those of higher caste seem to have turned almost exclusively on the nature and perfections of God and on the folly of idol worship; references to Jesus Christ seem to have been reserved for those who were already interested. Following the example of the Mathurai mission, the missionaries in the Carnatic seem to have made no demands in the matter of caste, except in regard to customs which appeared to them to be directly contrary to Christian faith.

As a rule the Jesuits made no concessions in the matter of Hindu beliefs and traditions. The young Francis Caron, writing to a group of Ursuline nuns on 20 November 1720, introduces a brief account of Hindu religion with the words 'The Hindu religion is a most monstrous compound of all sorts of fables.'[75] A great many of those whom the missionaries encountered would be Lingāyats; the intense devotion of this community to the *lingam*, the phallic emblem of Śiva, would not be likely to commend its members to the puritanical Jesuits. On the other hand, the traditional rivalry between Brāhmans and Lingāyats, and the known hostility of the Brāhmans towards the Jesuits, may have been a factor in encouraging the Lingāyats to lend a favourable ear to the message of the Gospel.[76]

An exception to this anti-Hindu prejudice seems to have been Fr John Calmette (1693–1740), one of the most distinguished of the younger generation of missionaries and the best scholar among them. The king of France having decided to make a collection of Indian books, Calmette was entrusted with the task of acquiring books dealing with the Hindu religion. This had proved of great value to the missionary work of the Jesuits. With the help of Brāhmans who had become Christians, Calmette was able to acquire the full text of the four *Vedas*. He may have been the first European to see them. As he correctly notes, 'It is a crime for a Brāhman to have sold the Veda, or to communicate it to anyone other than a Brāhman.' All the rest of the world is profane and cannot share these mysteries.[77]

It was the experience of Calmette that, since the *Veda* was written in Sanskrit, the majority of the Brāhmans had no idea of its meaning without the help, both for words and for meanings, of the *Mahābhāshyam*, the great commentary. He himself was able to make some progress in understanding:

> Since the Veda, which contains their sacred books is in our hands, we have extracted from it texts suitable to convince them of the fundamental truths, which overthrow idolatry . . . but the truths which are to be found in the Veda are scattered through them like grains of gold in heaps of sand.[78]

One instance of conversion is so unusual as to deserve brief mention. A young princess named Vobalamma, not quite eight years old, accompanied her father on a visit to a missionary, during which over several days the conversation turned on religious subjects. The girl was very anxious to learn more, but, being kept in a state of seclusion, she could find no way to gratify her desire. Then one day she hit on the bright idea of sending one of her servants to the Jesuit priest, to be thoroughly instructed by him and then to return and to impart to her all that he had learned. During the course of the instruction the young man became a believer and was baptised, receiving the name Paul. Vobalamma became ever more convinced of the truth of the Christian faith and was eager to be baptised, but there was no way which this could be brought about. A marriage was arranged for her, and to this she consented on condition of being allowed to live as a Christian. But as soon as the marriage had been solemnised this promise was forgotten. In the following year she died, never having been able, like the emperor Gratian, to receive more than the baptism of desire. Paul, in the meantime, had left the palace and entered the service of the church as a catechist to Fr Calmette, to whom we are indebted for this interesting story.[79]

Others were actuated by less worthy motives to desire the acquaintance of the priests. In 1721 Fr Stephen le Gac (1661–1738) was summoned by the wife of a *nawāb* for a particularly private and important conversation. After beating about the bush for some time, she came to the point. She had allowed herself to be swindled out of a considerable number of pearls and diamonds and was in terror as to what would happen when her husband returned and she had to explain the loss. She was quite certain that the priest knew the secret of making gold, and that he would oblige her by doing so. She called to her help her son who was in charge of affairs in the absence of his father. Fortunately, the young man was less unreasonable than his mother, and the missionary was able to extricate himself from a somewhat embarrassing situation.[80]

For the greater part of the time there were not more than six missionaries in the whole of the vast field. Following the usual Jesuit practice, no Indian Christian had been ordained to the priesthood. The work depended in the main on catechists, men whose devotion was not in most cases matched with knowledge or experience. When the missionaries were withdrawn, the work could not be maintained in any strength. At a later period the mission was reconstituted, but the new missionaries could find little but memories. The tombs of some of the pioneers are still shown, as memorials to a faithfulness which received no more than a somewhat exiguous reward.

7 OTHER MISSIONARY ORDERS

In the eighteenth as in the seventeenth century, the Franciscans carried on work in many parts of India;[81] but their activity seems to have been concentrated rather on consolidation than on expansion, and on careful pastoral work rather than on vigorous evangelisation.

The Franciscans,[82] with their extensive work in Bassein and its neighbourhood and on the island of Salsette, were particularly exposed to the raids and the invasions of the Marāthās. The principal aim of the Marāthās was to subdue and to replace the Muslim power of the Mughuls, and hostility to Christians, who in any case in most places were few in number, formed only a secondary element in their campaigns. But the Christian powers stood in the way of their success, and could not but become involved in their operations. 'This [the Hindu character of their empire], together with a natural desire to extend their rule, led them to oppose the Portuguese both as Christians and propagators of Christianity and as a power which stood in the way of their achieving their aim, which was to establish in India as large a Hindu state as possible.'[83] In 1737 the Marāthās overran Salsette, destroying the fortresses, and later in the same year advanced on Bassein. The Portuguese made a characteristically courageous defence, but their enemies, no longer an irregular force of freebooters, were by then skilled in siege warfare. In the end defence acknowledged itself hopeless as Bassein was surrendered. This resulted in a fatal weakening of Portuguese power in western India and in serious threats also to Christian development.

Destruction of property was very extensive. Of the sixty areas administered by the Franciscans less than half survived the vicissitudes of war. The Franciscans were compelled to leave, not so much because they were Christians and missionaries as because no Portuguese were permitted to remain in the territory. (There seems to have been no persecution of Christians, and Indian priests were permitted to exercise their ministry.) The archbishop of Goa, Dom Francis of the Martyrs, himself a Franciscan, contrasts, probably unfairly, the timidity of the fathers in withdrawing with the constancy of the Indian priests who remained at their posts:

> They were by no means entirely deserted by the secular priests sent by me, who, as far as the calamitous times and the harshness of the barbarians permits, contrive to nourish the faithful of Christ living in those regions with the food of the sacraments and the divine word, and lead them in the way of salvation.[84]

The Marāthās seem not to have been diligent in watchfulness against the infiltration of Europeans, and the Franciscans made periodical attempts, some of them successful, to return to the posts which they had vacated. This is confirmed by a report of Anquetil-Duperron, who in 1760 visited Agāsī, probably the first village in the area to have been entered by the Franciscans:

> I arrived in this village on the day of the festival of the church of the locality (16 December 1760) through the most beautiful orchards in the world. The roads were filled with Christians making their way to the Church, with as much liberty as they would have done in a Christian country.[85]

The later years of this period saw a revolution in the situation of the Franciscans in the strongest centre of all their operations, the area of Bardez.

The crisis came in the years 1766–8.[86] The number of secular priests in Goa was very large, and it cannot have seemed unreasonable to provide employment for a number of them in parishes up to that time served by foreigners. On 23 April 1766 a decree was signed in Lisbon requiring the Franciscans to withdraw from Bardez. Goan secular priests were appointed to the parishes thus rendered vacant. Of the twenty-four parishes in the area nineteen had been filled by February 1768; to the remaining five the Franciscans entered claims of ownership, but their claims were overruled, and within a few years the parochial work of the Franciscans came to an end.[87] The change was unwelcome to many of the parishes concerned.[88] The pressure had come, not from the local people but from the authorities in Lisbon, who desired to exercise something like exclusive control over the church, and perhaps from the Goanese element, which did not wish to see its descendants excluded from profitable employment in the church.[89]

The Theatines continued to serve in India with their main centre in Goa, but they were gravely hindered by lack of personnel and of financial support.[90] They appear in a somewhat curious light in relationship to the English authorities in Fort St George (Madras) and Fort St David (Cuddalore). The English authorities, in their distrust of the Portuguese, did not recognise the bishop of Mylapore as having any authority in their dominions, and were prepared to employ almost anyone other than a Portuguese for the care of Roman Catholics living under their rule. They had shewn special favour towards the Capuchins, two of whom had spent many years in their employ. From 1695 to 1699 a Theatine, Della Valle, by his name an Italian, was Roman Catholic chaplain at Cuddalore.[91]

The situation was complicated by the appearance in 1702 of a Theatine who was also an Englishman, Fr John Baptist Milton. This man had travelled frequently between Madras and Cuddalore, and had repeatedly made request to the governor, Thomas Pitt, for permission to build a chapel in one or other of the British centres. The governor firmly refused permission, 'considering that the worst of consequences must attend it, or that it would be to the great dislike of the Company to have an English priest here of the Popish religion'.[92]

Undeterred by this rejection, Milton persuaded one Joseph Hiller to purchase for him a piece of land in Madras, and proceeded to erect on it a building after the fashion of a convent. This came quite by chance to the knowledge of the governor, who one day spied the unauthorised building as he was on his way to his garden. He at once sent for the offender, and 'ordered him immediately to desist from building, and by six at night to depart the place, which he accordingly did to St Thomas [Mylapore]'.[93]

After this adventure Milton disappears from the scene until 1710, when he petitioned the governor that he and his fellow-Theatine Dom Simon da Costa might be permitted to take up again the work at Cuddalore. This was granted; but the plan did not work out well, since Milton seems to have spent most of his time trying to lure away his fellow-Englishmen from their allegiance to the Church of England to that of Rome. He was recalled, it being noted that he was 'a man of very indifferent character', and settled again at Mylapore. In 1712 he offered to go to Bencoolen in Sumatra, and to this the authorities raised no objection, on the ground that there was 'no fear of his turning any English to Popery, being not qualified for it'. Two years later it was recorded that John Milton, being now more than fifty years of age, had died, and so 'the disputes about him are ended'.[94]

The Capuchins were more successful than any other order in securing the approval and respect of the English authorities in the south of India. In a lengthy despatch of 25 January 1715/16, the directors of the Company made known their view in no uncertain terms:

> nor will we suffer anyone else who is a priest of any religious order of the Church of Rome to be there unless it be one or other of your Capuchins; . . . We hear the Capuchins now with you are in your interest and will not secretly endeavour to do you mischief; wherefore let them continue with you, and suffer no other priests of their religion to disturb them, or (if you know it) to sojourn within our town or its Dependancys.[95]

The excellent Fr Thomas, 'a man of the best character, wit and ability', died in 1742, and was succeeded by the Italian Fr Severini. In 1743 the local authorities were perturbed by the arrival of one Fr Renatus, a Frenchman, who had come with authorisation as apostolic missionary and guardian of the missions in the Indies and Persia. A solemn document in English, Latin and Portuguese was issued to Fr Severini by the English authorities, making him *supremum et primarium pastorem* of the church of St Andrew in Madras (10 February 1743). Fr Renatus produced his commission under the signature of the vicar-general of the order, but bowed to the inevitable and accepted the right of the board in Madras to appoint whom they would. The directors had the last word in their despatch of 7 February 1744/5: 'The Church must never be independent of the State, nor the French suffered to intermeddle in our affairs, are maxims of such true policy, that we certainly approve your proceedings as to Father Severini.'[96]

Twenty years later the situation had changed. Portugal was no longer a threat to any English interest in India; the threat now came from the rising power of France, and the dangerous alliance of the French with Tipu Sultan. This brought suspicion on all French priests, and particularly on the French bishops now resident in Pondichéri. Accordingly the Company, to quote the words of Sir Archibald Campbell, governor of Madras, had decided 'about

12 months past to revive the document that long acknowledged supremacy of the Bishop of St Thoma over the Roman Catholic Churches within the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot and the centres belonging to the English East India Company'.

In accordance with this decision of 1786, in the following years the council in Madras passed a number of resolutions of which the third read as follows:

> That every priest, regular or secular, arriving in any of the English settlements on this coast shall as soon as possible inform the Bishop of St Thomé or Vicar General of his arrival, and produce to them his commission or patent from the Superior in Europe or Goa; and the Bishop or Vicar General shall make a report thereof to the Governor of Madras; nor shall any priest, regular or secular, be allowed to officiate until all these forms have been duly observed.[97]

The French naturally raised a protest against what they regarded as an infringement of their authority; but these protests had no effect on the mind of the British authorities, who were determined to maintain their supremacy, civil and spiritual, in all the territories which they controlled.

These affairs have little to do with the spiritual character of the church as the Body of Christ. It has been necessary to record them in some detail in order, first, to make plain the integrity of the British authorities in India, and the respect which, in those days of intolerance, they were prepared to accord to Roman Catholic priests who were worthy of their vocation; secondly, to show the unavoidable but deplorable involvement of the church in the affairs of the state, and of the state in the affairs of the church. These things were to cast a long and dark shadow over the development of Christian missions in India in the years that were yet to come.

8 AN ORDER OF WOMEN

Before we pass from south to north, note should be taken of an interesting, though transitory, addition made to the Roman Catholic forces in India, when on 8 September 1738 a party of Ursulines arrived at Pondichéri.

This order had been founded at Brescia by St Angela Merici in 1535; the declared purpose of the company was to 'combat heresy by giving instruction in Christian doctrines and to oppose the widespread immorality of the time by their example'.[98] The order is notable as having been among the first religious orders for women to engage in work outside Europe. They were established in Quebec as early as 1639. A party arrived at New Orleans in 1727 and founded there the first convent in what later became part of the United States.[99]

The invitation to the Ursulines came from Fr Norbert, who had probably heard of these overseas enterprises of the order and, believing the nuns to be well suited to work in India, wrote to the convent at Vannes asking the authorities to send to India subjects qualified to give good literary and religious education to the poor girls of the colony. The nuns arrived in Pondichéri without prior notice to the authorities, and without any regulation of their ecclesiastical relationships.

Three months after their arrival, the council granted them leave to reside and a site for the creation of a school. A contract in seventeen articles had been drawn up by Fr Norbert and was forwarded by the governor of Pondichéri to the bishop of San Thomé under whose jurisdiction the religious ladies would fall. The bishop raised a number of objections, but, after modification in the light of his comments, the contract was signed in the council chamber on 31 December 1738. However, the bishop continued to make objections, whereupon the council wrote to him on 5 January 1739:

> As for us, our opinion is that it would be better not to establish a house of religious women at Pondichéri than to establish it on the conditions which your Lordship requires. This has led us to the resolution to send them back on the same ship that has brought them to Pondichéri.[100]

The Ursulines did not actually leave on the same ship, but before an answer was received from France in February 1741 they had already quitted the colony. They were not replaced until 1827.[101]

9 BENGAL

Much light is thrown on the situation in Bengal by two letters of Fr Barbier SJ, the companion of Bishop Francis Laynes on his extended visitation of the area.[102]

The pioneers in the area had been the Augustinians, as has been set out in an earlier chapter. By the beginning of the eighteenth century their situation had undergone marked changes. The British had come in in strength and were making of Calcutta a great capital (1690); the French were established in Chandernagore (1690), the Dutch in Chinsurah (1653) and the Danes in Serampore (1735). Jesuits and Capuchins had come in to take a hand in the work, with the usual result of complaints and objections from the Portuguese concerning alleged infringements of their *padroado*.

Francis Laynes SJ had been consecrated in Lisbon in 1708 as bishop of Sozopolis *i.p.i.* and coadjutor to the bishop of Mylapore. The bishop of that see having died in 1710, Laynes succeeded him in the diocesan authority. Having set affairs in South India in order, the new bishop decided to make an extensive visitation of his immense diocese, of which Bengal and Orissa formed no small part. With his companions he reached Balasore on 9 June 1712. The English governor, Sir John Russell, had sent a budgerow to meet the vessel, and the prelate was greeted with a salvo of artillery and other marks of courtesy.

There was a small Roman Catholic church in Calcutta, built in 1700 and under the care of an Augustinian priest. But the bishop had more important business further up the river, and, after a very brief stay moved to Bandel, the Augustinian centre three or four miles from Chandernagore.

The number of Christians in the area was considerably larger than might have been expected. As elsewhere, they fell into three distinct classes. There were the Europeans resident in the various commercial settlements, the Portuguese, most numerous in the older settlements, the French outnumbering them in Chandernagore. Much more numerous were the *topasses*, who are described by Fr Barbier as the descendants of Portuguese who had entered the service of the Great Mughul.[103] Then there were the converts of pure Indian race, most of whom were drawn from the lowest castes.

The bishop started his visitation at Chittagong, one of the chief centres of Christian population, where he stayed no less than nine months. During this time more than 2,000 Christians underwent the rite of confirmation, for which in the absence of a bishop they had never previously had the opportunity. Fr Barbier notes that 'the respect in which Christians are held in this area, and perhaps the fear of the arms which they carry, for almost all of them are soldiers, are such that they can observe the Christian festivals with as much freedom as they would in Europe, and with no hindrance to carrying out any of the ceremonies'.

The work at Chittagong once finished, Laynes resumed his journey in the direction of Dacca. But on the way the travellers turned aside to visit a small group of Christians at Bhulua, north-west of Noakhali, who had lived in such isolation that in five years no missionary had appeared to help them. A number of days was spent in baptisms, marriages, confirmations and all the ceremonies which had so long been intermitted.

Christmas was spent at Dacca, where the bishop was surrounded by no fewer than six priests, a rare event in that part of the country. At Rangamati more than 1,000 Christians were confirmed.

The next stage of the bishop's journey brings us into contact with one of the strangest corners of Indian church history. The travellers had penetrated into the interior with the help of the canals which run everywhere in that area. There a number of Christians was confirmed in the principal church, which turned out to be no more than a small edifice with mud walls and thatch, built for the benefit of Christians who had migrated to that part twenty years before. In this region, we are told, there was a considerable group of 'public' (i.e. open) Christians, but a larger number of hidden or secret Christians.

For our information on this movement we are dependent on a report by Fr

Ambrose of St Augustine, written in 1750 when he was provincial of the Augustinians in Goa. He was writing of events that he had observed more than a quarter of a century earlier, but, though it is possible that memory had a little enlarged these events, there is no reason to doubt the general trustworthiness of the account. These Christians, we are told, make up the better part of the churches in this region, since they are country people, having nothing to do with the towns, and are not deeply versed in the doctrines of Islam. They are more easily converted than the Hindus, who are rebellious and much attached to their idolatries. But they do not dare to declare themselves Christians, since the Great Moghul does not allow anyone to change his religion, and the missionaries have not permission to make Christians of them. In three months 225 of these people have been baptised; the priest says mass for them very early in the morning and sends them home before break of day. They are much oppressed by the Muslim priests, especially at the time of marriage, marriages not being valid unless the Muslim ceremonies have been carried out; they are also almost compelled to allow their male children to be circumcised.

Fr Ambrose reckoned that in this area not far from Dacca there were about 1,500 open Christians and about 8,000 secret ones. There were about as many 'who dressed in European fashion', mostly people of mixed descent. Thus the total for the mission would be 18,233, more or less; an exact figure could not be given. But in the end nothing came of this promising movement. The great days of Dacca were at an end, the capital having been transferred to Murshidābād, and the star of Chandernagore was fading before the growing splendour of Calcutta.

Laynes, after his return from his travels, was living quietly in the Jesuit College of Hūglī, doing such work as lay within his power. But his strength was failing. Shortly after Easter 1715 fever began to manifest itself; the bishop had not the strength to resist, and died on 11 June of that year. His visitation seemed to have given new life to the mission, but with his death progress came to an end. The Augustinians had not the necessary manpower. They found it necessary to abandon the work in Arakan in Burma. The Jesuits, too, were unable to keep up their strength. Fr Barbier remained in Chandernagore for three years after the death of the bishop. The college at Hūglī managed to maintain a precarious existence for some years more, but after 1740 nothing more is heard of it. When Fr Tieffenthaler passed through Bengal in 1765, he reported that the church of the Jesuits was almost entirely ruined, and that of the buildings in which the Jesuits had lived nothing at all remained.

10 A SUMMARY

The preservation of a report sent in to Propaganda in Rome[104] in 1765 makes it possible to give a general picture of the Roman Catholic situation in India in that year, when the first steps against the Jesuits had already been taken by Portugal but the final collapse was still some years in the future.

No report had been received from the archdiocese of Goa. The see had been vacant for a number of years, and the work had been seriously weakened by the bitter strife among members of the chapter responsible for carrying forward the life of the diocese. A revolutionary change had taken place in 1759, when, because of the unhealthiness of the old site, the seat of government had been moved to Panjim or New Goa. Old Goa continued to be a splendid city of churches and other great ecclesiastical buildings, but by 1775 the population had dropped from 20,000 to 1,600.[105]

The vicariate apostolic of Malabar was under the direction of the Carmelites. Their numbers were small – only eight, of whom five were Italian, one Bavarian, one Austrian and one Polish. They had under their care 53 parishes of Romo-Syrians, with 82,893 Christians and 163 Indian priests by whom the work of the parishes was carried on. There were also nineteen parishes of Christians of the Latin rite. The church was growing; in the years 1763–6, 599 non-Christians were baptised after careful training in Varāppoḷi, as well as 110 adults less adequately prepared.

Propaganda had arranged to reserve for Indians two places in its college in Rome. One, Alexis Gonçalves (b. 1731), who had been sent to Rome in 1741, had completed his training in 1751 and had returned to Malabar, where he was later ordained. Another, Joseph Kariaṭṭil (b. 1742), had arrived in Rome in 1755, and did not return to India till 1766. It was he who was consecrated in 1782 as archbishop of Cranganore, but he died in 1786 in Goa, without ever having set foot in his diocese.[106]

The Carmelites maintained two seminaries, in which they had six students of the Latin, and ten of the Syrian, rite. Alexis Gonçalves was tutor to the Latins in the Carmelite house in Varāppoḷi; Joseph, on his return to India, was to be tutor to the Romo-Syrians in the Carmelite house in Mangāte. Rome had agreed to print mass-books in Syriac – up to this time they had been available only in manuscript form.

The bishop of Cochin could not live anywhere in the Dutch possessions. For a time he had lived in Anjengo, a small British settlement, but when expelled by the English, he made his home in Quilon. He had under his care 190 churches, nine or ten of which had Indian secular priests, the rest being under the care of Jesuits.[107] No one so far had compelled the Jesuits to leave and they had every intention of staying. Only twelve churches in the area had remained faithful to the schismatics; all the others had returned to the allegiance of Rome.

The archbishop of Cranganore could not live in the area controlled by the Dutch. He resided in Pocotta, and from there ruled over forty-three parishes. But the situation was one of considerable confusion. Some of the parishes were divided between Romo-Syrians and Jacobites, and some, as it appears, recognised as their metropolitan Mar Thomas VI.

The seminary at Ambalakkādu was gradually given up, the archbishop having already more priests than he needed.

In 1759 the Jesuit province of Malabar was served by 45 Jesuits. Fifteen of these were in the missions of Malabar, Mathurai and the Carnatic – six Italians, two Germans and seven Portuguese. The mission of Mathurai had fourteen residences, not all under the direct care of missionaries, with 70,000 Christians. Some of the areas which the Jesuits could no longer care for had been taken over by the Carmelites.

For the year 1758 the province reported 7,044 baptisms, of which 1,537 were of adults. Some of those baptised were Brāhmans.

Mysore, which was attached to Goa, had thirteen residences with 15,000 Christians. In 1760 this area was handed over to the province of Malabar.

In the mission of Hindustan, the Jesuits had two churches in Delhi, one in Agra, and three in smaller stations. In Raichur six Fathers had earlier been resident.

The vicar apostolic to the Great Mughul (John Dominic of St Clare, 1756–74) had nominal charge of an immense area, stretching as far as the old kingdom of Golconda, but in stark reality he had no more than six parishes under him. He resided in Karwar. On the island of Bombay five parishes were cared for by Carmelites, assisted by fourteen secular priests; but sixteen parishes on the islands of Salsette and Carenja belonged to the archdiocese of Goa.[108] In 1774, Charles of St Conrad, the successor of John Dominic, was able to take up residence on the island of Bombay; he received financial aid from Propaganda.

The diocese of St Thomé (Mylapore) also covered a vast area, including parts of Burma, but its existence in many districts was nominal rather than real. In 1761 Mylapore had been occupied by the English. At that time there were four parishes, served by priests of a variety of orders. In Pondichéri the Capuchins had three churches, served by seven fathers and three brothers. In Pulicat, a Dutch possession, there was one secular priest, and in Negapatam, equally under the Dutch, one Franciscan.

In Madras, the headquarters of English power in South India, the French were under deep suspicion. Their church had been taken away, and no compensation was given until 1768. The English favoured the Italians and gave them privileges both in Madras and in Cuddalore. For a considerable period they would grant no jurisdiction in their area to the bishop of Mylapore.

In Bengal the Augustinians served fourteen churches. In Chandernagore the French Jesuits had a church, and the Capuchins a hospice.

The name of Tibet continued to be used, though from 1745 onwards there were no missionaries in Tibet itself. The mission was described as serving new Christians, that is those who had been won to the church by the mission to Tibet, and old Christians, those who had moved into the area from other parts of India or whose conversion belonged to an earlier date. Thus, it is stated that in Patna there were 276 new Christians and 65 catechumens. There were 4,000 old Christians, of whom 1,500 were in Patna, 360 in Mogera, 108 in Bettiah, and others scattered through the area. In addition there were 1,200 Europeans, Armenians, and Christians of mixed descent who had to be cared for. It is also recorded that 300 children had been baptised *in extremis*.

This record cannot be read without sadness. Over so much of it hangs the melancholy of frustration and decay. When the extent and population of India are considered, the Christian enterprise in its totality seems to amount to very little. The three main areas of Christianity in India – Goa and the other Portuguese possessions, Malabar and the Fisher Coast – remained in their integrity, and probably included eighty per cent of the Christian population. The missions of Mathurai, Mysore and the Carnatic still showed signs of vitality, and they could point to evidences of progress in numbers and in the extent of areas visited. But the great days of the mission to the Great Mughul were in the past and what survived was only a shadow of past greatness.[109] The hold of the faith in Bengal was weak and prejudiced by the generally inferior character of those who were there to defend it. The name of Tibet survived as a monument to days of heroic adventure and self-sacrifice, but it was literally no more than a name; if anything in Tibet itself survived, it was only a memory of good men written in the minds and thoughts of those who had known them.

But, if the news in 1765 was on the whole bad rather than good, it was immensely better than that which was to follow. The age of decline was to be followed by the age of catastrophe; the signs of the tempest were already mounting up on the horizon.

5 · Anglicans and Others

1 INTRODUCTION

The Roman Catholic church is perhaps the most widely extended Christian fellowship in India. If so, it has been preceded, or closely followed, by the Church of England, or, as it is more properly called in its later developments, the Anglican Communion. This body has penetrated to every corner of the Indian sub-continent. It has undertaken to minister to Europeans, to Anglo-Indians, and to Indians of every race and community. It has won converts among adherents of every religion which exists in India, and on every social level from the exclusive Kulin Brāhman of Bengal down to the despised and rejected sweeper, and from almost all the remote peoples of the mountains and hills.

In 1707, though most of the English people in India were nominally members of the Church of England, the effective force of that church consisted of no more than a handful of chaplains intermittently appointed and casually replaced, and with few regularly consecrated buildings in which to worship. By 1858 it had become a well-organised church, with three bishops and three stately cathedrals, with a rapidly increasing staff of European chaplains and Indian priests, and with Indian Christian laymen already holding posts of considerable importance in government service, in education and in the professions. Two chapters in this volume will attempt to show how this remarkable evolution had taken place.

2 MADRAS AND THE SOUTH

Until the conquests of Clive in Bengal, Madras was by far the most prosperous of the British settlements in India, and the Presidency *par excellence*.

The East India Company was not in the habit of building churches, and was even reluctant to acquire churches built by others. By the end of the eighteenth century most of the churches built by the Dutch and the Danes, and some of those built by the Portuguese, had passed into English hands. But the transfer was accepted reluctantly; 'ownership meant expenditure on repairs; it meant the appointment of chaplains and church keepers; and the Company was not as yet prepared to assign more money than it was already spending on its ecclesiastical affairs'.[1] Thus the large church of St Francis in Cochin was left in the hands of the Dutch community until 1801, and the station was not provided with a chaplain until 1816.

One single exception to the rule of no help from the Company may be found in co-operation in the building of two churches by Schwartz at Thañjāvur, but this was due rather to local initiative than to action by the central authority and depended more on the government's need for the services of Schwartz as chaplain than on any interest in religion. General Hector Munro, the commanding officer at Thañjāvur, had become a friend of Schwartz and was a warm supporter of his plan to build a church. Largely through his intervention, the government in Madras was persuaded to order the paymaster to 'supply the Rev Mr Schwartz, Chaplain at Tanjore, with six lacs of bricks and 3000 parahs of chunam for the purpose'.[2] It appears that, when in 1784 he built his second church, further help from the government was forthcoming.

Otherwise, churches were built by private subscription and by the efforts of people in various places to provide for their own needs. Christ Church, Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, was built largely from funds provided by the officers of the garrison.[3] This was by no means the only church brought into being by such means.

Even where no chaplain was resident, some provision was made in military stations for Christian worship and instruction. The records for Vellore, one of the smaller stations, in the last third of the century provide interesting evidence that this was the case. When Philip Fabricius from Madras visited the station in March 1773,[4] he found that a number of the English soldiers were meeting regularly for Bible-reading and prayer and had arranged for the local catechist to give Christian instruction to their Indian wives. In the course of a crowded programme, Fabricius preached in English at a parade service and administered Holy Communion to seventeen of the group; preached in Tamil to the Indian Christians; married five couples; baptised five children of soldiers; and held a Communion service for the German soldiers whom he found in the station.[5]

Fabricius was successful in getting a school chapel erected at Vellore. On condition that the building should be used by Europeans and Indians alike, he was able to make a grant from funds at his disposal in Madras. The rest of the cost was met from the subscriptions of the officers and men of the garrison. Missionaries could only rarely pay visits to these smaller stations, but English services were regularly kept going by officers, civil and military. A friend of Schwartz, Surgeon Duffin, wrote to him from Vellore in 1787 asking for a volume of sermons; to which Schwartz replied on 21 September of that year: 'Your most agreeable favour I have received, and am very willing to send you two volumes of Isaac Watts's Sermons.'[6] In 1792 the government's chief representative at Vellore, William Harcourt Torriano, another friend of Schwartz, at his own expense put up a new chapel to be used jointly by the English and the Indian congregations. This 'large new chapel' was dedicated by Gericke and Rottler in 1793.

During the period 1706–86 twenty-eight chaplains were appointed to Fort St George. A number of these died so soon after their arrival as to have had little opportunity of giving evidence of their capacity. But St Mary's Church in Madras was rarely left without a chaplain, and of those who served most left behind a good record of exemplary conduct and diligent attendance on their duties. John Thomas, a Welshman who served from 1765 to 1777, was not a man of any special distinction but may be taken as typical of the chaplains of that century. Of him the vestry wrote to 'express their satisfaction with the exemplary conduct of Mr Thomas during his residence in the settlement, and regret his state of health compels him to return to Europe'; a little later the council wrote to the Company in England: 'Mr Thomas has served you 12 years in the office of Chaplain; his true piety and exemplary conduct have gained him the esteem of every one.'[7]

Some of the chaplains were, however, men of exceptional distinction.

William Stevenson served in Madras for only five years (1713–18), but he is to be remembered as the great friend of the Tranquebar missionaries, about whose work he wrote on 27 December 1716 a remarkable letter to the SPCK.[8]

The most interesting of all the chaplains of this period was certainly Robert Palk, who arrived as a naval chaplain in 1748, and stayed on till 1758. His ability in civil and political affairs was such that he was appointed by the government as ambassador to Thañjāvur, and later as paymaster of the army, and 'as one of the Peace Commissioners to negotiate the treaty with the French'. This confusion of military and civil functions was not pleasing to the authorities in London. But when Palk was in London in 1761 they became so convinced of his abilities that they sent him back to India with reversion of the post of governor of Fort St George. Palk succeeded to the office of governor in 1763 and held the post for four years. On his return to England he entered Parliament, and sat almost continuously for twenty years. He died in 1798.[9]

Madras, like other British settlements in India, had its perturbations – occupation by the French, threats of attack by Haidar ʿAlī, and so on. But for the most part the picture which history gives is of a cultured, leisured, well-ordered and hospitable community in which the chaplains played a dignified and at times influential part.

The perennial difficulty faced by the chaplains was financial – the Company, refusing to recognise the decline in the value of money, would not provide for them such pay and allowances as would make it possible for them to maintain themselves on the level required if they were to play a full part in the life of the community. Most of them were married men, and could not live with the same economy as the celibate priests of the Roman Catholic church.

Complaints on this head are constantly found in the records, and not by any means always made by the chaplains themselves. For instance, on 31 October 1777 the board noted in its consultation book:

> We have upon former occasions observed to the Hon. Court of Directors how inadequate the salary of their Chaplains has ever been to the purposes of maintaining them in a manner suitable to their profession; and since the increase which has of late years arisen throughout this settlement in the price of almost every article of expense, the inconvenience of their situation must have been proportionately augmented.[10]

The inevitable result of this was that chaplains tended to engage in trade. This could not be said to be illegal, since the Company's monopoly extended only to the trade with Europe, the 'country trade' being exempt from this embargo. Such occupation with merchandising could not, however, be regarded as fully compatible with the chaplain's vocation; the time taken up by such affairs might well be felt to interfere with the effectiveness of his spiritual ministrations. Nevertheless, there is in the records only one really petulant outburst on the part of the directors. This relates to the Reverend Charles Long, who had arrived in India in 1713 and had given various grounds for complaint. Finally, on 26 April 1721, the directors wrote:

> We understand Mr Long hath exchanged his study for a Counting House and is turned Supracargo, which in all likelihood will bring a scandal upon his character, and give the natives and Roman Catholics a handle to depreciate the reputation of a Protestant Clergyman. Therefore let him stay no longer in India, but return to England, to keep the solemn promise made at his ordination.[11]

3 CALCUTTA

Calcutta, the rather derelict settlement created by Job Charnock in 1686 on the banks of the Hūglī, was left without a church and was only sporadically cared for by a chaplain. The latter defect was rectified when in June 1700 Benjamin Adams arrived to take up the work. A man of considerable energy and enterprise, Adams soon set to work to provide the as yet non-existent church. His plan met with the favour of the council, which laid it down that 'a sufficient piece of ground to build it on, be appointed in the Broad Street . . . , and that a broad way be left on the side next the river, full sixty foot broad clear from the Church'.[12] The council further made a grant of Rs. 1,000 for the work of building; and this, together with the subscriptions of the English inhabitants, made possible the building of the church. In 1708 the bishop of London issued a commission for the consecration of the church in Calcutta to Adams' successor, William Owen Anderson. The consecration took place on 5 June 1709; the church was dedicated to St Anne, the reference being in reality not so much to the mother of the Virgin Mary as to the sovereign at that time reigning in England. A spire, with a bell, was added to the church in 1712. St Anne's did not have a long life, being destroyed by the mob in 1756 at the time of the capture of Fort William by the *nawāb* of Bengal.

After the recapture of Calcutta no steps were immediately taken to rebuild the church. Chaplains came and went, in most cases holding the office only for a very brief period. None of them undertook the strenuous task of raising money for church building. The erection of the second Protestant church in Calcutta was due to private enterprise and generosity, and to missionary zeal.

In September 1758 John Zachary Kiernander (1710–98) arrived in Calcutta. Kiernander, who was a Swede by birth, had been trained at Halle, and for seventeen years had been maintained by the SPCK in the mission of Fort St David (Cuddalore). While there he had made the acquaintance of Robert Clive, who had formed a high opinion of him.[13] When Cuddalore was captured by the French and the work there came to an end, Clive invited him to come to Calcutta to start missionary work there.[14] Kiernander was glad to accept the invitation, and was warmly welcomed by, among others, the Anglican chaplains. His first activity was to open schools for both Indian and European boys. By the end of the first year there were 174 boys in the school; in 1760 there were 231. During the first year he was able to baptise fifteen converts, one of them a Brāhman, the first of that group to be baptised in Bengal in any of the Protestant churches.

After eight years of work Kiernander was able to report that he had brought into the church 189 persons; but of these the great majority were Roman Catholics, only thirty being of non-Christian origin. The records show that during Kiernander's ministry no fewer than five Roman Catholic priests left the church of their origin and joined the Church of England. No details are given of the process which led to their change of allegiance; but since two at least of them gave long service in the missions maintained by the SPCK, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of their convictions.[15]

Now that he had so considerable a company of adherents round him, it seemed to Kiernander only reasonable that he should have a church in which they could worship. In 1762 he had married as his second wife a wealthy widow. The money for the erection of the church, which was completed at the end of the year 1770, was provided almost entirely from the fortune of the Kiernanders, with little help from others and none at all from the SPCK or the Company.[16]

The later years of Kiernander's life, like those of his contemporary Fabricius, were marked by tragedy. In 1787, not so much through his own fault as through the commercial imprudence of his son Robert, for whom he had stood surety, Kiernander found himself burdened with heavy debts which it was impossible for him to meet. The whole of his property was put up for sale. As the church belonged to him, and was in no way protected by its religious character, it would have been included in the sale at far less than its real value. At the critical moment a leading servant of the East India Company, Charles Grant, of whom there will be much to say in later stages of this history, came forward and paid the derisory price of Rs. 10,000 which had been placed upon it.[17] The church was saved. It was placed in the hands of three trustees – Charles Grant himself, William Chambers the friend of Schwartz, and the newly arrived chaplain the Reverend David Brown. Though much enlarged and altered, the church still stands, and is in use as a place of worship of the Church of North India.

Kiernander's active ministry was at an end. Old and worn, once again a widower, almost blind, in deep poverty, he ministered to the Dutch congregation in Chinsurah from 1787 to 1795. Only once again was he seen in the church which he had built; on the occasion of the opening of the enlarged church on 29 December 1793 he was present, joined in the administration of the Sacrament, and expressed himself happy to see the church so much improved and the attendance so much increased.[18]

Chaplains came and went. Great difficulty was experienced in maintaining the succession, many of the chaplains who arrived in India holding office for a lamentably short time before they succumbed to the rigours of the climate. Thus Samuel Briercliffe of Trinity College, Cambridge, reached Calcutta in August 1713, twenty-seven years of age and filled with enthusiasm to emulate what he had read of the achievements of the SPCK in South India. He made a good beginning and seems to have won the affection of his congregation, though apparently without the full agreement of the authorities in England. But he died in August 1717, just four years after his arrival. There was an interval of two years and five months during which there was no chaplain in Calcutta. Then in January 1720 the place was filled by Joshua Thomlinson, who for twelve years had been the Company's chaplain in St Helena; but Thomlinson survived for only four months. After this there was another interval of twenty-two months, and then in March 1722 Joseph Paget stepped into the vacant place. Paget served for only a short period, dying in Dacca on the day before the second anniversary of his arrival at Fort

William. At last Gervase Bellamy came in on 22 August 1726; with his coming the whole situation changed for the better. Bellamy was already thirty-six years old when he reached Calcutta, but he was destined to resist the encroachments of the climate and to serve the church with acceptance for thirty years.

All the accounts depict Bellamy as a delightful and attractive man, greatly beloved and respected by all, who served the church throughout his long ministry with that grave and sober piety characteristic of eighteenth-century Anglicanism at its best. The achievement with which his name is most closely associated is the foundation of the charity school. Three years after his arrival it was possible to put in hand the building of the school, which was to accommodate eight foundationers and forty day scholars. The SPCK, in its Annual Report for 1733, notes the receipt of a letter from Bellamy, dated 29 February 1731/2, in which he records that the large and commodious school now houses eight boys, who are maintained and educated after the manner of the Blue-Coat boys in Christ's Hospital.[19] The first master of the school appears to have been one Padre Aquiare, a Franciscan from Goa, who had expressed an earnest desire to be admitted to the Church of England, and who, after admission, was employed and given Rs. 30 a month out of church funds.[20]

At a later date Bellamy seems to have handed over the care of the school to Robert Mapletoft of Clare College, Cambridge, who came to Calcutta in August 1750. Mapletoft proved to be an excellent manager, under whom both the finances and the discipline of the school improved; in 1754 he reports that the number of foundationers is now twelve to fourteen, and asks for a supply of 'blue Perpets[21] or some ordinary cloth' to be used in making coats for the boys, and also for stationery for use in the school. He concludes:

> we flatter ourselves that this application will not appear unreasonable to you as it must be very evident that children well educated and interested in the English language and accounts, may hereafter be of great service not only to the Gentlemen of this place, but to the honourable Company also.[22]

The ministry of Bellamy ended in tragedy. He was one of the many who died in 1757 in the Black Hole of Calcutta. J. Z. Holwell tells us, in his *Genuine Narrative*, that 'I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man the Rev Gervase Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the lieutenant, hand in hand near the southernmost wall of the prison.'[23]

In 1754 a new factor was introduced into the Christian and Anglican situation in India by the arrival of a regiment of king's troops. Up to this point in time the Company had recruited, paid and managed its own armies.

The intensity of the struggle against the French in India led to the despatch from England of a regiment of infantry and a detachment of Royal Artillery. The 39th Foot bore the notable title *Primus in Indis*. A king's regiment would naturally be accompanied by its chaplain. Of this we find a clear note in a resolution of council, dated 4 November 1762:

> The Reverend *Mr Samuel Staveley* having deceased ... there becometh a vacancy in the Chaplaincy of this settlement. *Agreed*, we appoint the *Rev Mr Parry*, Chaplain to His Majesty's 84th Regiment to fill the same, and we recommend him in our next address to the Court to be confirmed therein.[24]

When the 39th Foot was withdrawn to England, officers and men alike were permitted to volunteer for service in the Company's army; no fewer than five officers (who all received a step upwards in rank) and 350 men accepted the offer. This became the regular custom; as a result the number of officers and men of former European descent in the Company's regiments rapidly increased.

In South India the Company's army had used the services of missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, to care for the spiritual needs of the troops. In other parts of India, where there were no missionaries and no chaplains, the fighting men had to depend on their own slender spiritual resources. But, with the example of the English regiments at hand, a change was gradually brought about. In 1770 it was decided that a chaplain should be appointed to each of the three brigades of the Company's troops. It does not appear that any chaplain was appointed in 1770, but from that time on the 'brigade chaplains' appear regularly in the records. The first to be appointed was the Reverend Thomas Yate, who took office on 1 January 1772. At the end of the period surveyed in this chapter, there were no fewer than nine Anglican priests in Bengal, all of whom were, or had been, regimental or garrison chaplains. Two of these were outstanding. David Brown, the first of the 'pious chaplains', who arrived in 1786, will occupy our attention at a later stage of this narrative. John Owen, who reached India in 1785, was the son of pious parents who had become close friends of John Wesley; the great man refers to them in his diary as 'the lovely family at Publow' (Publow, where they resided, being not far from Bristol). Owen seems to have carried into his ministry something of the character and authority of the family mentor – David Brown describes him as 'a bold friend, and able to speak with authority'. Owen returned to England in 1794, was appointed a chaplain-general to His Majesty's forces, and at the time of his death in 1824 was archdeacon of Richmond in Yorkshire.

The supply of chaplains was intermittent and irregular. But it must not be supposed that when there was no chaplain church services ceased to be held. As in earlier times, there are many notices of services being conducted by laymen: it seems that services were regularly held, and that until the end of the period dealt with in this chapter church attendance was a regular part of European life in Calcutta.[25] Thus, to give one example, we are told that two merchants, Mr Lloyd and Mr John Oldmixer, had solemnised marriages between February and June 1726, and that Mr Oldmixer, having performed divine service for six months in 1725, received a gratuity of 200 silver rupees for his pains.[26]

Church-going seems to have been quite a business. It became the custom that the governor and council, with the civil servants and such of the military officers as were off duty, should walk together in procession to the church to attend divine service on Sunday mornings.[27] Where people of such eminence in the community led the way, it was likely that others would follow their example, though it is clear that there were many delinquents who preferred to stay at home.

St Anne's Church had been destroyed in 1756. After the recovery of Calcutta by the English, no immediate steps were taken to replace it with another Anglican place of worship. For the time being the English-speaking congregation took over the Portuguese church of Our Lady of the Rosary, the practice of the Roman Catholic faith in Calcutta having been forbidden by the governor-in-council. This solution of the problem, however, was attended by a number of difficulties. The proscription of one form of the Christian faith was not approved by the court of directors.[28] The church was dark, damp and noisy. A second, temporary, solution was therefore sought. In the year 1760 a small chapel was built inside the old fort in an area almost immediately adjoining the infamous Black Hole. The new chapel was opened for worship, probably on 24 June of that year, the feast of the birth of John the Baptist, in whose honour the chapel was named St John's.

The population of Calcutta was steadily growing, and before long it became clear that the capacity of the chapel was far from meeting the needs of those who wished to worship. A vigorous chaplain, the Reverend William Johnson, took the first step towards the building of a church which would worthily represent the claims of the Church of England, in a letter addressed, on 22 March 1776, to the governor-general and council:

> Whoever has seen the Room must know that it is incapable of holding a twentieth part of the Protestant inhabitants of Calcutta and whoever has been a constant attendant on religious worship there must also have frequently been a witness of the noisy interruptions to which Divine Service is liable both from people within the Fort, and from the concourse by the river side of men employed in their several mechanical trades or mercantile affairs. To erect 'a proper edifice for Christian Worship' will 'not only be of great benefit to religion, but will also reflect the truest honour on yourselves, on the Honourable Company, and on the English Nation'.

Johnson's hope that the directors in London might accept the responsibility for erecting a suitable church was not to be fulfilled; the Company, faithful to its general policy of not spending money on buildings to be used for religious purposes, would not lend a hand. The project slept for another seven years. But in 1783 Johnson made up his mind that, if a church was not to be built from government funds, the necessary money must be raised by public subscription. Towards the end of the year he was able to announce that no less than Rs. 35,900 had been promised. A public meeting was held, and a building committee was appointed; the first name on the list of members was that of the governor-general, Warren Hastings himself, who as it appeared had also subscribed generously to the building fund.

Four days later (22 December 1783) Hastings was able to announce that Mahārājā Nobkissen (Nobo-Krishna Dey, one of the wealthiest Hindus in Bengal) had given a suitable piece of ground, known as the old Powder Magazine Yard, for the building of the church. On 6 February he wrote to his wife, who had already left India for England:

> I must not forget to inform you, my good Maria, that the Church Scheme which you had so much at heart goes on most prosperously, and I expect the Foundation to be laid in less than Two Months. The Body will be a square of 70 feet, and it will be decorated with a handsome Steeple.[29]

Much money had been raised, but much more was needed if the work was to be completed. The building committee hit upon the idea of holding a lottery.[30] There were to be 335 prizes, the largest of which was to be a lakh (100,000) of rupees. For six months the lottery was the talk of the town. When on 6 August 1784 the tickets were drawn, it was found that the building fund had prospered by the sum of Rs. 26,088–6–8, together with Rs. 10,764–12–9 received back from the prizes. This was far less than would be needed for the completion of the building,[31] but the members of the committee were right in thinking that the interest shown by the public in the project was enough to justify them in going ahead with the work.

In point of fact work had already begun. On 6 April 1784 the council, led by its senior member in the absence of the governor-general, went in procession to the site, and after prayers uttered by the chaplain the foundation stone was solemnly laid.

Much still remained to be done. But at last on 24 June 1787 all was ready for the solemn consecration of the completed church. The act of consecration was carried out by the Reverend William Johnson (to whom the very existence of the church was due), in the presence of a large congregation which included almost all the leading English residents of Calcutta. The chaplain then preached a sermon on the text from Psalm 93: 5, 'Holiness becometh thine house for ever', and the ceremonies concluded with a celebration of Holy Communion.

So Calcutta had at last been provided with a church which was to serve for many years as its parish church, and in which, when the time came, the first Anglican bishop of Calcutta was enthroned.

4 BOMBAY

During the eighteenth century Bombay was much overshadowed by the other great presidency cities. It was hemmed in by strong kingdoms on the mainland, and isolated from other centres of British life and influence. As late as 1779 Colonel Goddard made the first trans-continental march from Calcutta to Surat and showed possibilities of communication by land which were not fully exploited until the development of the railways in the nineteenth century. The overland post from Bombay to Madras was started only in 1788. Otherwise communication was by sea, and this depended very much on the weather and the availability of ships.

Nevertheless, during the eighteenth century Bombay gradually recovered from the poverty and depopulation which had marked the end of the seventeenth. The French wars led to a great increase in military strength; in 1741 there were twenty-six officers and 1,442 other ranks on the island. In 1775 it was reckoned that the population had increased to 140,000, though the European element was still small.

The church cannot be said to have flourished. The vigorous Richard Cobbe, who had been mainly responsible for the building of what is now the cathedral, in 1720 got into trouble with the authorities and, having refused to apologise publicly to a leading member of the community whom he had rebuked by name in church, though he did reluctantly agree to apologise in private, was suspended from his office by the council and ordered to return to England.[32]

None of Cobbe's successors seems to have been equal to him in vigour and enterprise. Whereas at the end of the seventeenth century there had been three chaplains, two in Bombay and one in Surat, for the greater part of the eighteenth there was only one. This minister had to travel, as best he could, northwards to Surat and southwards as far as Anjengo, as well as caring for the welfare of Bombay. There was as yet no glass in the windows of the cathedral, and the floor was still coated with dried cowdung, cement apparently being reckoned too expensive.[33]

One of the Bombay chaplains of this period, Arnold Burrowes, deserves mention, not so much because of any great personal distinction as because of the length of his service. He arrived in India in 1773 and served till 1813; during these forty years he never once visited England, and he became known to generation after generation of seamen visiting the port.[34]

5 ANGLICANS AND LUTHERANS

During the period under review, the English church as such did not engage directly in any kind of missionary work. Not one single priest of that church offered himself for such service; the change came only at the very end of the eighteenth century. Anglicans did all their missionary work vicariously, through Lutherans and other continental ministers. These they supported in all their enterprises. Some of them they accepted as intimate friends and spiritual guides. When Kiernander came to Calcutta, he was warmly welcomed by many, and no trace of denominational jealousy seems to have marred his relationships with the Anglican chaplains. Such co-operation did not exist in Bombay, where there were no Protestant missionaries. In the south, these easy relationships between chaplains, missionaries and civilians were more fully developed and long-lasting than in Bengal. This led to one of the most peculiar features of the Anglican situation in India – the support given over a long period of time by a strictly episcopal church to a Lutheran and non-episcopal mission.

The SPCK was drawn almost by chance into support of the Tranquebar mission. We have seen earlier the enthusiasm awakened in England by early reports of the success of the mission in South India. When it was found that the SPG, by reason of its charter, could not participate in work outside the British dominions and was therefore unable to help the missionaries in Danish territory, the SPCK, being a voluntary and unchartered society, was able to step in and take up the burden. For a quarter of a century the help was provided in the form of money and gifts, including the first printing-press owned by the mission. The decisive step was taken in 1732, when it became clear that the Mission Council in Copenhagen would not support a missionary working in territory controlled by Britain and the SPCK agreed to take on Benjamin Schultze as their missionary at a salary of £60 a year.

The SPCK records make it clear that from an early date the Church of England, stirred to emulation by the Danish and German example, would have liked to send its own missionaries to India. In 1713 the remarkable American secretary of the SPCK, Henry Newman, was writing to the equally remarkable Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man, to enlist his help.[35] He drew a somewhat idealistic picture of the kind of missionary the Society would like to find:

> They would gladly have men of a sober and religious conversation, endowed with a meek and humble spirit, men pretty well mortified and dead to the world and worldly advantages, of some experience in the care of souls and zealous for the glory of God and the salvation of men. If with these divine qualities, they have learning and aptitude to learn languages, it will be a great advantage.[36]

It seemed that the desire of the Society might be fulfilled without delay. Newman was informed that a very well-qualified Welsh clergyman had shown an inclination to go to Tranquebar. This was none other than the eminent educationist Griffith Jones (1683–1761). L. W. Cowie remarks that 'if he had gone, the history of British missions might have been very different'.[37] But, on reflection, Jones reports that 'he thinks himself obliged to decline it upon the prospect he has of doing more service to religion in his native country than he can purpose to do abroad'.

Again hopes were raised in 1729 when Bishop Wilson recommended Mr James Christian. Christian preached a trial sermon, apparently with acceptance, and was offered the post at Fort St George. He then, however, began to haggle about terms, expecting the salary of a chaplain, more than double what the Society felt it could offer him as a missionary, and 'upon a presumption that they did not expect from him to spend his life in their service and that he might be allowed, not only a competent support, but wherewith to enable him to return to Europe after spending some years in their service'. This was not the idea of the Society; they wanted a man who would go out, like the Lutheran missionaries, for life 'without any limitation other than God's Almighty pleasure of sparing him life and health'.[38] So the services of Mr Christian were dispensed with.

Regretfully Newman had to report that the spirit of self-sacrifice so evident in the Germans was not to be found in the products of Oxford and Cambridge, who were 'not inclined to go so far from their country and friends and to deny themselves of that comfortable way of living they had been used to have, to take up what the Indies affords'.

So, not having found any recruits from the Church of England, the SPCK had to set about making use of the material which was available. And this meant that an Anglican society would for an unspecified time have Lutherans in its employ. From the start this proved itself to be less than easy, but there were mitigating features.

Anglicans drew a sharp distinction between the well-organised churches of the continent and the English dissenters. Archbishop Wake had written that the case was 'vastly different between communicating with the Protestants abroad and our Separatists here at home'.[39] There had been a long tradition of inter-communion between the English and continental churches. Few Anglicans hesitated to receive Lutherans to the Holy Communion in England, though some among the stricter churchmen had hesitations against themselves receiving Communion at a non-Anglican service.

It was certainly an advantage that arrangements had been made for the missionaries to be ordained in Copenhagen by the bishop of Zealand. The purpose of this was to link them to the church in Denmark, and to place them under an obligation to maintain in India the Danish way of doing things. But, though the Church of England has never accorded the same recognition to the Danish episcopal tradition as it has to the Swedish,[40] the retention of the title 'bishop' made a favourable impression, and suggested that the missionaries were being ordained to the service of a church that really was a church.[41]

The ordination of the first 'country priest', Aaron, in 1733 had raised in an acute form the question of the validity and regularity of Lutheran ordinations. One of the Anglican chaplains in Madras raised the question whether it was in order, according to Lutheran principles, for the missionaries to confer orders on such persons. The question was important, this being the first Lutheran ordination of an Indian. Mr Ziegenhagen, the Lutheran pastor in London, was asked to write to Professor Francke in Halle to ascertain what the situation was. Francke was able to reply that the missionaries undoubtedly had the *potestas ordinandi*, and that what they had done was perfectly in order. When the second 'country priest', Diogo, was ordained, no question was raised from the Anglican side.

C. F. Schwartz had never been a missionary under the Danish crown, and his right to ordain was therefore rather more dubious. When in 1784 he proposed that his foster-son, the younger Kohlhoff, should be ordained, he took the precaution of asking Lector Pasche of the German court chapel in London, who was a member of the East Indian Committee of the SPCK, whether the society would approve the ordination. A favourable reply must have been received, as on 14 February 1787 Schwartz reported that the candidate had been 'publicly ordained in the presence of the Danish governor and of the English and Danish missionaries at Tranquebar'. In the following year the society made no difficulty about adding the name of Kohlhoff to the roll of its missionaries. When in 1790 Schwartz ordained the catechist Sattianāthan, the society showed its approval by printing the sermon which Sattianāthan had preached on the occasion.[42]

Throughout the eighteenth century some Anglicans felt doubts as to the desirability, or even the permissibility, of using Lutherans in an Anglican mission. But on the whole it was tacitly agreed that it was better not to raise awkward questions, and that the less words such as 'validity', 'regularity' and so on were bandied about, the better it would be. When the irrepressible John Chamberlayne raised the question in 1713, Newman told him that members of the society

> thought it their prudence and charity to avoid as much as they could putting it into the heads of the benefactors that the missionaries were Lutherans or ministers not episcopally ordained, because mankind are too apt to catch at objections to save their purses . . . They considered that, though they assuredly wished to see the Gospel in

> its purity propagated without any bias to the sects or opinions that unhappily divide Christians, yet it is rather to be connived at that the heathen should be Lutheran Christians rather than no Christians.[43]

This seems to have been the general feeling of the society throughout the century. Those who have most carefully studied the subject seem to agree with the judgement of Dr H. Cnattingius:

> The SPCK is not known to have ever made any formal statement on the validity of Lutheran ordinations . . . The most natural interpretation seems to be that by using these Lutherans, the society did recognize the validity of their Lutheran orders . . . During the earlier part of the 18th century this view was apparently general in the society. From the 1770's onwards, however, an opposition element began to appear, and many members, even though they did not positively deny the validity of Lutheran ordination, felt it to be dubious.[44]

It was not, however, until 1791, in connection with the ordination of Sattianāthan, that a single word was uttered on the proper constitution for a church in India:

> We ought to look beyond the casualties of war, or the revolution of empires; we ought in time to give the natives a Church of their own, independent of our support; we ought to have suffragan Bishops in the country, who might ordain Deacons and Priests, and secure a regular succession of truly apostolic Pastors, even if all the communications with their parent Church should be annihilated.[45]

It must seem strange that a church such as the Church of England, which has always so strongly stressed its own episcopal character, should for two and a half centuries have left its members outside the British Isles without the benefit of episcopal care. But so it was. It is true that, under the Order in Council of 1629, the bishop of London exercised a vague and shadowy supervision over Anglicans beyond the seas. Priests overseas could receive a commission from him, either for a fixed period or for special acts such as the consecration of a church; but during all that long period no Anglican could be confirmed or ordained in India. The church was episcopal in no more than name. Even in the discussions of the SPCK here recorded, suggestion was made only for an Indian church for Indians, cared for by Indian bishops. It seems that Anglicans of European or mixed origin were still to be left in the care of a truncated church.

6 CHRISTIANS OF OTHER CHURCHES

Of other groups of Christians in India not much remains to be recorded in this chapter.

The Dutch and the Danes continued to maintain chaplains, some of them men of considerable distinction, in the small territories under their control.

But these pastors seem to have occupied themselves almost exclusively with the affairs of their own compatriots. Few of them learnt any Indian language;[46] those of the eighteenth century seem to have shown less concern for missionary work than their predecessors of an earlier date.

Throughout the century the Armenians continued to form a close-knit and extremely prosperous trading community,[47] increasingly closely in touch with the British conquerors and in general friendly to them. Their main centre of activity was Bengal; leaders among them appear repeatedly in the records of the English advance towards hegemony.

One of these leading Armenians, who played a remarkably intricate part in the British proceedings in the early eighteenth century, was Khwāja Israel Sarhād. He is referred to already in the period of Job Charnock; but his most notable service was in connection with the embassy of the British to the emperor Farrukhsiyar, which resulted in the granting to them of that famous *firmān*, which was taken as the foundation of all their fortunes in Bengal. On 5 June 1714 it is noted as agreed 'that Cojah Surhaud . . . be sent to assist in suing for the king's *firmān* . . . It is absolutely necessary that some person who is perfect master of the Persian language and understands our affairs very well, and what may be useful for us, be sent, and we know no man so qualified in both these respects as Cojah Surhaud.'[48]

The first Armenian church in Calcutta was built in 1724, largely through the efforts of one Agah Nazar, in commemoration of whom it is generally known as the church of Nazareth.

The original settlement of the Armenians in Bengal was not in Calcutta but at Saidābād, a suburb of Murshidābād.[49] A church was built here in 1758. With this place was associated one of the most famous of all Armenian families in India. The founder of the fortunes of the family was Agah Petros, whose father, Fr Nicholas, had come from Julfa in Iran. This virtuous man was highly esteemed for his probity, modesty and piety by ᶜAlī Vardī Khān, the *nawāb* of Bengal, and died full of years and honour in 1767. His successor, Khwāja Petrus Arathoon ('Armenian Petrus'),[50] was well known to Clive and Warren Hastings and is reputed to have given great help to the English refugees at Fulta after the disasters accompanying the capture of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula in 1756. His name appears frequently in the records of Warren Hastings; on one occasion the kind Armenian, so much more wealthy than the later governor-general, made a loan of Rs. 12,000 to his English friend, a sum which Hastings was able to repay only after the lapse of ten years.

The Armenians, having their own church in Calcutta, were naturally interested in the achievements of their English friends when at last the church of St John the Baptist was completed in 1787. On the occasion of the consecration, one of the invited guests was the priest of the Armenians, 'a community always treated by the English in Calcutta with marked friendship'. The Armenian community noted with pride that on that occasion their priest was placed with the English clergy near the altar.[51]

To the diligence of the Reverend H. B. Hyde we owe the interesting note that in the year 1781 the Greek church of 'the Transfiguration of our blessed Redeemer on Mount Tabor' was consecrated, and that in all probability the presidency chaplains were present at the ceremony. With the well-known ability of the Greeks as merchants and traders, it is not surprising that some among them had found their way to India, and added one more element to the variegated spectacle of society in Calcutta.[52]

These trading communities of Eastern Christians seem to have been highly organised fellowships, having business relationships with all and sundry, but keeping themselves to themselves in all personal and family relationships. They made no efforts to enlarge their fellowship by the conversion of non-Christians. That they were able to live and prosper with little or no interference from the authorities is evidence of the general tolerance accorded to foreigners in Indian society. Hindu tolerance towards those of other faiths was genuine, and at times generous; animosity was aroused only by the attempts of missionaries to turn Hindus into Christians.

6 · The Suppression of the Jesuits[1]

I PAPAL ACTION AGAINST THE JESUITS

The story of the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 belongs to the history of the church, indeed to the history of the human race. A brief summary of events in Europe may serve as background to the consequences of the suppression for the churches in Asia.

The Society of Jesus has never been popular – the unpopularity is perhaps an unwilling tribute to its merits. The religious orders have in general disliked a body which has seemed to be rather less than an order and rather more than a society. Bishops have tended to look with less than favour on men who have often claimed for themselves special privileges, and who have been inclined to adopt an attitude of considerable independence in relation to the local ordinaries. The extreme centralisation of the Jesuits and the efficiency of the administration of the Society have led to suspicions of ambition to attain to power outside the Society's proper fields of competence. The intense loyalty of the members to the general, always resident in Rome, and to the pope, who from 1523 to 1978 was always an Italian, have led sovereigns to wonder whether Jesuits can be loyal citizens of any country, to whatever nationality they may happen to belong. At times Jesuits have been accused of interference in political activities and even of involvement in plots against the lives of rulers. For these accusations there is little, if any, foundation; the fact that they could be made indicates that the climate in many countries was one of mistrust, if not of open hostility.[2]

As early as 1739 whispers were heard of a plan to secure the complete suppression of the Society; echoes of such desires are heard over the next twenty years. But the position of the Jesuits was strong. As a result of their educational policies, many of the leaders of society in Europe, and even some among the crowned heads, had been their pupils and were attached by strong feelings of affection to their teachers. When operations were set on foot in Rome itself, it was found that many among the cardinals had similar links with the Society: one of the chief opponents of the Society was found to have retained as his confessor for many years an aged Jesuit.

The process which led up to the final suppression had gone forward unevenly over a number of years, and had taken on different forms in the various countries of the continent of Europe.[3]

Portugal was not unnaturally first in the field. Action against the Jesuits is especially associated with the name of Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, better known by the title Marquis of Pombal which was conferred upon him in 1770. This statesman had been for a time (1739–45) Portuguese minister in England. While there he had been deeply impressed by the prosperity and strength of the country, and had come to the conclusion that the stagnation of Portugal was due to clerical power and control. Among the clerics the Jesuits were the objects of his special animosity.

In January 1759 Pombal was successful in securing from the king an anti-Jesuit decree; in future no Jesuit might live in Portugal. In February of that year all the property of the Society was sequestrated. Originally the colony of Angola had been intended as the place of banishment; then this plan was changed, and it was decided to ship all Jesuits resident in Portugal to Italy. It was reckoned that in the next few years 900 Jesuits were removed from the Portuguese territories overseas, and that 1,100 were deposited in the Papal States. Here they were distributed among existing houses and on the whole treated kindly; but assimilation of so great a number with little notice cannot have been easy. Younger Jesuits, including novices who had not taken the vows, were permitted to remain in Portugal, but only on condition of dissociating themselves entirely from the Society. This the majority of them were conscientiously unable to do, and so they shared in the exile of their brethren.

France was not long behind Portugal. Here also feelings against the Jesuits were particularly strong. Gallicanism was far from being dead, and naturally a society so strongly papal, and so committed to the doctrine of the supremacy of the pope as were the Jesuits, could not be welcome in areas where the spirit of Gallicanism was strong. The writings of Blaise Pascal, especially his *Lettres à un Provincial* (1656–7), still exercised a strong influence. The Jesuits could hope for little mercy where the French language was spoken and read.

In France the fate of the Jesuits had to be decided by the *parlement* of each region. It seems that the first anti-Jesuit decision was taken by the *parlement* of Paris on 6 August 1761. On 1 December 1764, in a grand session of all the *parlements*, King Louis XV declared that from that date the Society of Jesus must cease all its activities in France; Jesuits might, if they wished, continue to live in France as private persons under the supervision of the local bishops.

Pope Clement XIII (Rezzonico, 1758–69) had followed these proceedings with increasing distress and anxiety. On 7 January 1765 he set out a constitution defending the Jesuits against the charges that had been levelled at them, and supported them also in the bull *Apostolicum Pascendi Munus* of that same year; but he was helpless in the face of the general agreement of the Catholic powers. The rulers made it plain that they regarded themselves as supreme in their own domains, and that they were not prepared to submit to any kind of dictation from the pope.

It was at this juncture that the gentle and upright Pope Clement XIII died. The election of a successor presented great difficulties. The rulers were determined not to recognise as pontiff any cardinal who had shown himself a friend to the Jesuits; yet it was difficult to find among the possible candidates one who would make any kind of promise that, if elected, he would proceed to the dissolution of the Society. At last the best that the cardinals could do was to elect the Franciscan Cardinal John Vincent Antony Ganganelli, who had lived for a number of years in Rome, without discredit if without eminence, and who had become a cardinal without becoming a bishop. He had the reputation of wishing to please everyone, but it was said of him that no one ever knew what he really thought or intended. The representatives of the secular powers seem to have felt that he would be sufficiently pliable to carry out the known wishes of their masters.

The new pope took the name Clement XIV and was duly crowned on 4 June 1769. It was clear from the start that a new epoch had begun. Clement was careful to appoint his own men to all important offices in the Curia; but he was slow to declare his hand, for some time it was uncertain whether he would be prepared to take against the Jesuits the action which had been so long desired, and for which such careful preparations had been made. Before very long, however, it became clear that the fate of the Jesuits was sealed and that the secular powers would see their desires fulfilled.

Towards the end of the year 1772 the pope commissioned Bishop Zelada, a Spaniard resident in Rome, to prepare the draft of a declaration of suppression; by 6 January 1773 his work was completed and had reached approximately the form in which on 21 July of that year the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* was launched upon the world.

This lengthy document[4] falls into four parts. After a preamble in which stress is laid on the duty of the pope to care for the peace of the church, the first section sets out at length the actions taken by a number of popes to suppress orders or communities no longer able to carry out the virtuous purposes for which they were founded. Then follows a section in which the earlier history of the Jesuit order is recounted, but unfairly, and with stress on the shadows rather than on the lights of the story. There has, affirms the brief, been no lack of grave complaints and accusations against the Society and its members, and by these the peace and tranquillity of the Christian community have been in no small degree perturbed. Having taken all those things into account, and recognising that the Society can no longer bring forth those rich fruits and advantages which it was instituted to produce, after mature deliberation and relying on certain knowledge and the plenitude of power conferred on the apostolic see, 'we extinguish and suppress the aforementioned society; we take away and abrogate all and every one of its functions, ministries, administrations, houses, schools, colleges, hospitals and all the rest'. This having been decided, the decree concludes with lengthy instructions as to the manner in which it is to be carried into effect.

The political powers were naturally jubilant, and indiscriminate in the praises they bestowed on the pope who had carried out their will.[5] A more sober judgement may be that, when every allowance has been made for the immense pressure to which he had been subjected by forces both inside and outside the church, by his timidity and vacillation he forfeited the praise which courage might have earned him and permanently injured the reputation of the papacy as a minister of justice and truth.

Clement XIV did not long survive the most important act of his career. The sickness, apparently psychosomatic, from which he had long suffered, grew upon him, and after weeks of increasing weakness he died on 22 September 1774.

2 THE PORTUGUESE AND THE JESUITS

The majority of the Jesuits in India were Portuguese subjects, and a considerable proportion of them were resident in areas under Portuguese control. They were, therefore, exposed to the intemperate fury let loose in India; but there were also many, in the ranks of the religious orders and among the secular clergy, who were prepared to rejoice at their discomfiture.

So the Jesuits whom the Portuguese could reach were rounded up and brought to Goa. A good deal of pressure was brought to bear upon them to quit the Society. A few did so, not in every case in the most edifying circumstances, but these were only a very small minority; almost all, including the novices, stood fast, knowing well that the hand of the powers both civil and religious would lie heavy upon them. All the extensive properties of the Jesuits were taken over and given to other orders. The members of the Society, 228 in number, who had fallen into the hands of the authorities were divided up among a variety of religious houses. Almost all of these are reported to have behaved kindly and generously towards their unwilling and unwelcome guests; the exception was the Augustinians, who are accused of having enriched themselves by spending on the visitors less even than the rather niggardly provision made for them by the government authorities.

In December 1760 ships were ready to leave for Portugal. On the nineteenth of that month 127[6] Jesuits were put on board, though the admiral averred that he had not accommodation for more than fifty. This meant that old and young alike travelled under shameful conditions of overcrowding, with no comfort and no privacy. Food and water were in short supply; it seems probable that these Jesuits would have starved to death had not the sailors taken pity on them and shared with them the fresh fish which they caught in the course of the voyage. Such being the conditions under which they lived, it was only to be expected that scurvy should break out; it is surprising that at the end of the five months' voyage 107 of the victims were still alive.[7]

What awaited them on shore was not very much better than what they had endured on board ship. All were carried off to the dungeons, the Portuguese to the Trajavia prison on the Tagus, the foreigners to the prison of St Julian about nine miles south-west of Lisbon. Once again they were invited to leave the Society; once again the vast majority stood fast. The prisoners lived in almost perpetual darkness; sanitation was almost non-existent, and food was always inadequate. They were unable to say mass and could not attend it even on high feast days; they could receive Communion only at the hour of death, and then only on the oath of a physician that death was imminent.

In 1767 thirty-four of the foreigners were released and exiled to Rome; the others had another ten years to wait. In 1773 they were informed that the Society of Jesus had ceased to exist and that they could no longer call themselves Jesuits; this was perhaps the hardest of the blows they had to bear. Still there was no release. Conditions did in some ways improve. The parish priest of the prison did his duty. The ex-Jesuits were able to make their confession and to receive Holy Communion. As always happens when men are long interned, they devised mysterious means of communicating with one another, and even succeeded at times in purchasing some necessaries which were shared among them all. In all this time no government official visited them. Thirty-seven died, and others among them were afflicted with mortal hypochondria.

At last on 24 February 1777 the king died. In the following month the prisoners were released; as they had nowhere else to go, they had to continue living in their dungeons, but no longer under conditions of close captivity. On 14 September 1777 Fr Filippi entered Rome, having endured and survived sixteen years of cruel captivity for no crime other than that of being a member of a religious order which had fallen into disfavour – astonishing evidence of the capacity of human beings and of Jesuits to survive.

The Portuguese would have liked to collect all the Jesuits in India and to ship them off to Europe, but this they were unable to do. Those who were under the protection of other European powers, or in the territories of Indian rulers, were able to defy the threats of the Portuguese and to remain at their posts, some of them for astonishingly long periods of further service. Fr Ferroli has succeeded in collecting information about fifty-two Jesuits (after

1773 ex-Jesuits) who remained in India and continued in the service of the church. Of these, fifteen were Portuguese, fourteen Italians, eight Germans and fifteen Frenchmen.[8] All these were, of course, cut off from all financial support; but they were used to hard and simple living, and somehow managed to keep going with the support of their flocks and no doubt with help from the other missions in which they came to serve.

It happened that two of the bishops in South India were Jesuits. Clement Joseph SJ had been bishop of Cochin since 1745; Salvador dos Reis SJ became archbishop of the Serra (Cranganore) in 1756. The Portuguese were particularly anxious to get these two leaders out of the way. On 7 April 1761 they were ordered to leave their sees and to return to Lisbon. Both replied that this was impossible; the Christians, if left without shepherds, would fall into the hands of the vicar apostolic, whom Portugal did not recognise, or, worse still, would cross over to the party of the schismatics. They were warned that, if they persisted in remaining, they would lose the subsidy which had been made available to them from Portuguese funds. To this they replied that the payments had been in any case very irregular, but, accustomed as they were to hardship and to simple living, they would manage to do without. So, 'living on the special and unlooked for help sent us by the providence of God', the two prelates continued among their people until their death. The bishop of Cochin died in January 1771, the archbishop of the Serra on 7 April 1777.

The new bishop of Cochin, Emmanuel of St Catherine, had to take charge of the archdiocese of Goa as administrator. He appointed as his deputy for Cochin and Cranganore Fr Joseph de Soledade; he in his turn nominated as vicars-general for the three areas of his extensive cure Antony Duarte, John Ferreira and Mathias Scherpenseel. Each one of the three was an ex-Jesuit. Antony Duarte was Portuguese by birth, but managed to escape the Portuguese net, and continued to serve until his death, which seems to have taken place in 1788; he had spent more than fifty years in India. Naturally the presence of these old friends in positions of authority brought much consolation to the brethren, who still gloried in the name of Jesuit even when they were not allowed to use it.

The lot of all these missionaries was hard. Reduced in numbers and receiving no support from Europe, they had to carry on as best they could. A vivid picture is given in a letter from Fr Lichetta to Fr Filippi:

> No one has arrived to replace us or to help us; charity has forbidden us to abandon these poor Christians... We were thirteen in Mysore; of these the greater part have died of exhaustion and of sorrow; as they fell out, the survivors have had to take over their inheritance, that is to say an increase of heavy burdens, to give some measure of help to those Christians left without shepherds. Now we are only three missionaries, weighed down by years and still more by infirmities.[9]

3 THE SURVIVAL OF THE JESUITS IN INDIA

The fate of the French Jesuits in South India, in Pondichéri and in the mission of the Carnatic, involved a variety of special considerations.[10]

All the Jesuits in these areas were French subjects. In 1764 Louis XIV of France had declared the Jesuit Order at an end in his dominions, but, on the whole he seems not to have felt it necessary to disturb those of his subjects who were resident abroad; in spite of a number of difficulties they continued to live and work much as they had previously done. But, with the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the situation was changed and something had to be done about it. Could the Jesuits continue? And, if not, who was to take their place?

There was no lack of claimants.

The Portuguese bishop of Mylapore was not prepared to consider any diminution of his authority within the boundaries of the diocese to which he had been appointed under the *padroado* agreement.

The Capuchins, who had been in Pondichéri longer than the Jesuits, would have given their eyes to be put in possession of all the Jesuit properties and to be recognised as their successors.

The Jesuits wished to be reorganised, under a vicar apostolic who should be one of their own members, and to be allowed to continue with pastoral and evangelistic work of the kind for which they had so long been responsible.

The claim of the Missions Entrangères, a French society with its headquarters in Paris, could not be overlooked.

Among these claims, that of the Jesuits could not expect to receive favourable consideration. The authorities in Paris were shrewd enough to recognise that any reorganisation of the Jesuit forces, even without the name, would involve a secret reconstitution of the Society, and that this would go directly contrary to both the words and the intentions of the decree of 1773 by which the Society had been dissolved.

After long discussions it was decided that the Foreign Missions Society of Paris should become the heir. This society had been established in Pondichéri in a small way since 1689. In 1771 the famous seminary at Ayuthia in Thailand had been destroyed in one of the recurrent wars between the Burmese and the Siamese. The directors of the seminary decided to move it to India; a site was bought at Vīrampatnam not far from Pondichéri, and the international seminary took on a new form of existence.[11] The Paris Society was therefore on the spot and ready to enter into its inheritance.

But difficulties coincidentally arose. The heads of the French society affirmed that it had been a principle of their society from the beginning that each of their missions should be under the direction of a vicar apostolic in episcopal orders, who should be drawn from their own ranks. They would not accept responsibility for the mission of the Carnatic unless this foundation rule of all their work could be observed. A bishop who fulfilled all the conditions happened to be readily available in India.[12] It was certain that the bishop of Mylapore would bitterly resent the appointment of a vicar apostolic as being an infringement of his rights. Nor was it likely that the Capuchins would welcome the presence of a bishop drawn from a society other than their own.

Rome devised a compromise which could not be regarded as a satisfactory solution: the Capuchins were provided with a prefect apostolic. Now a prefect apostolic is not ordinarily in episcopal orders. Fr Sebastian of Nevers, holding that office, would have considerable authority over all the missions of the Capuchins in India; but he would not be able to carry out any episcopal functions – for those the missions would still be dependent on the bishop of Mylapore, whom the king of France would not permit to carry out any episcopal ministrations on French territory. The Paris mission would be given a superior who would be in episcopal orders but would not have the title of vicar apostolic.

Who should be appointed to the new office of superior? Peter Brigot (1713–91) had gone to Thailand in 1741 and had been appointed vicar apostolic for the missions in that country and bishop of Tabraca *i.p.i.* in 1755. After some years of imprisonment at the hands of the Burmese and a visit to France, he had planned to return to his mission field; but, as the disturbed state of that country made his return impossible, he had landed up in Pondichéri. He was still bishop of Tabraca, and also technically vicar apostolic of the mission to Thailand. He was, however, in reality a bishop without employment. To appoint him to the post of superior seemed the obvious solution.

To this, however, there was a number of objections. Brigot, as he himself knew well, was *persona non grata* with the Jesuits, and members of his own mission were far from regarding him as an ideal bishop. He was too ardent and impatient; no sooner had he taken up some task than he was anxious to bring it to a conclusion. But gradually all the objections were worn down; at the end of the year 1776 the bishop of Tabraca became superior of the Paris mission in South India. Time was to show that the choice had been well made. The bishop had learned his lesson well. In the difficult task of integrating the old Jesuits into the new mission he manifested an extraordinary measure of patience, tact and delicacy of feeling.

It was urgently necessary that the Jesuits should agree to their incorporation in the new system. The forces of the Paris mission were extremely limited; they numbered six in all. Apart from the bishop, and two older men who had been for years occupied in administration and had had no direct responsibility for missionary work, there were only three young priests, recently arrived from France and wholly lacking the experience which would make them qualified to direct the work of others. For the Jesuits the surrender of their old existence could not be easy; as one observer wrote, 'the new missionaries know full well how painful it must be to the old to see pass into the hands of others a work which had been founded with great labour and maintained with constancy, and to find themselves condemned to a situation in which it was impossible for them to guarantee continuance of the work in the future'.[13] But in the end it was done. Of the Jesuits who had remained in India none wished to return to a France in which they could have felt themselves more completely exiles than in India, which had so long been their home.

The achievement was considerable. Yet the situation in the mission was far from promising. A paper prepared by Fr Vernet and dated 13 May 1777 lists thirteen priests of the Society and two brothers who were not priests; but a number of these were old and infirm and no longer capable of active work. At least ten missionaries were needed if the existing congregations were to be maintained; still more if an extension of the work was to be hoped for.[14]

Moreover, the triple jurisdiction established by the pope – of the bishop of Mylapore, the vicar apostolic and the prefect apostolic – with the best will in the world could hardly be accepted as tolerable. In 1786, the prefect apostolic and the other Capuchin priest having died within a few months of one another, Bishop Brigot obtained a declaration that, in such a case, all the Christians in Pondichéri would pass under his authority. In 1793, by a generous exchange of powers and authorities, the tensions were removed, and what could have been a permanently tempestuous situation sank down into ordered peace.[15]

Chandernagore in Bengal presented special problems. The French population would have preferred to retain the Jesuits, to whom they were much attached; but the Capuchins claimed this as part of their inheritance. Brigot might have claimed that, as the Paris mission had succeeded to the work of the Jesuits, Chandernagore should be regarded as being within his sphere. But, recognising that there were few if any Indian Christians in that vicinity, and desirous of avoiding what might have become a rancorous dispute, he decided to fall in with the wishes of the prefect apostolic, and allowed the Capuchins to enter into possession without further discussion.

The three Jesuits resident in Chandernagore decided not to accept the new situation but to join their colleagues in the south. They left on 20 December 1778. The aged Fr Possevin (he was seventy-six years old) decided to reside in San Thomé. The other two settled in Pondichéri, where Fr Garet lived to an advanced age, dying in 1817.

A small group of Jesuits had continued to serve the once famous mission to Mogor. With the suppression of the Society the work was handed over to the discalced Carmelites of Bombay, and in 1781 two Italian Carmelites, Fr Angelino of St Joseph and Fr Gregory of the Presentation, arrived in Agra. Fr Angelino soon returned to Bombay, but Fr Gregory remained in control until his death in 1807.[16]

Two former Jesuits, however, long survived the suppression and kept in being some of the old traditions.

Joseph Tieffenthaler, born in Bolzano in or about the year 1715, came first to India in 1743, and spent more than forty years in the country. An eager student of astronomy and geography, it seems that he was designated for the observatory at Jaipur; but, with the death of the *rājā* Jai Singh in that same year, work at the observatory ceased and other employment had to be found for the missionary. He was an observer and a wanderer by nature; wherever he went he occupied himself in recording the phenomena of nature and of the heavens, usually with considerable accuracy. In the course of years his notes grew to immense proportions.

In 1759 Tieffenthaler had been in correspondence with Anquetil-Duperron, already familiar to us as the pioneer student of Avestan and of the religion of Zarathustra. In 1776 Duperron in Paris received from India without notice a packet of maps and loose papers. Little information accompanied these papers; but the sender, Tieffenthaler, mentioned other works he had transmitted to Copenhagen. These included three major works – a geographical account of India in Latin, a treatise on the religion of the Brāhmans and a natural history of India. The authorities in Copenhagen were not much interested, and seem not to have valued aright the treasures that had come into their hands. The second and third of the works mentioned above were allowed to disappear. But, by good luck, in 1781 the first of the three, the *Descriptio Indica*, came into the hands of a notable mathematician and astronomer, Joseph Bernoulli at Berlin. Bernoulli decided to translate the work himself and to publish it. He consulted with Duperron. Valuable notes, dissertations and appendices were added by both these writers, and in 1785 *Des Pater Joseph Tieffenthalers . . . historisch–geographische Beschreibung von Hindustan* appeared from the press in three volumes.[17]

In his communications to Duperron, Tieffenthaler had given a list of no fewer than forty shorter works of his composition. Nearly all of these have disappeared. It is unlikely that they would be of value comparable to that of the major works. But the three treatises included in the first volume of the *Descriptio* suggest that much material of interest may have been lost. Later students have been critical of the work of Tieffenthaler on the ground that he rarely gives reference to his sources. He was not always critical of the data which he collected, but for the most part he was accurate and reliable. Few Jesuits have made a greater contribution than he to the advancement of human knowledge.

Tieffenthaler died in Lucknow in 1785, and was buried in Agra.[18] One companion of many years survived him.

Francis Xavier Wendel had come to India in 1751. From 1763 onwards he was in Lucknow. He was a much less interesting man than Tieffenthaler, but he seems to some extent at least to have shared his scientific interests. 'A Russian named Czernichef had travelled in 1780 from Bukhārā through Kashmir to Lucknow and Father Wendel interested himself in his experiences, communicating the diary of his travels to the learned Colonel Wilford at Benares.'[19] Wendel was so favourable to the British that he even fell under suspicion of being a British agent.

The quiet old man died on 29 March 1803. So the mission to Mogor reached its final end after nearly two and a half centuries of existence, having long survived the days of its greatness and gradually faded away to extinction.[20]

The very last survivor of the old line, seems to have been Fr Andreas, who died on 31 December 1818 at the age of seventy-seven. He lived to see the restoration of the Society of Jesus and to be readmitted to membership of that order which he had joined so many years earlier in the days of his youth.

There are many ironies in history. A pope decided totally to destroy and to exterminate the Society of Jesus. Yet the Society managed to maintain itself, albeit at times precariously, in Poland, Austria and Russia. Jesuits were able to open a novitiate in White Russia in 1780. In England they could not call themselves Jesuits, yet they retained their property, and in 1794 actually transferred the famous school which had long been 'St Omer's' to Stonyhurst. One pope had affirmed that what he had done was for ever, and that it would not be possible for any later pope to undo it; a later pope exercised no difficulty in undoing what his predecessor had done. On 7 August 1814, in the bull *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, Pius VII reconstituted the Society which, it was supposed, had for ever disappeared. From that day to this the Society has prospered. Among its most prosperous missions are those in India; the first Indian bishop of the Latin rite, Mgr Tiburtius Roche, consecrated as bishop of Tuticorin in 1923, was a Jesuit.

Though the Paris missionaries and the Capuchins had done their best, it remains true that, insofar as the missions of the Jesuits were cared for at all, the great majority of their Christians found themselves in the hands of Goanese priests, hastily intruded without regard to the wishes or prejudices of those whom they were sent to serve. No doubt resentment has coloured most of the descriptions of these clerics which survive; there were among them devout and faithful men. But even the cautious and temperate Archbishop Laouënan draws of them an extremely unfavourable picture:

> It was these men who, educated in haste and ordained without due consideration, were sent out in all directions to replace the former missionaries. The total contrast

> which existed between the new arrivals and the old Jesuit Fathers could not but strike and offend the easily irritated susceptibilities of the Indian Christians . . . They now found themselves face to face with proud and arrogant individuals, full of the sense of their social superiority, with no aim other than that of accumulating money with the minimum of labour, not speaking the local languages, or speaking them only after the fashion of the Pariahs, without faith and without dignity in the exercise of the sacred ministry, even at the altar; unclean, many of them given to drink, contentious, and having no knowledge in the realm of theology other than acquaintance with the extraordinary privileges accorded by the holy see to the kings of Portugal. The inevitable result followed. The respectable communities, converted by the former missionaries, could not make up their minds to accept these ill-bred intruders.[21]

This is a harsh judgement, but it could be paralleled from many other sources.

The disappearance of the Jesuits did not bring to an end the work of the church in India, but it did deal it many hard blows. The losses incurred in 1773 were hardly made up in sixty years; and the renewed blossoming of the Roman Catholic missions can hardly be dated earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century.

7 · The New Rulers and the Indian Peoples

I CORNWALLIS – A NEW BEGINNING

When, in September 1786, Charles, 2nd Earl Cornwallis arrived in Calcutta as governor-general, a new period opened in the political and imperial relationship between England and India. In a new way the people of England declared their sense of responsibility for the sixty million or so of Indians who had come under their sway. In the same year, 1786, the arrival in Calcutta of the Reverend David Brown, the first of the 'pious chaplains', marked the beginning of a new phase in the Christian invasion of India. From that date on, there was to be a great expansion of Christian missionary work. Before long the efforts of English-speaking Christians were to equal and then to surpass those of both the Roman Catholics and the Protestant churches of the continent of Europe.

Rulers and missionaries had many interests in common. Those of both wings shared in a deep sense of concern for the well-being and prosperity of the peoples of India. All were at one in the conviction that progress towards well-being would be impossible without just, rational and efficient government. To these the Christians added the conviction that no other force for improvement could equal in effectiveness the diffusion of Christian knowledge and Christian practice among the peoples of India. This was a principle which the government, whatever the personal views of its members, could not officially share.

On the whole the two groups as far as possible kept out of one another's way. They worked on parallel rather than on convergent lines. Yet the separation could never be complete; the destinies of church and state were intricately interwoven with one another. Missionaries could not exist in India without the permission or at least the connivance of government. Government was compelled, at times rather unwillingly, to take notice of the existence of Christians in India and to intervene in order to secure for Christians, on an equality with the adherents of other religions, the rights and liberties to which they were entitled. Inevitably there was a measure of overlap. This has given rise to the conviction in the minds of some writers that the British government always showed undue favour to Christians, and that the missionaries always lent themselves as willing agents of the government in the prosecution of its imperial aims. There are some grounds in the records for these suppositions.

At times missionaries, as the champions of their flocks, did obtain for them help and protection from government sources. It is true that officers of the government found themselves much in favour of the philanthropic work of the Christian forces and showed them what at times may have been undue favour. But generalisations from such occurrences, as though there was at all times a kind of permanent conspiracy between government and missionaries, belong to the realm of mythology and not to that of history. The evidence makes it clear that government on many occasions regarded the pressure and activities of missionaries as an unwelcome intrusion on the sacred ground of governmental administration, and that the Christian forces both in England and in India were prepared to criticise the government if it was judged to have failed in its primary duty of serving the peoples of India.[1]

The historian is not a myth-maker. It is his business to project himself, as far as that is possible, into the minds of men and women of a different generation, to record temperately and accurately what they did, to assess as far as that is possible the motives by which they were actuated and to note the consequences of the decisions that they made. He is primarily an interpreter and not a judge.

That sober work *The Dictionary of National Biography* so far expatiates as to remark of Cornwallis that 'if not a man of startling genius, he was a clear-sighted statesman and an able general, as well as an upright English gentleman'. Quoting two charming letters from Cornwallis to his son Lord Brome (b. 1774),[2] the same authority speaks of them as 'showing the simple loving nature of the man'. It may be added that he manifested in high degree the unemotional but strictly moral piety of the high-minded eighteenth-century Anglican.

The new governor-general[3] could look out upon a considerable empire. The three great provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were directly under the control of the Company. The *nawāb* of Oudh (Avadh), the Marāthās, and a number of rulers in the south had felt the power of English arms. English influence was felt along considerable stretches of the coast and throughout the Gangetic plain. But still over large parts of the country the English writ did not run. A vast area running north-westwards from the Bay of Bengal between latitudes 16 and 20 to the Hindu Kush, though traversed from time to time by officials or occasionally by armies, was almost unknown to the English. Few, if any, in 1786 supposed that it was the destiny of that nation to become the sole ruling power in India and for the first time in its history to unite the sub-continent under a single government.

When Cornwallis looked out beyond the limits of British settlement in Calcutta, his eyes rested on a scene of desolation. For eighty years, since the death of Aurungzīb, India had been torn apart by almost ceaseless wars, and by raids and depredations which had been even more harmful in their consequence than regular campaigns. Misgovernment and corruption had impoverished the peoples. In their enfeebled state they had little resistance to offer to the terrible famines which periodically swept them away.[4]

War, poverty and sickness are not in general favourable to the life of culture, intellect and religion. It was impossible that in a country the size of India the life of the spirit should ever entirely die down, but in the eighteenth century little of great interest was produced; the Indian spirit appeared to have been overcome by weariness, the flames of inspiration to have died down.

For the whole period only one Tamil poet of high excellence can be cited. Thāyumānavar carried on the tradition of devout, mystical verse, and his poems have been widely admired. But something is lacking. In his carefully turned and polished verses, there breathes perhaps more of the spirit of the philosopher than of the poet; and the earnest devotion of this seeker after God lacks something of the spontaneity of the great Tamil *bhakti* saints of an earlier time.[5]

In the field of philosophy no great names emerge. In Hinduism, though there were some signs of renewal, decay and degeneration were widespread. 'Ancient polytheism kept its ground, and was further corrupted by the introduction of deified heroes who superseded the deities from whom they derived their divinity.' This dictum of Mountstuart Elphinstone[6] is accepted by a recent writer, who comments on it:

> Decay of learning was responsible for this state of affairs and led to gross superstition, a childlike faith in religious rites, idolatry, necromancy and belief in astrology from which the Indian mind is not yet wholly free.[7]

Islam perhaps fared rather better than Hinduism in this period. These were the days of the notable Islamic reformer Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–87), the founder in Arabia of the great puritanical movement known by his name. Almost exactly contemporary with him was an Indian reformer, Shāh Walī-Ullāh Dihlawi of Delhi, who made his way to Arabia and came under the same influences as Abd al-Wahhāb.[8] The Islam which Shāh Walī-Ullāh brought back with him from Arabia to India corresponded closely to the austere doctrine and zeal for purity in religion characteristic of the Wahhābis. Yet the general level of religious life was low; great numerical increase had not been balanced by the development of inner spiritual resources.

The governor-general, like many before and many after him, was caught in the meshes of the duality of the British presence in India. He was the representative of what was still a commercial company, and his government must at least pay its way. Revenue was therefore one of his major concerns. But equally, under the influence of liberal sentiment, he recognised his responsibility for the happiness and well-being of the Indian peoples. No later historian has doubted the effectiveness of the ceaseless war which, following the example of Warren Hastings, he waged on the corruption by which the Company's government had been defaced. Till the end of time historians will debate the value of the Permanent Settlement of the revenue of Bengal, which was approved under his rule, against the advice of his principal adviser John Shore.[9] Some have extolled it as an act of wisdom almost divinely inspired, others have deplored it as enriching a worthless crowd of *zamindārs* at the expense of a government which was hindered by perennial poverty from doing as much as it might have wished for the well-being of the people.

One action of Cornwallis has been regretted by almost all those who have studied the history of the times – that of debarring Indians from appointment to higher posts in the Company's service. Yet Cornwallis was deeply concerned that proper respect and regard should always be paid to the rights of Indians. On two occasions on which officers in the army had been arraigned for inflicting personal violence on Indians, with the feeling of one who was himself a soldier, he inveighed with unusual acrimony against courts martial which had extenuated the offences of fellow-officers and had failed to implement the unmistakable demands of both military and British justice.[10]

The heaviest burden that Cornwallis had to bear was that, intending to be a man of peace, he found himself involved in war.

The main cause of his trouble was Tipu Sultan, who had succeeded to the throne of Mysore in 1782. Tipu, in addition to being a fanatical Muslim intent on the spread of his faith, had the instincts of a conqueror to whom the expansion of his powers and his dominions was a primary consideration; this, with a strong streak of vanity, led him into grave miscalculations as to his own strength and that of his adversaries, and so into troubles which he could well have avoided and which led eventually to his destruction.

The imprudence which led to war with the British was an attack on the rights of the *rājā* of Travancore. This was clearly a contravention of the treaty of peace entered into by Tipu with the British government in 1784. Satisfied that this was so, Cornwallis decided to regard it as a *casus belli*, acted with rapidity and decision, and himself arrived to take direction of the war. Tipu was taken completely by surprise by a promptness and vigour which recalled the days of Robert Clive. Surrounded in his fortress of Seringapatam and with his resources exhausted, he found no course left open to him other than that of throwing himself on the mercy of Cornwallis (12 February 1792). The governor-general was not led astray by any illusions of grandeur or conquest. The terms imposed on Tipu were severe but not destructive. He was to lose half his territory in favour of the British and the *nizām* and to pay an indemnity.[11] But he was allowed to retain his territory of Mysore, in the hope that he had learnt to keep his promises and would give no further provocation.

2 THE EXTENSION OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA

As events were to prove, the English in India were launched on what appears to be the predestined course of all colonial powers. Once colonial expansion has begun, it seems all too often easier to go forward than to go back. This was not the wish of Cornwallis, or of the majority of his successors, still less of the directors in London. Cornwallis' successor was Sir John Shore, Lord Teignmouth (1751–1834). Devout, modest, pacific, cultured, extremely able as an administrator, Shore carried out to the letter the instructions of the authorities in England – that aggressive measures were to be avoided and that there were to be no territorial acquisitions. He thus gave India six years of peace, and for this he was highly commended. But it was the considered opinion of Sir John Malcolm that the years of peace had sowed the seeds of war:

> A period of six years' peace, instead of having added to the strength, or improved the security, of the British dominions in India, had placed them in a situation of comparative danger. Though the British strength was not lessened, the power and resources of the other states of India had increased . . . [Their attitude] too clearly showed that it was to a principle of weakness, or of selfish policy, and not of moderation that they ascribed the course which had been pursued by the British government.[12]

In point of fact the period of Shore was followed by almost half a century of conquest, which reached its term only when the British power had arrived at the natural limits imposed by the ocean and the mountains.

Once again, it was the irrepressible Tipu who through overconfidence brought about the first of a series of wars. More percipient than many other rulers of the time, he had understood the nature of British power in India – the dogged persistence of the British in pursuing their aims, the strength that lay in reserve behind their apparently puny resources, and the expansive nature of their rule. The expulsion of the English from India before their power became irresistible formed the central point of his policy. He rightly judged that it might be possible to play off one European power against another, and that the French might be called in to restore things to what they had been before the British came.

Accordingly, in January 1798 he despatched two ambassadors to Mauritius with the idea of forming an alliance with the French. The envoys were received with every circumstance of distinction and respect and throughout their stay in the island were entertained at the public expense. The new governor-general in India, the Earl of Mornington, later the Marquis Wellesley (1799), had grandiose ideas and an astonishing capacity for arousing ambition and devotion to himself in the minds of those who served him. But a whole year passed before he made up his mind that an amicable settlement with Tipu was impossible and that other measures had to be taken. From that time on events moved with great rapidity; on 4 May 1799 Seringapatam was stormed, and Tipu died in the assault.

Tipu's steady hostility to the British has won for him warm commendation from later Indian writers. At the time there seem to have been few to mourn his fall. In Kerala to this day people speak with horror of his depredations, of the forcible circumcision of Brāhmans and the imposition of Islam by violence – scenes of a kind not to be observed again in India until the Moplah rising of 1917. Of his cruelty there are many evidences. As early as May 1792 General Medows had written to him: 'You are a great prince, and, but for your cruelty to your prisoners, I should add, an enlightened one.' It was a cruel age, but to the accustomed cruelty Tipu added the horror of religious persecution. Indian Christians in large numbers yielded to fear and renounced their faith. A number of his younger European captives were forcibly circumcised and given Muslim names. Even at their worst the English had never attempted to turn prisoners of war into Christians; the actions of Tipu were bitterly resented by both Hindus and Christians.[13]

Mysore had been captured. Now what was to be done with it? Annexation would have been easy. But Wellesley decided that the best course would be to restore the ancient family of Hindu rulers which had been deposed by Haidar 'Alī in 1761. A three-year-old boy, Krishna Rāj Udaiyar (Wadayar) was installed as *rājā*, with a wise Brahman, Purneah, as his minister. This family ruled Mysore until the independence of India in 1947.

Mysore was the first great experiment in the direction of Indian rule under British direction. The prosperity of Mysore and other states under this system of limited independence would seem a strong argument in its favour, and Christian missionaries would have been among the first to bear witness to the freedom and protection which they enjoyed under the rule of Hindu *rājās*.[14]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Marāthā chieftains still represented formidable power. If history had evolved rather differently, they might have made for ever impossible the establishment of British dominion over the whole of India. One event, and two processes, made such an evolution impossible. The event was the death of Nānā Phadnavis in 1800. The processes were, first, the failure of the Marāthā princes to establish any kind of orderly and stable government and, secondly, their inability to work together and to present a united front.

Nānā Phadnavis was, after Śivājī and Bājī Rāo I, the ablest of the Marāthā leaders and by far the most trustworthy. For thirty-eight years he had allowed forces of moderation and prudence to play upon the tempestuous sea of Marāthā policies. When he died, the resident at the court of Poona wrote that 'with him has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Marāthā government'.[15]

Laxity of Marāthā administration opened the door to the depredations of the Pindāris. Drawn from many castes and classes, many of them broken and lawless men, developing 'like masses of putrefaction in animal matter, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states',[16] they carried on their raids far and wide through the sub-continent.

> Never had there been such intense and general suffering in India; the native states were disorganised, and society on the verge of dissolution; the people crushed by despots and ruined by exactions; the country overrun by bandits and its resources wasted by enemies; armed forces existed only to plunder, torture and mutiny; government had ceased to exist; there remained only oppression and misery.[17]

The Pindāris overreached themselves when they attacked areas which were under the rule of the Company. In 1816 they extended their raids to the Northern Circars, and so almost to the Bay of Bengal. This was not to be endured, and the directors in London, for all their entrenched opposition to wars, instructed a new governor-general, Lord Hastings (1813–22), to stamp out the evil.[18] The campaign was ably carried out. The largest British army yet seen in India took the field in three divisions. By January 1818 all was over; the power of the Pindāris was broken, their forces were scattered, and never again were they to be a threat to peaceful and ordered existence.

The Marāthā chieftains had been far too closely associated with the Pindāris for their good. Now they proceeded to dig their own graves. If they had stood together, they might have successfully resisted the English power; divided they were helpless. The British experienced no great difficulty in picking them off one by one. The office of *peshwā* was abolished. Separate treaties were made with each of the principal rulers, in each case the appointment of a British Resident being included in the terms. Annexations were few and limited. To a large extent Holkar and Sindhia and the rest retained their territories, but with independence which was little more than a show. To the credit of these princes it must be said that they correctly carried out their agreements, and became loyal friends and allies of the British conqueror. But independent Marāthā power was for ever at an end.

Henry Prinsep wrote too hopefully of the situation:

> The struggle which has thus ended in the universal establishment of the British influence is particularly important and worthy of attention, as it promises to be the last we shall ever have to maintain with the native powers of India... The dark age of trouble and violence . . . has thus ceased from this time; and a new era has commenced, we trust, with brighter prospects – an era of peace, prosperity and wealth at least, if not of political liberty and high moral improvement.[19]

3 A NEW TYPE OF RULER

Prinsep was a little too optimistic in his prognostications for the future; but basically he was right. In 1818 there was no power in India which could hold up its head against the new rulers. The British found themselves in control of a vast area stretching from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej. Part of this territory was under direct British rule, but a large part was still independent, though with limited independence, under the traditional rulers.[20]

These revolutionary changes in the British situation inevitably meant changes in the way in which British sovereignty was to be exercised in India.

First, a new type of representative of the ruling power was needed. To soldiers, administrators and accountants must be added diplomats. The important man in many areas was now the British Resident at an Indian court, vested with few powers but with enormous influence, and holding a position in which British prestige could be made or unmade. Fortunately the Company and the army between them were able to produce a number of outstanding men, endowed with great intellectual gifts, of superlative integrity, with an almost exaggerated sense of responsibility and with deep concern for the prosperity and well-being of the peoples of India.

During the first third of the nineteenth century the Company was served by four outstanding men of this new type – Sir Thomas Munro (1761–1827),[21] Sir John Malcolm (1769–1853),[22] the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779–1859)[23] and Charles, Lord Metcalfe (1785–1846).[24] These men differed much in background and in the careers that they followed. Elphinstone and Metcalfe were aristocrats, Metcalfe a product of Eton; Malcolm and Munro came from good, strong, Scottish ancestry. Malcolm and Munro were soldiers; Elphinstone and Metcalfe were diplomats.

All these men owed much to tireless diligence, and to an almost unlimited capacity for self-improvement. Malcolm, having come to India at an age at which most boys are just entering upon school and with hardly any education at all, by sheer plodding concentration made himself an expert writer; his *Political History of India* (first edition 1811) is still a classic. Elphinstone used his considerable leisure at Poona to teach himself Greek, and to seek for political wisdom in Thucydides and the other historians of antiquity. His

History of India (1841) will continue to be read as long as the history of India is studied. The four men knew and appreciated one another, even when they disagreed. Above all, they believed that the secret of all good administration was a knowledge of the Indian languages and a deep understanding of the ideas and thoughts of the people.[25]

On four points there was general agreement among the great administrators of that time:

> The great secret of rule is to leave the Indians as far as possible to themselves, and to allow them to work out their own destinies. 'The natives of this country have enough of their own to answer every useful object of internal administration, and if we maintain and protect them, the country will in a very few months settle itself.'[26]
>
> This being so, the policy of annexation, except in extreme cases, is to be deprecated. Injustices will, no doubt, be perpetrated in states under Indian rule, but so it has been in areas under British control.[27]
>
> Haste is at all costs to be avoided; the desired improvements in the state of society must come about from within rather than by imposition from above; and for this time will be required. 'That time may gradually affect a change there is no doubt, but the period is as yet distant when that can be expected; and, come when it will, to be safe or beneficial, it must be . . . the work of society itself.'[28]
>
> If change is to be effected at all, this can only be through the co-operation of the Indians themselves, and, to make this possible, it will be necessary to give far greater responsibility to Indians in the service of the government than had so far been done, and to fit them by experience for their responsibilities. Their exclusion from offices of trust and emolument has become a part of our system of government, and has been productive of no good.[29]

None of these great men supposed that British rule in India would be permanent. It had come about by chance rather than by policy, it would perform its necessary function and then should be liquidated, if possible by peaceful withdrawal. British rule could not be popular; it was based on force and could be maintained only by force; and the good deeds of the government were as likely to earn it the dislike of one section of the population, as justice was to cause a similar dislike in some other section.

That this view was not the exclusive opinion of a few is clear from a remarkable article published in 1820 by an unnamed writer:

> The separation of India from Great Britain cannot in the nature of things be prevented. It must come sooner or later . . . the true system of governing them should aim to provide that the separation shall be safe, gradual and friendly, so as to prevent the possible evils, and secure the greatest benefits both to Great Britain and her colonies when the power of the former shall cease.[30]

Two years earlier (17 May 1818) a similar opinion had been expressed by the governor-general Lord Hastings in his private journal; he foresaw a time not very remote 'when England will . . . wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede'.

Hastings continued:

> In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest.[31]

These notable men exercised in an abnormal degree the reticence in giving expression to religious feelings characteristic of their race. Yet there is clear evidence, in the case of at least two of them, that Christian feelings were there and that they were deep.

Of Sir Thomas Munro his biographer records that he was throughout his life deeply attached to the Scottish Episcopal Church in which he had been brought up and that he never permitted a day to pass without setting aside some part of it to devotional exercises, 'though, like every other custom connected with religion, it was practised with the strictest privacy'. He adds: 'his whole life, both in public and private, was modelled upon the rules laid down in the gospels'.[32]

Of Malcolm, Sir John Kaye writes:

> He had derived in early youth, from religious parents, lessons of Christian doctrine and principles of Christian conduct, which, although it was not his wont to make parade of these things, he held in solemn remembrance throughout the whole of his career. He had ever the highest respect for the truths of the Christian Church . . . he lived in charity with all men; and he walked humbly with his God.[33]

Of Elphinstone, a man of infinite charm and almost infinite shyness, it is less possible to speak with certainty. His biographer, who had spent much time with him in his later years, refers to 'his natural piety and his leanings to Christianity' but concludes that his views were probably those of a devout Unitarian.[34]

Of Charles Metcalfe we know that in early years he was of serious and thoughtful temperament. On 7 March 1802, being then seventeen years old, he reminded himself that it was Sunday, and read through the morning service by himself: 'It appears to me necessary to religion to bring it to one's serious attention at fixed periods. For the want of this, the English in India have less virtue in them than elsewhere, and cannot impress the natives with a good idea of our religion.'[35]

The reticence of these men was due in part to their firm adherence to the policy of strict neutrality in matters of religion laid down by the Company long before. All four were deeply convinced of the dangers that would arise from any manifestation of excessive zeal on the part of Christian missionaries. They were even more strongly convinced that any suspicion that the British authorities were involved in plans for the subversion of the ancient and traditional religions of India would do more than anything else to undermine the stability of British rule.

Malcolm gave evidence to this effect before the House of Lords in 1813. A number of years later he expressed his views candidly but not unsympathetically in a letter to Joshua Marshman, the Baptist missionary at Serampore:

> Though most deeply impressed with the truths of the Christian religion . . . I do think, from the construction of our empire in India . . . that the English Government in this country should never, directly or indirectly, interfere in propagating the Christian religion. The pious missionary must be left unsupported by government, or any of its officers, to pursue his labors; and I will add, that I should not only deem a contrary conduct a breach of faith to those nations, whom we have conquered more by our solemn pledges, given in words and acts, to respect their prejudices and maintain their religion, than by arms, but likely to fail in the object it sought to accomplish, and to expose us eventually to more serious dangers than we have ever yet known.[36]

Elphinstone was equally emphatic on the subject. In a report belonging to the year 1819 he writes:

> I have left out of the account the dangers to which we should be exposed by any attempt to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives. These are so obvious that we may hope they will never be braved . . . I do not point out the danger now from any apprehension that Government will ever attempt to convert the natives, but to impress upon it the consequences that would result from any suspicion that it was disposed to encourage such a project.[37]

Declarations of such a kind brought cold comfort to the missionaries. They did, however, represent the general attitude of the authorities; they were based on conviction and principle and not merely on prudent calculations relating to the stability of an alien government. Yet, in spite of all this prudence, the government was always under suspicion as to the sincerity of its declarations. India had endured three centuries of Muslim rule, during which, though with varying degrees of intensity and severity, there had been ceaseless attempts to subvert the religion of the Hindus and to include them in the Muslim fold. It was almost impossible to disabuse the minds of Hindus and Muslims of the belief that any conqueror would follow a similar policy, and that the British reserve in the matter was due to deep duplicity rather than to a sincere regard for the well-being of the adherents of the non-Christian religions, and for the free exercise and expression of their faith.

4 CONTACTS WITH THE INDIAN PEOPLE

Fort William College

The capacious and imaginative mind of Wellesley built on the foundations laid by Warren Hastings, and carried his policy a step further by the creation of his 'Oxford of the East', the college of Fort William, the aim of which was to ensure that those who served England in India should be given opportunity to acquaint themselves with the mind and thought of India, and that this should be made possible by gathering together in Calcutta as many as possible of the most learned men in the country.[38]

Wellesley had noted with pain that the education of the young men who came out to India, often at the age of sixteen or seventeen, was sorely defective, and that no steps had been taken to ensure that, after their arrival in India, they were given an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the languages, laws and customs of the country. The remedy would be the creation at Calcutta of a college on the model of an Oxford or Cambridge college, in which the young servants of the Company would be required to spend the first three years of their time in India. The college would not be confined to the teaching of Indian subjects but would offer a broad general curriculum of Western and Eastern studies under the direction of the best teachers available in India.

Wellesley was much concerned about the moral and religious welfare of the young men to be admitted to his college. It was laid down that the provost of the college must 'always be a clergyman of the Church of England, as established by law' (p. 359). The governor-general had been fortunate in finding in Calcutta two gentlemen eminently qualified to serve as provost and vice-provost. To the first position he had appointed Mr Brown, the Company's first chaplain, and to the latter Mr Buchanan (p. 353). It would be the duty of the provost 'to assist them with his advice and admonition; and to instruct and confirm them in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine, discipline and rites of the church of England as established by law' (p. 359).

Wellesley was not a man to wait for a favouring tide. Determined that his college was to open on 24 November 1800,[39] he went ahead without waiting through the long period which must elapse before sanction could reach him from the directors in London. The programme was grandiose. The college was to teach 'Arabic, Persian, Shanscrit, Hindoostanee, Bengal, Telinga, Mahratta, Tamul, Canara', as well as a number of subsidiary subjects. The first task was to assemble teachers who could cope with such a programme. For some subjects Wellesley encountered little difficulty; there were enough learned men in Calcutta to fill a number of professorships. When he came to

Bengali, he was considerably daunted at being told by those who knew that the only man capable of sustaining the role was an obscure Baptist missionary. Wellesley was not exactly an opponent of Christian missionary work, but his interest in it could not be described as other than temperate and reserved. But the college had to be staffed, and he could do no other than to give way. The administration managed to secure a morsel of mean revenge; Mr W. Carey was awarded a smaller salary than any other member of the European teaching staff.

This was not the end. When on 30 July 1806 the eminent H. T. Colebrook resigned his post as professor of Sanskrit in the college, he noted that the work of teaching Sanskrit 'and of completing the publications requisite to facilitate the study of the Sanskrit language may now devolve on Mr Carey'. The recommendation was accepted; Carey became professor of Sanskrit also, and the initial injustice was rectified by his being granted double the salary originally assigned to him. He justified the appointment by the publication in the same year of his Sanskrit grammar, an immense work of nearly 1,000 quarto pages, of which H. H. Wilson has written that it is 'a singular monument of industrious application'.[40]

The college, founded with such éclat, was not destined to enjoy a long and prosperous life. In 1807 the court of directors decided that the European subjects should be taught no longer in India, but at the new college which they had brought into existence at Haileybury. Though truncated, the college of Fort William continued to serve a useful purpose and trained many highly distinguished students. But it carried on with diminished vitality, until in the end it was broken on the rocks of Lord William Bentinck's anglicising policy. On 24 January 1854 the no-longer-existent college of Fort William was finally destroyed.

Opinions will differ as to what Fort William, during its short life of fifty years, actually achieved. Many of the most eminent men who served England in India spent their formative years there in the company of men who combined learning with the highest standards of Christian devotion, and in daily contact with Indians of considerable distinction. By their teachers they were inspired to interest in Indian things; from them they learned both to like and to respect the peoples of India, not with a purblind affection but with awareness of their weaknesses and at the same time with sympathy for their efforts to achieve a cultural and moral renaissance of India.

Some of the most enthusiastic tributes to the work of Fort William College come from the pen of Sushil Kumar De, whose *Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century* is a classic.[41] He writes:

> No doubt its greatest achievement in the history of intellectual progress in this country consists in its revival of the ancient culture of the land. . . . Attention hitherto

had never been turned to vernacular learning in this country, which was in a sadly neglected state at the beginning of the century. The College of Fort William, by its encouragement of the vernacular, first brought it into public notice and fostered and nourished it.[42]

From the start the college faced problems of discipline among the students. Some no doubt resented the emphasis on religion and the requirement of attendance at Christian services, though this was something with which they had been familiar in the earlier stages of their education. But the better among them were marked for a lifetime by what they learned in the college; and, in some, association with the immense learning and modesty of Carey, the effervescent enthusiasm of Buchanan, and the quiet, devout authority of Brown produced a regard for the Christian faith which was lacking when they arrived in India.[43]

5 MISSIONS: FOR AND AGAINST

During this period the government of the East India Company found it necessary to take seriously the presence of Christian missions in India and to determine its attitude towards them. In the south there had been for many years an attitude of friendly co-operation. As there were no Protestant missions in the north,[44] the question had hardly arisen. But from 1786 onwards the missionaries had arrived in continually increasing numbers and had spread out in a number of directions; and the missionary interest had begun to penetrate the ranks of government itself.

Among those whom Cornwallis had admitted into his inner councils were two deeply committed Christians, John Shore and Charles Grant.

Grant (1746–1823) arrived in Bengal in 1768 and returned to England after twenty-two years' service. But for the next thirty years he exercised a powerful, indeed almost dominant, influence in all the affairs of the East India Company. His religion, with Calvinistic overtones from his Scottish childhood, was rather narrow and rigid, and it is hard to acquit him of self-righteousness, which gave him the assurance of being always in the right. One who disliked him described him as 'a most canting Presbyterian, a methodical snivelling Oliverian'.[45]

From the time of his conversion in 1776, Grant maintained unremittingly two views which were not easily reconcilable. The first was that the government of the East India Company must be carried on for the benefit of Indians; the second was that India could not be governed in its own best interests without strong Christian principles in the minds of the rulers and the injection of Christian ideas into the minds of the subjects. His varying stress on these two objectives led naturally to a charge of inconsistency; and he did come gradually to see that the participation of a foreign government in the evangelisation of India would not be for the benefit of either party.[46]

Grant's first step towards government participation in the evangelisation of India was the production of a lengthy paper entitled 'A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Bihar', which he had written in 1787.[47] Nothing practical came of this initiative. Perhaps the most important outcome was that a copy of his 'Proposal' reached William Wilberforce (1759–1833) and was one of the factors in the growing concern of that great man for India, a concern second only to his interest in the cause of the slaves in the Western world.

Not to be daunted by one failure, Grant again put pen to paper and in 1792 wrote the most carefully thought out of all his works – *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals, and on the means of Improving It; written chiefly in the Year 1792*.[48] Grant had served for six years as commercial resident in Malda, and while there had had occasion to mix with all sorts of people, from wealthy merchants and *zamindārs* down to the oppressed weavers and indigo growers from whom so much of the wealth of the Company was derived. The picture which he gives of Indian society and of the level of morality which prevailed within it is less than encouraging. He was familiar with corruption and obliquity on a large scale in public and commercial affairs, and with a general licentiousness which passed almost without comment or criticism.

The majority of Indian writers have dismissed Grant's work as yet one more expression of the foreigner's sense of superiority and of his contempt for a culture which he has not taken the trouble to understand. Without doubt there were sides of Indian life with which Grant was unfamiliar: he has passed over without mention the patient endurance of which the Bengali peasant was capable and the strength and tenacity of loyalty within the caste and the family by which Indian society is held together. But, allowing for all these defects, a work which has twice been reprinted and endlessly quoted as authoritative cannot be passed over as irrelevant. One reputable Indian historian has described it as 'a most valuable essay on the moral, intellectual conditions of India at that time', which 'abounds in philosophical suggestions, philanthropic sentiments and sound principles of administrative policy'.[49]

The people of Bengal and Bihar had fallen on evil days; long years of oppression and misgovernment had led to deterioration of character and widespread disregard of principle. Religion, according to Grant, had become not a help but a hindrance to progress. Only through the dissemination of Christian truth could the people be delivered from the trammels of the past. The English government must take up its responsibility and make itself the instrument for the spread of truth and the elimination of error. Why should it not do so? For centuries the Mughuls, also foreigners, had followed with considerable success the policy of encouraging their Hindu subjects to become Muslims. Provided that measures of coercion were sedulously avoided, there seemed to be no valid reason why a Christian government should not follow a similar policy.[50]

Grant was not the man to be content with mere theorising. In 1793 the charter of the East India Company had to be renewed. It seemed to him that the moment had come at which theories could be transformed into facts. Aided by Wilberforce and other Christian friends, he attempted to secure the inclusion in the new charter of the so-called 'pious clause':

> Whereas such measures ought to be adopted for the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement . . . the . . . Court of Directors . . . are hereby empowered and required to send out, from time to time . . . fit and proper persons . . . as schoolmasters, missionaries or otherwise . . . the said Court of Directors are hereby empowered and required to give directions to the governments . . . in India to settle the destination and to provide for the necessary and decent maintenance of the persons so to be sent out.[51]

The clause implied something more radical than a mere permission for the existence of missionaries. 'What Grant was asking Henry Dundas and the directors of the company to do was to take the initiative in instituting a process of social change in India which aimed at the complete alteration of the basis on which the existing social structure rested.'[52]

All seemed to go well with the plans of Grant and his friends. But Wilberforce and the 'Clapham Group' had underestimated the strength of the opposition in the House of Commons. This opposition took two forms. There were those who feared that favour shown to the Christian faith by government might lead to violent reactions among the people. More potent was the voice of those who feared, presciently, that the introduction of Christian teaching might spread abroad among the people ideas of liberty which would be found to be incompatible with the continuance of British rule in India.[53] Becoming aware of the opposition, Henry Dundas (1740–1811), president of the Board of Control, who had little if any religious conviction of his own, withdrew his support, and the clause was withdrawn. Wilberforce was bitterly disappointed by what he regarded as tergiversation and noted sadly in his journal that 'our territories in Hindustan have been left in the undisturbed and peaceable possession of Brama'.[54]

Not unnaturally the evangelicals were cast into gloom by the failure of a plan on which they had expended so much energy, and on the success of which they had counted for great results. Yet, though they did not realise it at the time, the defeat of their plans was of great advantage to the cause for which they stood. Nothing could have been more injurious to the progress of Christian missions, as these developed in the nineteenth century, than the appointment of missionary workers by government and direct financial support for their work from government funds. In time the evangelicals themselves came to realise that this was so.

The attitude of the East India Company towards Christian missions was curiously inconsistent and self-contradictory. In South India the local authorities welcomed the work of the German missionaries employed there. In Bengal they manifested what looked like venomous hostility; yet steps were taken to make clear that hostility was not the beginning and the end of the official position. On 7 September 1808 the court of directors set out their views in a lengthy and dignified despatch:

> We are anxious that it should be distinctly understood that we are very far from being averse to the introduction of Christianity into India, or indifferent to the benefits which would result from the general diffusion of its doctrines; but we have a fixed and settled opinion that nothing could be more unwise and impolitic, nothing even more likely to frustrate the hopes and endeavours of those who aim at the very object . . . than any imprudent or injudicious attempt to introduce it by means which should irritate and alarm their religious prejudices . . . The paramount power which we now possess in India . . . imposes upon us the necessity . . . to protect the native inhabitants in the free and undisturbed profession of their religious opinions, and to take care that they are neither harassed nor irritated by any premature or over-zealous attempts to convert them to Christianity.[55]

Shortly before the publication of this generally friendly document, the prospects of a good relationship between Christian missionary activity and governmental authorities in India and in England had suffered a severe setback. For long years the Vellore mutiny of 1807 cast dark shadows over the situation.

Vellore, about 100 miles west of Madras, had long been one of the garrison centres of the Madras army, maintained by both European and Indian troops in moderate numbers. What gave it its significance at this period in history was the presence of the family of Tipu Sultan, interned though not incarcerated by the British in Vellore, under watchful though not unduly strict supervision. This community included twelve sons and twenty-four grandsons of Tipu, a brother, and an uncertain number of nephews. But with wives and concubines, officials, servants, retainers and hangers-on, the total number of residents brought in from Mysore was reckoned at about 3,000. The presence of so large a contingent of restless and discontented people may well have exercised an influence on the minds of soldiers, who also suffered under the chronic distemper of military life in peace-time, the plague of having far too little to do.

The immediate cause of the dispute could be regarded as trivial, if its consequences had not been so serious. The commander-in-chief, Sir John

Cradock, dissatisfied with the military smartness of the troops on parade, gave orders that a new type of turban was to be issued to all ranks, that caste-marks were not to be visible while the men were on parade, that soldiers were to be 'cleanshaven on the chin', and that 'uniformity shall be preserved in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair upon the upper lip, as far as may be practicable'. There is no reason to suppose that the commander-in-chief intended in any way to affront the sensibilities of the troops; but warnings as to the extent of discontent in the barracks had been disregarded. One of the objections raised by the sepoys was that the new turban somewhat resembled the caps worn by the regimental drummers; as these would belong to a despised community,[56] any such similarity would be bitterly resented by soldiers drawn from the higher castes.

On 10 July 1807 the explosion took place. In the early hours of that day thirteen European officers and eighty-two non-commissioned officers and other ranks were murdered. Everything was in confusion. Fortunately for the British authorities, a messenger had managed to make his way to Arcot nine miles away. Colonel Gillespie, on hearing the news, without a moment's delay put the cavalry and artillery in motion. By chance the mutineers had failed to close one of the gates to the fort; the relieving force was able to make rapid entry, and by midday all was over. The insurrection, badly planned and badly led, petered out, leaving a large number of prisoners in the hands of the victors.

When the extreme gravity, by military standards, of the offence is born in mind, it is clear that the authorities kept their heads better than might have been expected. Those who could be identified as ringleaders were put on trial by court martial; the death sentence was imposed in twenty-three cases. But the shock to confidence was very great. The entire Mysorean contingent was moved to Calcutta, where its members were gradually absorbed into the ordinary ranks of society.[57] The commander-in-chief was relieved of his command, and the governor of Madras, Lord William Bentinck, at that time aged thirty-two, was recalled – a decision against the injustice of which he never ceased to protest. It seems probable that Bentinck's generally compassionate view of the way in which the mutineers should be handled told against him in the eyes of some high authorities in England.

These events come into the story of Christianity in India only because of the rumour, extensively ventilated and widely believed, that one of the main causes of the mutiny was the intemperate zeal of Christian evangelists in interfering with the views and habits of the sepoys and arousing in their minds the fear that it was the intention of the authorities to turn them all into Christians.[58] It is difficult even to conjecture the source from which this suspicion emanated. There were very few missionaries in the Madras presidency, and none was resident in either Vellore or Arcot. A single sentence in a report by the commander-in-chief may have had something to do with it: he suggests that the sepoys may have thought that the next step would be to make them all Christians, but gives no hint as to the source from which this information was derived.[59] If this was the spark, it was successful in producing a considerable conflagration both in India and in England, and more extensively in England than in India.[60]

The first blast of the trumpet seems to have been blown by one Thomas Twining, a member of the East India Company, in a missive entitled 'A Letter to the Chairman of the East India Company, on the Danger of Interfering in the Religious Observances of the Natives of India' (1806). Noting that Indians were most 'jealous and tenacious of their religious opinions and ceremonies', he issued warning that the laxity prevailing in the admission of missionaries to India would lead to the expulsion of the British from that country amid scenes of bloodshed and disorder.[61]

Friends of the missionaries such as Edward Parry and Charles Grant, both members of the court of directors, entered into the fray. They had no difficulty in showing that there was no evidence that there was 'any suspicion among the people of a design on the part of the government to enforce upon them the profession of Christianity'.

The evangelicals mobilised their forces. Lord Teignmouth, formerly governor-general, in *Considerations on Communicating the Knowledge of Christianity to the Natives of India*,[62] affirmed that 'the proceedings of the missionaries in Bengal, and the measures adopted there for the propagation of Christianity, have had no influence whatever on the popular feelings of the natives in the Carnatic. The latter know no more of the missionaries in Bengal, nor of their proceedings, than those of Africa.'

Gradually the agitation died down. But the anxiety so deliberately sowed by sincere but rancorous opponents of missionary work long remained in many minds, and was still an active force in 1813. When the charter of the Company came up for renewal in that year, the evangelicals knew that a great conflict was coming upon them, and that the victory of what they believed to be the just and generous policy, if won at all, would be hardly won.

6 THE CHARTER OF 1813

The process by which the new Charter Act reached the statute book was long, complicated and tedious.[63]

On 22 March 1813 Lord Castlereagh rose in the House of Commons to outline the government's proposals for the future government of India. His references to religion were brief and restricted. Nothing more was proposed than the extension to India of the blessings of episcopacy; the proposed establishment would be exiguous, consisting of no more than one bishop and three archdeacons, to serve the English community in India; no allusion was made to the possible existence of Indian Anglicans on whom also some episcopal manna might be allowed to descend. The Commons then formed themselves into a committee of the whole house to receive the evidence collected by the directors of the Company on the subject of religion in India. The confrontation between the missionary and the anti-missionary fronts could no longer be avoided.

The anti-missionary lobby had assembled a formidable body of witnesses in support of their case. Two former governors-general of India had been enrolled in their panel.

Warren Hastings was old and cautious, and many years had passed since he had left India (in 1786). He recalled one worthy gentleman, Mr Schwartz, and another, Mr Kiernander, and he had heard of one conversion.[64] In answer to a leading question, he went so far as to say that it was 'not consistent with the security of the Empire to treat the religions established in the country with contempt, and that if such a declaration of war was made between the professors of our religion and those of the established religions of the country, he knew not what would be the consequences'.

The examination to which Lord Teignmouth was subjected was long and tortuous; the aim was, by means of subtle rhetorical questions, to entrap him into admissions which would be damaging to the cause which he was known to support. Asked the question whether, if the Hindus came to believe that the government intended to change their religion, it would be attended by any bad consequences, he replied that, after many years' experience of the careful regard paid by government to their convictions and prejudices, and the enjoyment of the freest toleration, it was very unlikely that they would ever be brought to believe that that same government intended to impose on them the religion of England. He admitted that some missionaries might be guilty of indiscreet zeal, but he was of the opinion that missionaries might be sent to India with perfect safety to the government – missionaries had been at work in Bengal for seventeen years without exciting any alarm among the natives.[65]

Mr Cowper, who had been in Bengal from 1770 to 1800, was of the opinion that a proposal to admit missionaries to India under the authority of the government ought not to be received by Parliament – even the discussion of such a motion would be alarming to the Brāhmans.

Mr Graham, who had spent thirty-nine years in Bengal (1769–1808), admitted that government had intervened to check the excesses associated with the temple of Jugganath and that no unpleasant consequences had followed; but he clung to the view that, after the enjoyment of a long period of toleration, nothing could be more dangerous than the alarm which would be occasioned by any threat of interference.

At this point it was agreed that the subject of religion should not be further considered. It was certain that it would come up again when the bill itself was before Parliament. The interval was spent by the missionary party in organising and sending in petitions; of these an endless stream poured in on exhausted ministers.[66]

This startling manifestation of popular feeling did its work. When on 22 June 1813 the House finally came to debate resolution 13, it decided to give all that the missionary party desired and more than they had ever hoped to achieve:

> It is the opinion of this committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may lead to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs: Provided always, that the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.[67]

When, on 1 July, the bill was again brought in it was hoped that the 'missionary clause' would be allowed to pass without further debate. But the ablest member of the anti-missionary group was determined to be heard. Charles Marsh, a barrister by profession and for a number of years active in Madras, was a man of superb intellectual capacity and great gifts as an orator, and was not too proud to descend at times to levels of scurrility that others would have disdained. A few quotations will reveal the level in which he thought it suitable that parliamentary debate should be conducted:

> The noble earl's[68] successor might be of the new evangelical school. He might be of the number of those who thought that the fulness of time was arrived for Hindoo conversion, and that every inspired cobbler, or fanatical tailor, who felt an inward call, had a kind of apostolic right to assist in the spiritual siege already begun against the idolatries and superstitions of that degraded and barbarous country . . .
>
> Will these people, crawling from the holes and caverns of their original destinations, apostles from the loom and the anvil . . . and renegades from the lowest handicraft employments, be a match for the cool and sedate controversies they will have to encounter should the brahmins condescend to enter the arena against the maimed and crippled gladiators that presume to grapple with their faith?

It might be felt that guttersnipe politicking of this kind required no rejoinder, but there were points that Wilberforce felt must be made, and one of these was of the greatest importance:

> Shall we now, in defence of the common principles of toleration, lay the religion we profess under such a restraint in any part of our dominions? No, Sir, it is impossible; you will not, you cannot act thus. If Christianity should be the only untolerated religion in the British dominions in India, the evil would not stop there. The want of toleration would not be a mere negative mischief; the severest persecution must infallibly ensue. For assuredly there are, and by God's help, I trust there ever will be, both European and native teachers, prepared even in the face of death itself to diffuse the blessed truths of Christianity.

Feeble opposition continued for some time, but public opinion had spoken and the result was assured. The bill, which had had a much easier passage in the House of Lords,[69] passed its third reading on 13 July 1813. The long conflict was over; the Christian missionary in India was assured of a certain status and of liberty, albeit restricted, to carry out his aims.

At the very last moment a clause was inserted to the effect that a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (£10,000) should be expended annually for 'the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India'. The mention of the sciences did indicate the possibility of new horizons for education; but the primary aim of the clause was to strengthen the hands of the orientalists, of whose views and policies some account will be given in the next chapter.

The supporters of the missionary cause were naturally jubilant at the success which had come to them in the face of what had seemed certain defeat. But at this distance of time it may be possible to question whether the arguments they used and the methods they adopted were those best suited to the furtherance of the cause in which they strove.

They stressed the responsibility of a government to work for the uplift and well-being of the peoples under its care. They assumed, perhaps too readily, that the infiltration of Christian principles was the only way by which that well-being could be secured – a view which they were fully entitled to hold but which was not shared either by the children of the Enlightenment in England or by the majority of the enlightened in India.

They stressed the ignorance and superstition, the moral degradation, in which the peoples of India lived. To Indians of all subsequent generations this has seemed offensively patronising, especially in view of the evils which all India knows to have existed in the England of those days.[70]

In spite of the anti-Christian bias evident in many of their actions, the English in India had accepted in principle the doctrine of equality of all before the law. There was no attempt to subject Hindus to Muslim law or Muslims to Hindu law in civil and religious matters. The evangelicals could justly have claimed equality of status and equality of opportunity for all religions alike; and this includes the right of a believer to change his religion if he has become convinced that this is what he ought to do, and to attempt to persuade others to follow him in making a similar decision, provided that no coercion of any kind is exercised and that the spiritual freedom of every individual is safeguarded. The evangelicals would have been wise not to press their claims beyond these general points.

Since 1813 Christian missions have never been wholly free from the stigma of undue dependence on government, and even acts of justice on the part of government have been interpreted as signs of a partiality for Christianity incompatible with the true principles of neutrality or toleration. There is little ground for either of these suspicions, but that they have existed and do still exist cannot be doubted. This is a factor that has continuously played its part in the history of Christianity in India.

8 · Government, Indians and Missions

I THE EPOCH OF REFORM

The British authorities in India had guaranteed to the inhabitants of India full toleration of their established customs and practice in matters of religion as in other areas of life. But how far is the policy of toleration and non-interference to be carried? Should it include acceptance, and even protection, of customs and practices which are condemned as inhuman and intolerable by the general conscience of mankind, even though these should have obtained a religious or quasi-religious sanction? And where is this general conscience of mankind to be found?

The Western world, largely under the influence of Christianity, has accepted monogamy as the basis of society. Christian rulers over Muslim subjects have generally found it better not to attempt to alter the Muslim law of marriage, which in accordance with the precepts of the Quʾrān permits to faithful Muslims four regular marriages. Hindu groups have various and complicated rules regarding endogamous and exogamous marriage. There seemed to be no reason why these should not be allowed to continue in force. Child marriage was regarded by many as objectionable, but the objections had not been felt by the Christian ancestors of the British in India. It was clear, however, that Hinduism, at least in its later forms, had cast the mantle of sanctity over some customs which by wide sections of opinion in the West were regarded as inhuman. Conflicts of opinion as to the obligations resting on government could not but arise, and the authorities could not remain for ever deaf to the demand for reform.

First and foremost among the reforming governors-general was Lord William Bentinck (1828–35). Many readers in the West know the name of Bentinck as that of the ruler who had the intrepidity to abolish the ancient custom of *satī*, the burning of a Hindu widow on her husband's funeral pyre. But, apart from this action, the man himself has been little known and understood. That this is no longer the case is due to two remarkable studies which in recent years have recalled Bentinck from the shadows, and made him accessible to all who will take the trouble to read.[1]

Insofar as Bentinck had been judged by historians, he has generally been associated with the Utilitarians, whose influence on Indian affairs was growing in the first third of the nineteenth century.[2] But it is now clear that his connection with this school of thought was of the slightest. He had never met Bentham and, though he had a high regard for James Mill and his capacious knowledge of Indian affairs, he does not seem to have allowed to Mill's ideas extensive influence on his own way of thinking. Lord William had come to adopt deeply and sincerely the views of the evangelical wing of the Church of England, perhaps under the influence of his wife and his wife's relations. Opinion regarding the lady varied. The somewhat cynical Victor Jacquemont found her 'kind and clever', and talked to her for long hours in French.[3] Not all were agreed. In her, religion was intense and perhaps at times verging on the fanatical.[4] Bentinck, no less sincere, never allowed his religious convictions to interfere with the temperate equilibrium of his judgements and never denied the operation of principles which he had imbibed before the Christian faith came to play so large a part in his thinking. He never swerved from the conviction and the hope that 'India should be united, great, imperial, rich, enlightened, perhaps one day self-determining'.[5] In a day of improvers, he was the improver *par excellence.*

a. The abolition of 'satī'

Bentinck had never fully recovered from the shock to his self-confidence administered by his abrupt dismissal from Madras in 1807. Later experience in the tortuous field of Sicilian and Italian politics, and as an 'improver' in the fenlands of East Anglia, had tempered his will and modified his enthusiasms. The idea of returning to India to reconstruct his damaged reputation was never far from his mind. As early as 1822 he had let it be known that he was interested in the governor-generalship; in 1827, when his relative George Canning was Prime Minister and he was offered the post, he accepted without hesitation.[6] He had still much to learn about India, but of one thing he was convinced – that one of the tasks that faced him and that could not be evaded was the abolition of *satī*:

> [None] could feel more deeply than I do the dreadful responsibility hanging over my happiness in this world and the next, if as the governor-general of India I was to consent to the continuance of this practice for one moment longer, not than our security, but than the real happiness and permanent welfare of the Indian population rendered indispensable. I determined therefore, before I came to India, that I would instantly take up the question . . . and having made my decision, 'yea or no', to stand by it and set my conscience at rest.[7]

The first question that Bentinck had to settle was whether *satī* could be regarded as a custom required by the teachings of the Hindu faith. Investigation showed that the custom was of comparatively recent origin. The most learned pundits could quote only one line of the *Ṛg Veda* which seemed to inculcate it, 'let the mothers go into the womb of the fire'; but careful scholarship has shewn that the line was deliberately changed, and that in the original text there was no reference to fire at all.[8] The view that there was no classical authority for *satī* was shared by the great Bengali reformer Rammohun Roy.[9]

The missionaries, naturally, had been loud in their demands for abolition, supplying detailed figures of the numbers of *satīs* in Bengal, and showing that *satī*, so far from diminishing or dying out, was tending to increase.[10]

By 8 November 1829 Bentinck's mind was made up. On that day he posted to his council a lengthy and carefully argued minute.[11] The conclusion is memorable:

> The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus . . . The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder . . . may it not be hoped . . . that they may assume their just places among the great families of mankind. I disavow in these remarks or in this measure any view whatever to conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus, and as I believe many enlightened Hindus think and feel.[12]

'Regulation XVII AD1829 of the Bengal Code' was promulgated on 4 December 1829.[13] Once again the governor-general disclaims any intention of unnecessary interference with the customs of the people, but

> II. The practice of suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, is hereby illegal, and punishable by the criminal courts . . .

The proclamation had to be made available in Bengali as well as in English. The task of translation inevitably fell to the professor of Bengali in Fort William College. Early on Sunday morning, 6 December 1829, the English text arrived at Serampore. Carey was in a dilemma. He was a strict sabbatarian, but this was a task which seemed not to admit of a single day's delay. So, strengthening himself in the Saviour's teaching that to save life on the sabbath day is no breach of the law, he fell to, and before the day was ended the task was done. 'The translation demanded meticulous care, every sentence and phrase needed to be weighed with the most circumspect deliberation. But by the evening it was done, and this age-long horror was doomed.'[14]

b. Sleeman and the 'thags'

Satī had been abolished. Not long after this great achievement the government found itself engaged in a task no less complex and on a far wider scale, a task which might be expected to bring down obloquy on a government on the ground that it involved interference with the sacred rites of a section of the community – the elimination of that strange involvement of religion with murder found in the organisation commonly known as *thagī*.[15] Those who stumbled upon the organisation were astonished at the strength of it, stretching as it did almost from one end of the country to the other. They were still more surprised to learn that the work of calculated ritual murder was going on almost under their very noses without anyone being any the wiser.

The explanation of this secrecy is simple. The *thags* were criminals; but in private life many of them were men of impeccable respectability, of good caste and high intelligence, whom it was almost impossible for the observer to associate with the crimes that they had undoubtedly committed. In their own eyes they were a religious brotherhood. It was the goddess Kālī, otherwise Durgā, who had laid on them the duty to strangle and to rob, and had formulated the ritual method of carrying out the crimes. The group would insinuate itself into the confidence of a body of travellers, especially traders or those who were known to be carrying money or treasures. Confidence once established, when a suitable lonely place had been reached and the ritual signal given, the *thags* would set upon their victims, strangle them with the scarf in the use of which they were incredibly skilful, rip up and bury the bodies, and go quietly on their way, to all appearances a harmless body of travellers.

Four factors helped them to remain so long unidentified: first, the fact that in those days of long journeys and uncertain return many days might pass before relations and friends would realise that the traveller had disappeared, and, even when they did, the disappearance would readily be attributed to natural causes – wild beasts or other perils of the way; secondly, the perfect self-identification of the *thag* with the more respectable elements in society and the ease with which he could manifest himself in his second *persona*; thirdly, the iron discipline and mutual loyalty maintained among the *thags*; fourthly, the deadly fear of vengeance which kept silent those who had discovered secrets and might have talked.

> No *thag* ever showed the slightest compunction of conscience for his crimes. Sleeman writes, 'A *thag* considers the persons murdered precisely in the light of victims offered up to the Goddess . . . He meditates his murders without any misgivings, he perpetrates them without any emotions of pity, and he remembers them without any feelings of remorse. They trouble not his dreams, nor does their recollection ever cause him inquietude in darkness, in solitude, or in the hour of death.'[16]

A number of government officials was engaged in the attempt to identify the *thags* and to destroy the evil, but one name stands out as pre-eminent among them – that of W. H. Sleeman (1788–1856).[17] Very few foreigners have ever understood Indians as well as he; upright, observant, sympathetic, and with a strong sense of humour,[18] he did superbly well whatever was given him to do. But the suppression of *thagī* was the greatest of his achievements. During the operation, which was regarded as successfully completed by 1846, more than 1,000 *thags* had been hanged, one of whom confessed to more than 700 murders in a career of forty years in the brotherhood.

Justice had to be done; but Sleeman was anything but vindictive. Approvers could not be set free, partly from fear that they would return to their old life, the drawing power of *thagī* on those who had once entered upon it being extraordinary, partly because there was no means of ensuring protection for them against the vengeance of surviving members of the brotherhood. A settlement, of the kind that today would be called a concentration camp, was set up for them at Jabalpur. Sleeman saw to it that they were taught arts and crafts and enabled to lead a life of modest diligence and comfort. Few operations reflect more credit and less blame on the British in India; and many of those who now walked safely on the highways were prepared to bless their name.

c. Campbell and the 'meriahs'

At the time at which the campaign against *thagī* was in full swing, the attention of the government was drawn to another area in which religious conviction had led to practices incompatible with the value set by modern governments on human life. The Khonds, or Kandhs, a mountain people living in the hilly country between the Madras presidency and Orissa, regularly practised human sacrifice for ritual reasons.

The *meriah* (intended victim) had to be a member of some other community, acquired by purchase and not captured in war. Until the day appointed for the sacrifice the *meriah* was treated kindly, adopted into a family of the tribe and not subjected to any restrictions until near the time appointed for the sacrifice. Then the victim was, if possible, reduced to a state of intoxication, and led out to die. The assembled people would sing to Tārī Pennu the earth goddess. 'Oh goddess, we offer the sacrifice to you. Give us good crops, season, and health', and to the *meriah* 'We bought you with a price and did not seize you.' Differing accounts are given of the way in which the sacrifice was carried out; the essentials are the same in all – the flesh is cut from the body of the victim and portions are carried to all the villages, where one portion is buried near to the village shrine and fragments at points on the village boundaries.[19]

Earlier writers thought that the *meriah* was offered up as a propitiatory sacrifice to the earth goddess. But J. G. Frazer is certainly correct when he writes that the flesh and ashes of the victim were believed to be endowed with a magical or physical power of fertilising the land.[20]

Clearly no government professing humanitarian principles could allow such a custom to be continued. Skilled and sympathetic officers were sent in to work for the abolition of human sacrifice, using as far as possible methods of persuasion and not of coercion.[21] It was by no means easy to obtain consent; the people were convinced that their prosperity and the fertility of their fields depended on the due offering of the sacrifice in the manner handed down from their ancestors. Gradually they yielded to the weight of government insistence and agreed rather unwillingly to sacrifice a buffalo instead of a human being. At John Campbell's very first meeting with the chiefs he was able to obtain the surrender of 105 *meriahs*, evidence of the size of the problem with which he was dealing. It is believed that the last *meriah* sacrifice took place in 1852, but the practice may have persisted longer in secret.

The kindly British officers had rescued a number of *meriahs* and were then faced with the unexpected problem of what to do with them. They had been delivered from death, but in view of their sacred character it was not easy for them to return to ordinary life. In addition, many who had been bought as children had no idea where they came from and had lost all contact with their relations. These were handed over to the missionaries in Orissa to be educated and fitted for life in society. Others were reabsorbed into the life of the tribes, many of the women among them who had lived in concubinage being encouraged to marry their owners, who undertook to renounce any claim to have them sacrificed; as late as 1901, twenty-five of their descendants entered themselves as *meriahs* in the records of the census held in that year.

d. Slavery

Many Indians believe, and are prepared to assert, that slavery has never existed in India. But the evidence is against them; it is clear that slavery has existed from very early times, and has been tolerated by both Hindus and Muslims.[22] In many cases slavery was of the predial character and was not marked by the indefensible cruelties of the slave trade from Africa to the Caribbean. That the number of slaves was considerable appears from the calculation that in five districts alone more than 200,000 slaves were to be found.[23]

Slavery was for the most part hereditary; but the numbers were increased by the habit of purchasing children from their parents in times of great economic distress. This was adverted to by Sir William Jones in a famous charge to the grand jury in Calcutta in June 1785:

> Hardly a man or woman exists in a corner of this populous town who hath not at least one slave child . . . Many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with such children, coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta; nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought, perhaps for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity.[24]

Officials of the government were aware of the evil; but even those who disapproved of it held the view that any hasty action to abolish it would be followed by grave economic disruption. The conscience of Europeans, however, was stimulated by the abolition, in 1807, of the slave trade in all the British dominions; and pressure from the missionaries, who probably knew more of the system than anyone else, was vocal and continuous. The process of suppression was cautious, and fifty years were to pass before slavery was finally eradicated. In 1811 the importation of slaves from other countries into India was forbidden. The Charter Act of 1833 gave instructions that the governor-general in council should proceed to the abolition of slavery as soon as emancipation should be safe and practical. An act of 1843 withdrew legal recognition of the status of slavery; but it was not until 1860, when the Indian penal code finally came into force, that possession of slaves, and trafficking in them, were finally made illegal.[25]

e. *Infanticide*[26]

About the end of the eighteenth century the existence of the practice of female infanticide became known to Jonathan Duncan, at that time resident at Varanesi (Benares) (1788–95). Later, when he had become governor of Bombay (1795–1811), he ascertained that the same held good for extensive areas of Cutch and Kattiāwad. In the vast majority of cases the cause was the same – the enormous expense of marriages, doubt in the mind of the father as to whether he would be able to find a suitable bridegroom for a grown-up daughter, and the shame involved in having an unmarried daughter at home.

Infanticide was an ancient and well-established custom in a number of communities; little if any reprobation was visited on those who conformed and disposed of their infant daughters. If regulations were passed prohibiting infanticide, how were they to be put into effect? The killings were carried out in private in the home, with the consent and approval of the head of the house. How could information be obtained without violation of the sanctity of the home, which to the Hindu even more than to the Englishman is his castle?[27] The government did attempt to deal with the matter by legislation, but with little success; in 1816 a leading police official reported that Rajkumārs (Rajputs) were still killing their daughters 'to nearly the same degree as formerly, though a greater degree of caution was preserved to prevent detection'.[28]

The observations of the admirable James Tod (1782–1835) on the problem are worthy of attention. He notes that 'the same motive which studded Europe with convents, in which youth and beauty were immured until liberated by death, first prompted the Rajpoot to infanticide'. The problem was compounded by the marriage regulations which condemned as incestuous marriages which would be permitted elsewhere. Tod goes on to say that

> many virtuous and humane princes have endeavoured to check or mitigate an evil, in the eradication of which every parental feeling would co-operate. Sumptuary edicts alone can control it; and the Rajpoots were never sufficiently enamoured of despotism to permit it to rule within their private dwellings.[29]

By 'sumptuary measures' Tod meant limitations of the expenses incurred on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter. A generation later this view was cordially supported by Charles Raikes, the collector of Mainpuri, backed up by W. H. Tyler, the commissioner of Agra, who we are told 'was disposed to look more favourably on the sumptuary measures which resulted from "self-legislation", than on those originating in, and deriving their authority from, Government enactments'.[30] On 12 November 1851 he gathered together many of the leading people of the area to discuss the intolerable burden of marriage expenses and to propose remedies. He was able to secure their agreement to four principles, the first of which was that marriage expenses were to be regulated by a rate then agreed on according to the grade of the parties. In August 1852, at the earnest request of James Thomason, the lieutenant-governor, Raikes sent out a letter in Hindi to all 'the *mahārājās*, *rājās*, and other leading men of the Rajpoot race'.[31] Three years later his successor was able to report: 'I never go into a Chohar village, but the fathers bring me their girls to look at, and seem proud of having them.'

Progress was slow and there were many set-backs; but gradually opinions changed, partly at least under Christian auspices. Though it is possible that in out-of-the-way places the old custom still survives, it would be almost universally condemned, and infanticide is now a memory rather than a menace.

Five examples have been taken of the way in which British administration in India was activated by the reforming spirit in the period which followed on the appointment of Lord William Bentinck as governor-general. A considerable number of other decisions and actions could be added to the list.[32]

It may seem surprising that the government was able to carry through so many reforms without arousing violent hostility on the part of those most affected. Certainly it showed great courage in not interpreting too narrowly the principle of non-interference, and in not allowing itself to be deflected by prudential considerations from taking action that it believed to be right. But the period was propitious for reform. In a number of cases the religious authorisation for the practices which it was intended to suppress was tenuous. There was opposition, especially to the abolition of *satī*, but the opposition was not as yet well organised and found it prudent to appeal to argument or to authority. The reforming mood was far from unknown even in the world of Hinduism; in circles in which that spirit was operative the government could count on a considerable measure of support. Many of these reforms were such as could have been carried out by Hindu or Muslim governments if they had had at their command officials endowed with the promptitude and efficiency which in many cases were characteristic of the servants of the British crown.

The government could, of course, count on the enthusiastic approval of the progressive forces in England and of the missionaries, who were coming to be an influential body in Bengal. Many of those affected by the changes soon came to be aware of the benefits that they had brought. In almost every case the government attempted to work through persuasion rather than through legislation; only in the suppression of *thagī* did it have recourse to the use of force.

Few writers of a later date have refused to recognise that the period of reform was a time of real progress in the life of India, as far as British power could penetrate at that time.

2 EDUCATION

Of all the decisions taken by the British during the period of reform, perhaps the most important was that relating to education. The question at issue was whether India should remain an Asian country, sunk in its own great traditions of the past, or should be introduced into the international life of the peoples of the world. The decision that English should be taught with the aid of government led to the development of a new elite, alert, progressive, in contact with the trends of thought in the Western world, increasingly vocal in its demands for independence. English was to become, and remains, the most widely spoken of the languages of India.

The decision was of great significance to Christians and particularly to missionaries. They had already been concerned for more than a century with the education of the people. They were now to be launched on a new career, in which they came to take rank among the most effective educators in India, with the result that Christians came to be, after Brāhmans and Parsis, the best-educated community in India and that Christian influences were extended far beyond the limits of the membership of the Christian churches.

It may seem surprising that the government in India was persuaded to take up the question. There was no national system of education in Britain, the promotion of learning having been left to the beneficence of individuals and almost exclusively to the efforts of the churches. The first effective steps were taken in the Education Act of 1870, followed up by the acts of 1902 and 1944. India was ahead of Britain. But in India as in Britain opinion was sharply divided as to whether education was a proper field for government interference, many fearing that any measure of government control could only do harm to the cause of knowledge.

Education – the time of decision

In the 1830s the government of India had to reach a decision on the vexed question of whether education for the peoples of India should be forwarded by financial aid from government sources. If so, what should be the object aimed at, and what steps should be taken towards its realisation?

Since 1793 the evangelical interest had been pressing on the government its responsibility for the spread of enlightenment among its subjects and stressing education as the means of this enlightenment.[33] In the Charter Act of 1813 rather grudging recognition was given to this principle, and a small sum of money was set apart for the purpose. But as to the purpose itself there was a great deal of disagreement.

Much has been written on the controversies arising on the subject of education during this period of Indian history; but many who have expressed their views in writing have oversimplified the issue and made of it a straight conflict between 'orientalists' and 'anglicists', between those who believed that the duty of government should be limited to the maintenance and extension of Indian classical learning, and those who held that the basis of higher education should be the English language, and that its aim should be the inculcation of Western science and Western ways of thinking. In point of fact the situation was far more complicated than this.[34]

There were the true orientalists, who believed that the all-important thing was the revival of the knowledge of the ancient classical languages, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Great sums were being spent on the printing of classical works. The opponents of this view had little difficulty in showing that few copies of those weighty works had been sold, and that the number of students in the colleges supported by the government was not sufficient to justify the great expense involved.

All were agreed that, at the elementary level, the medium of instruction must be the local language. The governor-general, Lord William Bentinck (1774–1839) was of the opinion that this should in the main be left to local authorities, with as little disruption as possible of the traditional system. 'The great curse of our rule has been a constant interference with the long-established native systems of Indian society and of the introduction of our own fancies and schemes, which, coupled with *our own* ignorance, have devastated, more than any Maratha invasion, some of the finest provinces of our empire.'[35] It was in accordance with this view that he agreed to the proposal of an investigation into what was actually being done in the way of village education in the three provinces directly under his rule. The carrying out of the survey was entrusted to the gifted William Adam, who had at one time been a missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society.[36] It was, however, agreed that the Indian languages, as they were at that time, were not well fitted to be the medium of higher education.

This being so, one view was that these languages should be enriched by the infusion of Sanskrit terms in order to fit them to the expression of all necessary ideas. One of the leading supporters of this position was the celebrated Indologist Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860), who on 20 August 1834 wrote to an Indian friend:

> It is a visionary absurdity to think of making English the language of India. It should be extensively studied, no doubt, but the improvement of the native dialects enriching them with Sanskrit terms for English ideas must be continued and to effect this, Sanskrit must be cultivated as well as English.[37]

With this position the missionaries were to a large extent in agreement; they had shown that these languages were far richer than was often supposed[38] and that they did in most cases already contain a considerable Sanskritic element.

Finally, there were the convinced 'anglicists', who believed that for India the way to knowledge and improvement was the English language. English must thus be the medium of instruction for all higher education in India. Many supporters of this view believed that, given the presence of an elite educated in English, useful knowledge would be distributed far and wide, and in the end would filter down in Indian languages to the less-educated elements in the population.

Decision had to await the authority of the governor-general. But long before his decision had been made public an independent decision had been arrived at by the educated elite in Bengal. It has often been maintained that the government introduced English only for pragmatic reasons – the need to have a staff of clerks and minor officials who could handle the English language.[39] There is some truth in this, and an equal amount of truth in the affirmation that many among the educated saw in a knowledge of English the path to a career and to valuable emoluments.[40] But this is only a small part of the actualities of the situation. Many of the 'anglicists' saw in the English language the tool readiest at hand for the cultural and moral improvement which they were particularly concerned to promote and, if such 'anglicists' were missionaries, also for the dissemination of Christian truth. Among the Indians, many saw in English the means for the liberation of their country from superstition and from the ignorance which made progress almost impossible. So they made it plain that, if the government would not provide them with education in English, they would provide it for themselves.[41]

The pioneer of the Indian renaissance was not an Indian but a Scotsman, David Hare (1775–1841), a watchmaker who had settled in Calcutta in 1800, and who retired from business in 1816. On his tombstone can still be read the enthusiastic inscription which tells that 'he adopted for his own the country of his sojourn and cheerfully devoted the remainder of his life with unwearying zeal and benevolence to one pervading and darling object, on which he spared no personal trouble, money or influence, viz, the education and moral improvement of the Natives of Bengal'.[42]

David Hare's great achievement was the foundation of the Hindu college. With the help of Rāmmohun Roy and wealthy citizens of Calcutta, in 1817 he brought into being this institute for 'the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia'. It was not long before Calcutta society became aware of this new phenomenon, and agape at the aptitude shown by the pupils in every form of Western knowledge.

The Hindu college came into stormy water through the teaching and influence of a young Eurasian of Portuguese descent, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio. Brilliant, unconventional, a poet, a freethinker and a sceptic, one of the first to give expression to the idea of Indian nationalism, Derozio drew the students to him like a magnet. 'Neither before nor since his day has any teacher, within the walls of any native educational establishment in India, ever exercised such an influence over his pupils.'[43] Radical himself, and hostile to every form of authority, Derozio encouraged his pupils to think, to question and to doubt. Some of these pupils went beyond their teacher, if not in thought at least in conduct. Hindu society was incensed, and a number of pupils was withdrawn from the school. The cry of 'Hinduism in danger' was raised. The inevitable happened. When 'the Directors of the Hindoo college' met on 23 April 1831, only one out of the seven Hindu gentlemen voted against the dismissal of Derozio.[44] The sequel was tragic. Eight months later Derozio died of cholera, at the early age of twenty-two.

Macaulay's famous minute of 2 February 1835 was the final drop which caused the super-saturated fluid of controversy to crystallise into decision. But the weight and effect of the minute have been much exaggerated.[45] Many factors had been at work to make inevitable the policy which Macaulay recommended. C. H. Philips rightly affirms that

> by the spring and summer of 1834 . . . the evidence was increasing daily that English education was the Bengali's own preference. The timely arrival in India of Macaulay . . . had the effect of consolidating a position already substantially achieved. Thus

> Macaulay's well-known minute on education, promulgated on 2 February 1835, marked not so much the crisis of the battle for English education as a victory celebration towards the close of a long-fought campaign.[46]

When the fireworks of rhetoric have been stripped away, the essence of the minute is to be found in a single paragraph:

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.[47]

It was a foregone conclusion that Bentinck would accept the views of Charles Trevelyan[48] and Macaulay. The 'draft on educational policy', probably drawn up by Macaulay himself, ends with the words:

> His Lordship in council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language. And his Lordship in Council directs the committee to submit to government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.[49]

Controversy did not cease with the promulgation of the governor-general's decision. Indeed it has continued to the present day. On 1 March 1908, Charles Freer Andrews, the friend of Gāndhi, wrote in a letter to Sir James Dunlop Smith:

> English as the language of education has justified itself, in spite of great drawbacks. It has had a supreme political justification. It has made India no longer only a geographical expression but a political unity. It has created the hope and the possibility of an Indian Nation. English history and literature have fashioned the political thought of modern India and fashioned it inevitably on national lines.[50]

The government, in making its decision, had no intention of bestowing a special benefit on missions and missionaries; but, in historical fact, the Christian missions were the principal beneficiaries of the new policy. Eager as the demand for English education was in Bengal, it was by no means universal. Ten years later, in 1845, the total number of pupils in government schools was no more than 17,360, mostly Hindus.[51] Even before 1835 there were more children in mission schools than in those of the government; but the decision of 1835 drew the attention of the missions to as yet undreamed of possibilities in higher education. They could draw on an almost inexhaustible supply of highly competent Western teachers, both men and women. Helped by the policies of Sir Charles Wood, from 1853 onwards they were able to expand their programmes, and, when a generation had passed, were among the most powerful educational influences in India.

3 GOVERNMENT AND IDOLS

Missionaries and the evangelical wing in England were naturally delighted by Bentinck's prompt and decisive action over *satī*; they were disappointed in equal measure by what they regarded as his temporisation in another matter of great concern to them – the involvement of government in the affairs of Hindu temples, and what appeared to them its patronage of non-Christian forms of worship.

This was a situation that had grown up of itself and without planning or foresight. Non-Christian rulers had been regarded as the protectors and patrons of places of worship. It seemed natural that, when the English took over the functions of earlier rulers, they should take over also the duties which they fulfilled in relation to the temples. It became part of the business of British officers to see to it that sums due to the temple were paid to it and that the money was used for the purposes for which it had been given. The Company thus found itself, as was contemptuously said, in the position of 'churchwarden to Juggernaut' and 'dry-nurse to Vishnu'.[52]

The debates, which extended over twenty years and were often attended by acrimony rather than by reason, were constantly vitiated by attempts to treat as simple what was in reality a collection of highly complex and delicate issues.

Did any obligation rest on the British government in India to take over from non-Christian rulers the administration of temples, mosques and other religious properties? The realists replied that someone had to accept the responsibility; when no other suitable authority could be found, the government had no alternative but to step in. No issue relating to religion was involved; it was simply a question of property which had to be protected, and of the maintenance of peace and order when crowds were assembled for what in themselves were perfectly legitimate purposes. As Lord Auckland rather coarsely expressed it: 'The public protection of native religious trusts is often grossly misrepresented. They are protected as you would protect a prostitute from robbery or a brothel from burglary and the courts as in all other cases provide that dishonesty shall not fatten on them.'[53] A government, which in England was engaged in setting up the Ecclesiastical Commission (1835–6) to manage the affairs of the Church of England, could hardly be blamed if it took similar action in India.

Had the government, by undertaking these responsibilities, departed from its oft-declared attitude of neutrality in matters of religion? Whatever the intentions of the government, the result of its actions could not be in doubt. *The Friend of India* affirmed that, just at the time at which Hinduism was 'languishing, its temples falling into decay, and its absurdities sinking into contempt as light pours in upon the Native mind', its credit was being restored by the actions of the government.[54] Some doubts might be entertained as to the impartiality of the writer of the article, who was in all probability John Clark Marshman. But one writer who has no axe to grind in the matter has written that 'the net result was that a Christian government, by restoring public confidence in the administration of temples and mosques, had greatly promoted the standing and prestige of Hinduism and Islam'.[55]

This being so, would it not be wiser for the government to dissociate itself entirely from the business, and to hand over the management of temples and mosques to the local people? The inevitable answer was that, in a great many cases, no authority existed to which responsibility could be handed over; even if such an authority did exist, the process of handing over was not something that could be dealt with in days or weeks, and guarantees of just and upright administration would not be easy to find. It was better in the meantime to let things remain as they were.

The government was making enormous profits from the pilgrims. Was not the imposition of this tax an indefensible invasion of the liberty of religion to which the government was committed? Was the retention of revenues from such a source in any circumstances justifiable? The tax had, apparently, been imposed by Muslim rulers; but it had become so much a part of the established state of affairs that there was no sign of any objection on the part of Hindus to the payment of it. It was true that the peace and quiet resulting from government control at festival times had led to a great increase in the number of pilgrims and, in consequence, in the revenues derived from the tax. In sixteen years Gaya had produced £445,941 and Allahabad £159,429. Much had been spent on charitable purposes, such as the provision of hospitals at pilgrim sites. The government could not see any reason against retaining the balance as payment for services rendered.

Were some of the rites carried out at festival times, such as hook-swinging, so repugnant to conscience and to humanitarian ideas as to demand intervention by government to prohibit them? Here utilitarians and evangelicals were in agreement that government could not refuse to intervene.[56]

Did attendance at festivals and Hindu ceremonies involve Christians in actions which their conscience forbade? Here again there could be no doubt as to the answer. The presence of British troops, the provision of music and the firing of volleys as a salute to the gods, were without doubt regarded by many of the worshippers as an honour paid by the British government to Hindu deities. Among both officers and other ranks the number of committed Christians was steadily on the increase; these could not but regard participation in idolatrous ceremonies as inconsistent with their Christian profession.[57]

From 1830 to 1835 the president of the Board of Control in London was Charles Grant the younger (from 1831 Lord Glenelg), who shared in the evangelical predilections of his father. In 1833 Glenelg radically altered a draft on the subject of religious observance which had been prepared in the previous year by the court of proprietors of the Company; he laid it down that government officials must wholly dissociate themselves from the temples and all their affairs; that the pilgrim tax must be abolished, and no revenue be derived from the temples; that the management of the temples must be left entirely to the Hindus, but that the preservation of peace and order at festivals must still be the responsibility of the government. The court protested vigorously at the changes made in its draft, but was overruled by the board of control. Very unwillingly, on 21 February 1833 they had to send the despatch to India in the form in which it had been left by Glenelg.[58]

It is one thing to send out a despatch; it is another to ensure, at a distance of 10,000 miles, that it is actually carried into effect. Bentinck was cautious. Glenelg's successor as president took an almost directly contradictory line. The various governments in India followed suit, and within a short time the despatch of 1833 became almost a dead letter. Disturbed by this 200 of the prominent residents of Madras in 1836 sent to the governor-general a memorial in protest at the disregard of the provisions of the despatch which they had observed; the only result was to bring down upon Bishop Corrie of Madras a reprimand of unexampled severity.[59] It seemed that for the moment the evangelicals had suffered defeat. Matters were, from their point of view, made even worse by a despatch of 18 October 1837 which seemed to neutralise all that had been decided in 1833.

Matters might have gone on in this way for a long time but for an explosion which took place in an entirely unexpected quarter. In 1835 Sir Peregrine Maitland became commander-in-chief of the Madras army. Maitland was an officer of the highest distinction. He had served as lieutenant–governor of Upper Canada from 1815 to 1825, and of Nova Scotia from 1828 to 1834. Like many senior officers of that time he was a devout Christian of strong evangelical convictions. He found himself profoundly dissatisfied with the way in which the provisions of the despatch of 1833 were being observed, and issued a general order saying that these orders were to be strictly obeyed. This action brought upon him the disapproval of Lord Auckland, who was opposed to precipitate action of any kind. When the despatch of October 1837 arrived, Maitland asked the governor of Madras, Lord Elphinstone, whether this meant that the new despatch in effect annulled the regulations laid down by that of 1833; being assured that this was so, he resigned from his command.[60]

Maitland was a well-known man who stood high in the esteem of the Duke of Wellington himself. His resignation on a point of conscience, though it probably came as a relief to Auckland and other high authorities in India, could not but create a sensation in England; it was referred to a number of times in Parliament and in sessions of the court of proprietors of the East India Company.[61] These events led the evangelical wing to redouble their efforts to bring to an end the connection between the government in India and the worship and festivals of the non-Christian religions. Their agitation could have been more graciously carried on; they might have answered that, in the face of so much tergiversation, without a vigorous campaign success could not have been attained.

In 1838 it was decided to send positive orders to the government in India to dissociate itself completely from all connection with Indian religions. The draft despatch as prepared by the court was as conciliatory as possible. The hope was expressed that 'under proper explanations our withdrawal from all interference with the religious observances of the natives of India will be regarded as an additional proof of our respect for their feelings'. The board was in no mood for such milk-and-water language; it overruled all the objections raised by the court, and peremptorily instructed it to send to India clear orders for the severance of all connections with Indian religious affairs as soon as possible. Once again the court sent the revised and accepted despatch to India only grudgingly, disclaiming all responsibility for the consequences that might follow on its promulgation.[62] Needless to say there were no undesirable consequences, either of the promulgation of the orders or of their implementation. There were no demonstrations of disapproval or hostility. Hindus seemed on the whole very well pleased with the abolition of the pilgrim tax. It seemed to them natural that the control of temples should revert to those who counted themselves eligible to worship there rather than remain in the hands of those who, if they had any religion at all, revered an alien God and observed alien customs and ceremonies.

The battle had been won, and that ought to have been the end of the matter. But considerable latitude had been left to the various governments in India as to the manner in which the orders were to be implemented and the pace at which changes were to be made. The transfer of control over the temples and their revenues to responsible Hindus was a tortuous business; it was not always easy to find the right kind of people to undertake the responsibilities, or to make sure that they were exercising them in a manner that would be satisfactory to government. Many more petitions and memorials from Christians were needed to make sure that the matter did not sleep and that obsolescence did not affect the orders more than the practices which the orders had been intended to annul. But by 1856 it was possible to affirm that all outstanding disputes had been amicably settled. Non-Christians seemed to be satisfied with the new attitudes of the Indian governments. At last in 1863 an act was passed under which public servants were fully excluded from any share in the administration of lands assigned for pious uses or in the management of Hindu or Muslim religious establishments. The long connection between British government in India and Jagannāth had been finally dissolved.

4 THE GOVERNMENT AND CHRISTIANS IN INDIA

In 1813 the British government had given grudging consent to the admission of Christian missionaries to India, but it had few and confused ideas as to what was to be done if some Indians listened to the eloquence of missionaries and accepted the Christian faith. Professions of toleration were continually made. It remained the fact that the Indian who became a Christian had fewer rights than anyone else in British India, and was treated by a nominally Christian government in such stepmotherly fashion as to cause thoughtful Hindus to doubt whether the government had any concern for religion at all. In no part of British India was there in existence any code in which the civil rights of Christians were defined and defended.

Sir Alfred Lyall (1835–1911), who held high office both in India and in England, and whose authority is unimpeachable, summarised the situation as follows:

> Up to the year 1831 native Christians had been placed under stringent civil disabilities by our own regulations, which formally adopted and regularly enforced the loose and intermittent usages of intolerance which they found in vogue; native Christians were excluded from practising as pleaders, and from the subordinate official departments, though no such absolute rule of exclusion had ever been set up against them by Hindus or Mohammedans; while converts to Christianity were liable to be deprived, by reason of their conversion, not only of property, but of their wives and children; and they seem to have been generally treated as unlucky outcasts with whom no one need be at the trouble of using any sort of consideration.[63]

Indian Christians were not exempted from the duty of dragging the car of a famous idol. Public opinion in England was stirred when it became known that those who refused to obey might be punished in public by caning, and that they were liable to pay taxes for the support of the idols whose worship they had repudiated.

The Bengal government had been sedulous in protecting its native soldiery from any possibility of contamination by the presence of so much as a single Christian sepoy.[64] Not unnaturally great alarm and despondency were caused when in 1819 the tidings spread that a sepoy had actually been converted and baptised. Prabhu din Pande, a Brāhman *naik* (corporal) of the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry, had been on service in Mauritius. While there, he had seen something of Christian worship and had become doubtful of the tenets and practices of Hinduism. After his return to India he had been stationed in Meerut, where he had sought out a small group of Indian Christians ministered to by an Indian convert who like himself was a Brāhman by origin. In this circle he became a convinced believer and asked for baptism. The chaplain of the place, Henry Fisher, seeing no reason why his priestly authority should not be exercised, baptised the *naik* under the name Matthew Prabhudin. The commanding officer, fearing grave perturbation among the troops, reported the matter to the government; the governor-general appointed a special commission to go into the case. The commission reported that tales of grave consternation among the troops were not borne out by any evidence, and that the *naik* was still respected by his fellow-soldiers.

Government remained unconvinced, and ordered that the convert should be removed from the regiment; but he was assured that his pension rights would be unaffected and was offered appointment in another regiment. He very properly refused the appointment, on the ground that he had committed no offence cognisable by military law and that his removal from his regiment was unjustified.[65]

Even more disturbing to official equanimity was a report which came in from Allahabad in 1830. The chaplain there was George Crawfurd, one of the evangelical stalwarts, and a friend of Henry Lawrence in his early days in India.[66] Crawfurd became aware of a considerable interest in Christianity among the sepoys; some of them went so far as to invite him to come to their lines and instruct them. When this became known, the tumult that it caused was considerable. Crawfurd was told by a senior officer, 'You'll cause a mutiny, Sir, and we shall be murdered at midnight.'

As in the former case the matter was referred to Calcutta, and further action by the chaplain in the manner that he had adopted was strictly forbidden. One concession, however, was made – sepoys might come to visit the chaplain in his own home, if they desired to do so. The instruction continued, and before long a member of sepoys asked to be baptised. Once again a missive travelled to Calcutta. The answer received was uncompromising: under no circumstances could a sepoy be baptised.

Such was the manner in which the Company's government in India understood the word 'toleration'. It was not likely that this understanding would go for ever unchallenged.

Lord William Bentinck was at all times deeply concerned over what appeared to him failures in justice. He could not be unmoved by that denial of elementary civil rights to Christians which was the practice, if not the official policy, of the government of which he was the head. He secured, in 1831, the adoption of a regulation in which discrimination against any individual on the grounds of race, caste or religion was prohibited.

In the following year (on 16 October) regulation III of 1832 was adopted, to clear up doubts as to the interpretation of regulation V of 1831. This went much further than previous decisions towards the recognition of Christian rights and was politically much less palatable to the Hindu mind.

> The object of the enactment was, in fact, to ban the operation of the Hindu law, by which a convert to Mohammedanism or Christianity, becoming an outcast, forfeited his claim to the share of any heritable property, to which as a Hindu he would have been entitled; a forfeiture contributing powerfully to deprive the Hindus of the free exercise of their judgement in the adoption of a different creed.[67]

At the time this regulation caused little disturbance; only after a considerable lapse of years did its effects dawn on the minds of those principally affected by it.[68]

5 THE CHARTER OF 1833

1833 was the year in which the charter of the East India Company came up for renewal. When, on 13 June, Robert Grant, the president of the board of control, rose to introduce the subject in a committee of the whole house, he felt it necessary to ask the indulgence of the house 'as the subject was one which could not be expected to excite that strong interest which belonged to some subjects recently discussed'.[69] The contrast with the debate of 1813 could not but be noted by those who had been present on both occasions.

A number of the issues before Parliament were, however, of the deepest interest to the evangelical and missionary party.

In the first place the act made possible a complete separation between Esau and Jacob, the trading and the governing aspects of the East India Company, so that what Macaulay in picturesque phrase called 'this political monster of two natures, – subject in one hemisphere, sovereign in another',[70] was brought to an end. This created 'the opportunity which the cessation of the trade afforded for the concentration of the attention of the Company on the great duty of well-governing India, undisturbed by the incompatible, and sometimes conflicting, objects of commercial speculation'.[71]

The proposal to increase the Angelican establishment in India was objected to on a variety of grounds, notably that put forward by Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), Member of Parliament for Clare, that the introduction of a dominant church into India was likely to introduce all the rancour and hatred of religious animosity. But, the anxieties of the Scots having been mollified by the provision of Presbyterian chaplains in each of the three presidencies, the opposition died down and it was agreed to expand the episcopate in India from one to three bishops.

At the express desire of Lord William Bentinck, the act included the clause which provided for the equal admission of Indians to every office in India, irrespective of religion, birth, descent or colour. This was intended in part as a charter of emancipation for Christians; it was not expected that there would be a landslide of Indians into office. But, as was explained in a despatch of the directors,[72] the intention was that there should 'be no governing caste in British India; that whatever other tests of qualifications may be adopted, distinction of race or religion shall not be of the number'. Moreover, 'in every view it is important that the indigenous people of India, or those of them who by their habits, character or position may be inclined to aspire to office, should as far as possible be qualified to meet their European competitors'.

In 1833 the Company still had the power both to issue licences to Europeans to reside in its possessions in India and to deport them if they were found undesirable; but in this matter opinion was changing both in England and in India. The principles of free trade were taking hold, and the idea of free residence could not be far behind.

Rather surprisingly, the idea that an increase in the number of European residents would be beneficial to India was strongly supported by two leading champions of Indian rights – Rāmmohun Roy (1772–1833) and Dwarkanath Tagore (1794–1856). The latter, in a speech delivered on 15 December 1829, affirmed that 'colonization would promote agriculture, improve the conditions of Ryots and make the Zamindars wealthy and prosperous . . . I have found the cultivation of indigo and residence of Europeans have considerably benefited the community at large.'[73] These Indians did not, of course, desire the invasion of India by the English labouring class; what they hoped for was the improvement of Indian life by the introduction on a large scale of European technical skills and capital resources.

Among the new provisions under the act of 1833 was that for which Bentinck had argued – almost unrestricted permission for citizens of all nations to take up residence in those parts of India under British control, subject only to the usual provisions safeguarding public order and tranquillity.

The Christian missions were among the chief beneficiaries of the new regulations. Representatives of the Christian cause had long desired unrestricted access to India, and repeated complaints had been made of the high-handedness with which intending missionaries had been refused permission to reside, or even been deported from the Company's territories. Even before 1833 the number of missionaries had been increasing, with more rapid progress on the Protestant than on the Roman Catholic side. After

1833 missionary effort sprouted with great rapidity. Where the country was opened up to European penetration, the missionaries entered in with very little delay. And to the British contingent were now added recruits from America and from the continent of Europe, especially from Germany.

These accessions could not but cause a measure of anxiety to the authorities, and words of warning emerged from time to time from those who regarded themselves as qualified to issue them. On 21 April 1847 a despatch was set forth by the court of directors:

> You are aware that we have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due observance of the principle that it should be acted upon by our servants, civil and military. The Government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants, and our servants should, therefore, be aware that, while invested with public authority, their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. We are, however, led by circumstances of recent occurrence to conclude that a different view of this subject is taken in India, and we, therefore, deem it necessary to call your immediate and particular attention to the absolute necessity of maintaining this most important principle in its fullest extent.[74]

The directors couched their warning in general terms. They did not adduce one single case in which missionaries had been indiscreet, or in which servants of the Company had departed from that caution in relation to matters of religion which the authorities were anxious to maintain. But many officials were moving from an earlier attitude of mild disapproval of missionary work to one of enthusiastic personal support. Strict as they might be in the observance of official neutrality, it was not possible that their personal religious convictions should remain unknown to the Indians by whom they were surrounded.

On the whole the evangelicals had little to complain of in the settlement arrived at in 1833. The government had given as much recognition to the Christian faith as it was right for it to do. The existence of Indian Christians was clearly recognised, and some of the illegal obstacles to which they were subject had been removed. There would now be no hindrance to the settlement of persons of good conduct as missionaries in any part of India subject to British control. To have been content with less would have been wrong; to have asked for more would have compromised the government and would have imperilled the spiritual independence of the work of the missionaries.

6 EXPANDING FRONTIERS

By 1840 England was beyond all question the paramount power in India; but it was not self-evident that this power should be extended to the furthest limits of the sub-continent. Yet conquest does beget the desire for conquest, and without doubt there were some who at that time saw the extension of British power as an inescapable consequence of what had already been done.

In 1843 Sind was occupied. Little could be said on behalf of the Amirs, 'these tyrannical, drunken, debauched, cheating, intriguing, contemptible Ameers';[75] but the charge of aggression can hardly be refuted. The great defender of the Amirs was the evangelical general Sir James Outram (1803–63), at that time a major, as to whose integrity no one ever entertained the smallest doubt. It was noted at the time that he refused his share of the prize money, £3,000, to which he was entitled.[76]

The tumults arising from aggression against the Amīrs of Sind, and from the foolish and disastrous invasion of Afghanistan in 1842, had hardly died away when the British in India found themselves arrayed in war against the one remaining power in India which could seriously be regarded as their rival. The first Sikh war broke out on 11 December 1845.

The last Gurū of the Sikhs (Govind Singh, d. 1708), had transformed them into a military fraternity; but at the end of the eighteenth century their numbers were not large and their powers were not great; moreover, they were weakened by division into no fewer than twelve *misls* or confederacies, a division which made concerted action almost impossible. The power which they attained in the first third of the nineteenth century they owed entirely to the resolute determination of one single leader of genius.

Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) was not attractive either in appearance or in character. But, like the great Akbar, he had a shrewd and penetrating intelligence and was both able and willing to learn from all those with whom he was brought in touch. 'Judged from a commonplace, ethical standpoint, and measured by a conventional rule, he had no moral character at all.'[77] Yet, with it all, no one has ever denied his greatness. He was endowed with an imperious will, accustomed to set himself at great objects and not to rest until they had been achieved, and possessing a power to subject others, willingly or abjectly, to that will. No other Indian leader of the time can be compared with him.

Wiser than many other Indian rulers, Ranjit Singh early realised the strength of the British and made up his mind to remain on good terms with them. In 1809 he entered on a treaty of friendship with them, the Sutlej river being recognised as the boundary between the two dominions. To this agreement Ranjit Singh remained continuously faithful until his death in 1839; the British responded by treating him with frankness and friendship. There was no reason why this alliance should not have continued long beyond his death.

Ranjit Singh left no strong successor to carry on the work that he had begun. His death was followed by years of intrigue and violence. Then, in 1845, the Sikh leaders made the fatal mistake of abolishing the great *mahārājā*'s policy of friendship with the British and defied them by crossing the Sutlej.

The war which followed was very different from the earlier conflicts of the British with the large but disorderly hosts of princes in other parts of India. The Sikhs had a large army, much increased in number since the death of Ranjit Singh, well armed, well disciplined and ably led. Fortunately for the British, a prudent governor-general, Sir Henry Hardinge, had foreseen what was likely to happen and had made arrangements in advance; the hard-fought battle of Sobraon brought victory to the British and the end of the war in sixty days. Between two and three years of uneasy partnership in rule ended in 1848 with the outbreak of the second Sikh war. The battles of Chilianwala (13 January 1849) and Gujarat (21 February 1849) were even more costly in loss of life on both sides. But British pertinacity in the end won the day, and the Sikh kingdom came to an end.[78] The Punjab was annexed to the British dominions, and the work of unification which had been going on for close on a century had reached its term. The sub-continent of India had for the first time in history been brought under a single rule: a man could walk from Cape Comorin to the Khaibar Pass without crossing a frontier. The land was one.

In view of the high courage of the Sikhs, it must seem strange that the Punjab settled down so easily under the new regime. For this a number of reasons may be given; but one stands out above all others. The regime of Ranjit Singh, for all its distinction, had been one of oppression and extortion. The misery under which men had lived led many among the peasants to prefer the new rulers to the old. Accustomed as they were to losing anything up to half the produce of their lands, and finding that now they had to pay no more than one-sixth, or even one-eighth, they naturally contrasted the present favourably with the past. The British officers who took charge got on more easily with the vigorous and martial races of the Punjab than they had with some of the other inhabitants of the sub-continent. And the complaint was often made that the Punjab drew away the best and ablest of the British administrators, and in particular the men who imposed a new and nobler character on the Indian civil service.

7 RULERS AND RULED: THE EVANGELICAL INFLUENCE

A new type of ruler was emerging. The evangelical influence had been growing: the new men made no secret of their sincere, and in some cases ardent, profession of the Christian faith.

Anglican evangelicalism had come to India as early as 1786, in the person of the Reverend David Brown. Those who came to be known as the 'pious chaplains'[79] were all of this school, as was the formidable Bishop Daniel

Wilson, who ruled Calcutta from 1834 to 1858. Far beyond the church, the Christian influences spread out in all directions: it is possible to compile a long list of men both in the army and the civil service who wrought righteousness and commended the Christian faith by the manner in which they exercised their authority. Three among them stood out above their fellows, showing in their careers the variety of temperament and habit which could exist within the evangelical fellowship.[80]

Henry Lawrence (1806–57) grew up in the atmosphere of Ulster Protestantism, sober, devout and rather undemonstrative. In his early days in India he was drawn into close association with a group of ardent young officers, who had gathered around the Reverend George Crawfurd, assistant minister of the old church in Calcutta, and who were living together in bachelor bliss in a large house to which they had given the pleasing name of Fairy Hall. Lawrence found it hard to feel at home with the manner of expressing their religious emotions which was habitual with these friends. His reticence at times caused them some anxiety;[81] but he shared what was at the heart of their experience – awareness of Jesus Christ as master and friend. One of his biographers writes of his living out his life 'speaking and acting simply in religion as though Jesus meant the words He Spoke'.[82]

Henry Lawrence did not find it easy to be a Christian. He was well aware of faults in himself which he found it difficult to overcome – irascibility, moodiness, excessive reserve, introversion. Helped by the companionship of a wife whose Christian expression was more open than his own, and his marriage to whom gave him unlimited happiness during the sixteen years that they lived together (1837–53), he set himself patiently to grow in grace and serviceableness to others. By patient self-discipline he passed before the end into a realm of deep inner assurance where even his best friends knew that they could not follow him. This is touchingly described by Herbert Edwardes in a letter of 20 August 1857:

> Grief had made him grey and worn [he was only 51],but it became him like the scars of a battle . . . He had done with the world, except working for it while his strength lasted, and he had come to that calm peaceful estimate of time and eternity, of himself and the judgment, which could only come of wanting and finding Christ.[83]

Lawrence's greatest work was done in the Punjab, in the interval between the first and second Sikh wars and in the four years after the annexation of that country (1849–53). His courtesy towards all, his concern for justice, his compassion towards a defeated people and his desire that they should not lose their self-respect more than was unavoidable in the circumstances of conquest did much to conciliate the minds of Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims alike. Throughout his life Lawrence was the centre of a band of friends and disciples who regarded him with awe and affection that might almost be called worship. He is principally remembered, however, for the last months of his life, in which, during the early days of the great uprising, he inspired and directed the defence of the residency at Lucknow. When he died, on 4 July 1857, according to the instructions that he had issued when he knew that he was dying, the only words inscribed on his grave were 'Here lies Henry Lawrence who tried to do his duty. May God have mercy upon him.'

At one significant point Lawrence's work lived after him. His compassion had been aroused by the cantonment children – the offspring of the often irregular unions of soldiers with Indian women or, in some cases, with European women resident in India. These urchins wandered about, often with no regular home-life or discipline, without education and without hope in the world.[84] Lawrence planned a school for them, which should provide for them

> an asylum from the debilitating effects of a tropical climate, and the demoralising influence of barrack life, wherein they may obtain the benefits of a bracing climate, a healthy moral atmosphere, and a plain, useful, and above all religious education, adapted to fit them for employment suited to their position in life, and, with the divine blessing, to make them consistent Christians, and intelligent and useful members of society.

The first school, at Sanāwar, was largely financed by Lawrence himself – his contribution amounted to Rs. 86,400. By 1856 the school had 199 pupils. During the life of the founder other schools were brought into being at Mount Abu and at Ootacamund in the Nilgiri hills; a fourth was established as a memorial to him after his death, at Murree. For nearly a century these schools continued to serve the purpose which had been in the mind of their founder.[85]

James Thomason (1804–53) was an administrator of such superlative excellence that, in the opinion of many well qualified to judge, no other could be placed in the same class as he, with the single exception of Sir Thomas Munro. Thomason was the son of Thomas Thomason, noted elsewhere as one of the pious chaplains and as a friend of Charles Simeon of Cambridge. The son had been placed for a number of years during his boyhood under the care of Simeon, and while there had absorbed many of the principles of the evangelical school without the narrowness and harshness of outlook observable in some of the strong supporters of that wing of the church.

On his return to India in 1822 Thomason entered the service of the Company, and held in succession a number of important posts, in each of which he acquitted himself with unusual distinction. He acquired an unusually thorough knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. In 1843 he became lieutenant-governor of what were then known as the North-Western Provinces, with his residence at Agra. Here he was left undisturbed for ten years, spending his time in the exercise of his immense administrative gifts and in the training of a succession of devoted disciples, many of whom were to carry out, in the settlement and organisation of the Punjab, the principles learnt from him.

In three directions Thomason left an abiding influence on the administrative process in India.

He had early realised that the very heart of the life of India is the cultivating class, and that good and equitable government is impossible unless the rights of that class in relation to the land are clearly defined, known and upheld. What was needed was a Record of Rights, a combined Domesday Book and Magna Carta, as it has been picturesquely described.[86] Thomason was able to build on the great work of Robert Merttins Bird, another stalwart described as 'an agreeable companion, a zealous and most able public officer, a warm friend, and a sincere and liberal Christian',[87] who carried forward the work of settlement with such unrelenting energy that in 1841, after eight years of work, he was able to report to the government that, with some small exceptions, the work of the settlement had been completed.

On education Thomason's views were unusual at that time. He recognised that government would have to take a hand in stimulating the demand for education, which was still sadly lacking in the villages and in the rural community as a whole. But it was his desire that the community itself should take the main responsibility and that there should be as little interference as possible with the traditional ways of India.

> The object [he wrote] is to stimulate the people to exertions on their own part to remove ignorance . . . this scheme contemplates drawing forth the energies of the people for their own improvement, rather than actually supplying to them the means of instruction at the cost of Government . . . I want to do something consonant with Native institutions and ideas and also to induce the people to work with me, and exert themselves in the cause.[88]

The main activity of government in this field should be the provision of a limited number of central schools which should serve as a model for those under the direct management of the village communities.[89]

Earlier than almost anyone else Thomason realised that water could be brought under control in India and turned to the service of man instead of being wasted. He had many plans for irrigation canals; the grandest of these was the Ganges canal at Hardwar, the aim of which was to bring water to the barren lands which lay between the Ganges and the Jumna. Without his ardent advocacy it is unlikely that this great work, the predecessor of so many others, would ever have been brought to accomplishment. It is sad to have to record that he never saw the fruit of his labours: the canal was opened in 1854, the year after his death.

It must seem strange that in so many years of able and devoted service Thomason never received a single mark of distinction. But he was not a forgotten man. On the very day on which he died, Queen Victoria signed the document giving her approbation to his appointment as governor of Madras.

Easy and affable in conversation, Thomason maintained impenetrable reserve in certain areas of his being. But everyone who had close contact with him became aware that his Christian conviction was the mainspring of all that he was and did. Less effusive than many of his evangelical friends, he did not speak easily on these matters, but perhaps his faith was all the stronger for this reticence. When he was on tour, all work ceased on Sunday. If there was no chaplain in the company, the lieutenant–governor himself would conduct service according to the Book of Common Prayer, and all were expected to attend.[90] 'Holy' is not a word which would readily be applied to one holding so high a position in public life, but this was precisely the word which the friends of Thomason used when speaking of him. R. N. Cust, who knew him well during the last ten years of his life, wrote of a meeting in 1844, where 'I was struck by his holy demeanour', and, considerably later, of the succession of younger men 'who had learnt their lesson from him, had been the recipients of his friendly notice, and made his holy life their great example'.

Like Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes (1819–68) did not find it easy to be a Christian. Passionate in temperament, adventurous, and brilliant in execution of his ideas, he found it hard to endure the follies of others and the restraints imposed by routine.[91] But, when he had made up his mind to follow the Christian way, he poured into that following a devotion similar to that which he had lavished on his military career.

The almost incredible feat which first brought Edwardes wide acclaim was the pacification of the Kurram valley in 1847/8 without the firing of a single shot. On 17 December 1847 the Waziri tribe agreed to submit to authority, to pay tribute and to dismantle their forts. Within a few months

> tracts of country from which the fertilising streams were diverted by feuds, had been brought back to cultivation by the protection of a strong government . . . through others a canal had been designed and begun; while a people who had worn arms as we wear clothes, and used them as we use knives and forks, had ceased to carry arms at all.[92]

It was difficult for the young warrior not to be complacent. In 1850 he received the unusual honour of the degree of DCL from the University of Oxford. In 1853 he was commissioner of Peshawar, a key position and one of no small danger – Edwardes' predecessor Colonel Mackeson had been stabbed to death in broad daylight on the verandah of his own house.

It happened that there was at that time a group of earnest Christian officers, eight of whom used to meet for prayer on Sunday evenings. The question was raised whether Peshawar might not be a suitable centre for missionary work. Two of the party, in fear and trembling, went to the young commissioner to raise the question with him. A previous request, made to the late commissioner, had been brushed aside with the contemptuous remark, 'No missionary shall cross the Indus while I am Commissioner of Peshawar. Do you want us all to be killed?' – an ironic remark in view of what happened not long after. The reaction of Edwardes was very different: 'Certainly, send for a missionary, call a meeting, and I will preside myself.'

The meeting was held, and the commissioner made an impressive speech:

> Our mission, then, in India, is to do for other nations what we have done for our own. To the Hindoos we have to preach one God, and to the Mohammedans to preach one Mediator . . .
> The British Government has wisely maintained a strict neutrality in religious matters, and Hindoos and Mohammedans, secure of our impartiality, have filled our armies and built up our empire. It is not the duty of the Government, as a Government, to proselytize India . . .
> The duty of evangelizing India lies at the door of private Christians; the appeal is to private consciences, private effort, private zeal, and private example . . .
> In this crowded city we may hear the Brahmin in his temple sound his shunkh and gong – the Muezzin on his lofty minaret fill the air with the azan, and the civil Government, which protects them both, will take upon itself the duty of protecting the Christian missionary who goes forth to preach the Gospel.[93]

Two missionaries came. There was no disturbance, and no one was killed. In the dark days of the great uprising Peshawar was remarkable for the tranquillity which prevailed.

Such courageous declarations on the part of government officials in favour of the Christian faith and missionary enterprise were naturally as water in the desert to evangelicals and their friends in England. A cool assessment of the situation may suggest that such speeches as that of Edwardes, in spite of their transparent sincerity, may in the end have done more harm than good. In the eyes of Indians the least word or act of one in the service of government was clothed with official grandeur; if he spoke in favour of missions, it was all too easy to conclude that he was putting the whole weight of his official authority behind what the missionary was trying to do. The missionary gloried in his spiritual independence of all earthly powers, but it was precisely this independence which the over-ardent servant of the government could prejudice in the eyes of the Indian observer.

The action of Edwardes in favour of missions was not altogether without precedent. When Bishop Heber was in Bombay in 1825, he desired to take in hand there his project for forming district committees in aid of Bishop's College, Calcutta and of the work of the SPG in India. A meeting was held which was attended by the governor (Mountstuart Elphinstone), three judges, the commander-in-chief (Sir Charles Colville) and almost all the members of the government. Heber comments on the special value attaching to the presence of the governor, by reason of his high reputation for talent and for pre-eminent knowledge of the natives of India, their feelings and interests.[94] The presence of the bishop no doubt gave respectability to the meeting. The governor neither presided nor spoke, but it seems clear that he did not regard his attendance as in any way infringing the rules of official neutrality. The bishop was much gratified at receiving no less than £1,800 in contributions from the good people of the presidency of Bombay. The opinions of the non-Christian inhabitants of Bombay on this occasion have not been recorded.

9 · Bengal 1794–1833

I THE EMERGENCE OF THE BAPTISTS

The English-speaking peoples advanced late and reluctantly towards the envangelisation of the non-Christian world. In the eighteenth century only one Englishman was sent to India as a missionary; and he, after only one year's service, exchanged the lowly status of missionary for better rewarded employment as a Company's chaplain.

All this was changed by two apparently insignificant but related events which took place in the year 1792.

On 31 May of that year a small group of Baptist ministers assembled at Nottingham for a meeting of their association. The preacher was a young and little-known minister, William Carey. Taking as his text Isaiah 54: 2 and 3 ('Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes . . . thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles'), Carey spoke with prophetic power, laying before his brethren Christ's commission to preach the gospel to all nations. His sermon could be summarised in two short phrases: 'Expect great things from God. Attempt great things for God.'[1] All were stirred; yet it appeared that, as so often, emotion would not immediately lead to action. In an agony Carey caught hold of the arm of his friend Andrew Fuller, and asked: 'Is there nothing again going to be done, sir?' His voice was heard; before the participants separated, they had passed the sober resolution 'that a plan be prepared against the next Ministers' Meeting at Kettering for forming a Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the heathens'.[2] Though few can have realised it at the time, this was in fact the dawning of a new day. The English churches were ready to enter the field.[3]

The next step was the formation of a society to carry out the purposes of the association. This took place, as planned, at Kettering on 2 October 1792. The operative resolutions were as follows:

> 1. Humbly desirous of making an effort for the propagation of the gospel among the Heathen, agreeably to what is recommended in brother Carey's late publication on that subject, we, whose names appear to the subsequent subscription, do solemnly agree to act in society together for that purpose.

2. As in the present divided state of Christendom, it seems that each denomination, by exerting itself separately, is most likely to accomplish the great ends of a mission, it is agreed that this society be called *the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.*[4]

The subscription taken up on this occasion amounted to £13 2s 6d.

The Society was in existence. Who should go to represent it in India, its chosen field of work? Andrew Fuller remarked, 'We saw there was a gold mine in India, but it was as deep as the centre of the earth . . . Who will venture to explore it?' Carey, the initiator of the whole project said at once, 'I will venture to go down . . . but remember that you [Fuller, Sutcliffe and Ryland] must hold the ropes.' 'This', said Fuller later, 'we solemnly engaged to him to do.' Carey's offer was considered by the Society and approved. So William Carey became the first missionary appointed by the Baptist Society to serve in India, being at that time thirty-one years old.

2 WILLIAM CAREY, 1761–93

The early years of Carey have been so often and so well recounted that no more than a summary is here required.

William Carey was born in the village of Paulerspury, of poor but not ill-educated parents. The return of his uncle Peter from abroad awakened the boy's interest in foreign parts; more important, the uncle, a gardener, implanted in his nephew a love of flowers and plants and all natural things which remained with him all his life. His father's decision to apprentice him to a shoemaker made of him a cobbler. Many years later, when an ill-mannered guest at a dinner party in Calcutta turned to him and said, 'Dr Carey, I understand that you were once a shoemaker', Carey with suitable modesty replied, 'No; not even a shoemaker, sir; just a cobbler' – a mender of other men's old shoes.[5] An apparently inborn passion for knowledge made of him a scholar. When he was twelve years old, he began to teach himself Latin. A few years later he launched out on the study of Greek with the help of a physician turned weaver, Thomas Jones. In 1779 he was brought into contact with Thomas Scott (1747–1821), at that time an unknown curate but later to become one of the foremost among the Anglican evangelicals and a noted commentator on the Scriptures. Carey was deeply impressed by the preaching of Scott and later recorded that 'if there be anything of the work of God in my soul, I owe much of it to Mr Scott's preaching, when I first set out in the way of the Lord'.[6]

As time went on, Carey added to the three classical languages which he had studied some knowledge of French, Dutch and Italian. A friend, passing by the little house in which he lived in Leicester, saw him surrounded by the emblems of the three main concerns of his life – his leather apron, the open book ready to his hand and the beautiful flowers which it was always his delight to grow.[7]

There was, however, by this time a deeper concern than these three – passionate devotion to the Christ whom he had come to know as Saviour. As a boy he had been a conforming Anglican but without deep inner conviction. Through the friendship of a fellow-apprentice, John Warr,[8] he gradually became aware that something was missing, but 'had no idea that nothing but a complete change of heart could do me any good'. In 1779 the crisis came; he entered into a wholly new experience of the grace of Christ, and found deliverance and peace in him.

In 1783 Carey became convinced that baptism by immersion on the profession of faith is the only scriptural form of baptism. Accordingly, on 5 October of that year he was immersed by Dr John Ryland in the river Nene below Northampton Castle. From that time on he was recognised as a member of the Baptist fellowship. In 1787 he was ordained to the Baptist ministry by three friends, Ryland, Sutcliffe and Fuller. He took up work in the village of Moulton on a salary of £11 a year.

As early as 1783 Carey had become interested in the conversion of 'the heathen'. Like many others he had been stimulated by reading the account by Captain James Cook (1728–79) of his voyages in distant parts, and he had become painfully aware of the existence of many nations which had never heard a word of the Gospel. During the next eight years one of his main preoccupations was the collection of information of every kind on these nations, on missionary enterprise in the past, including that of the Roman Catholics, and on the practicability of missionary effort in the present. In 1791 he was ready to go to press. The full title of this pamphlet of eighty-seven pages is *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens in which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings, are Considered.*[9] The little work is entirely free from fanaticism or strained emotional appeal. It sets out in moderate language the character to be expected of missionaries if they are to carry on their work with any prospect of success, and lays on the conscience of all Christians the burden of supporting and, as far as circumstances permit, of sharing in the work of the Christian mission: 'Many can do nothing but pray, and prayer is perhaps the only thing in which Christians of all denominations can cordially and unreservedly unite, and in this the strictest unanimity should prevail.'

So William Carey was to go to India as a missionary. He set out, on a Danish ship, on 13 June 1793, and arrived in Calcutta on 11 November of that year.

3 UNPROMISING BEGINNINGS

The prospects of the mission were not improved by the association with it of John Thomas, a doctor and a Baptist, who had previously had some experience of India.

The merits and defects of Dr Thomas have been well summarised by John Clark Marshman, who must have seen him in early days in India and often heard his character discussed in the family circle:

> He was a man with whom no permanent association of labour could be formed . . . He . . . possessed great fluency of address, and exhibited much spirituality of mind; on the other hand, he was . . . so extravagant and mystical as to bring his sincerity into question. He was warm in his attachments, but irascible and overbearing, and so intemperate in language as to render all intercourse with him hazardous.[10]

In 1786, on his second visit to India, Thomas had been introduced to Charles Grant, the deeply Christian civil servant. Grant had the idea of employing Thomas as missionary at Malda, where he possessed an indigo factory, and recommended him to his equally Christian successor, George Udny. Thomas acquired a good knowledge of colloquial Bengali and also considerable skill in presenting the Gospel to Bengalis; but the defects in his character were such that in 1790 Grant felt it necessary to withdraw his support from him, and Thomas returned to England.[11] Such was the man who accompanied to India the first group of Baptist missionaries.

There was no reception committee to meet Carey when he arrived. He had no clear idea as to what was involved in missionary work, no certainty as to where he should go or what he should do. After he had made various abortive attempts to get settled, and when his stock of money had almost run out, George Udny took upon himself the role of good Samaritan and appointed Carey as manager of a new indigo factory he had just opened at the small village of Madnabati. The mission now had a home and an income. But life at Madnabati was far from easy. The place was remote and unhealthy. One of Carey's sons died; the mental health of his wife declined so rapidly that for the last twelve years of her life she was in a state of helpless insanity. With no one to care for them the surviving sons of Carey ran wild. So five years were passed in remote and obscure exile.

Two good things came out of this time of great trial.

Both Carey and his sons acquired a remarkably extensive knowledge of the Bengali language. An old friend of John Thomas, Rām Bāsu, had sought him out in Calcutta and agreed to serve as Carey's *munshi*. This man was an excellent Bengali scholar, and had in addition a considerable knowledge of Sanskrit. He stayed with Carey for a number of years, instructed him in both languages, and laid the solid foundation of knowledge on which Carey's great achievements of later years were built up.[12]

Carey, as soon as he had mastered the elements of the language, set to work on the translation of the New Testament. By the time of his removal from Madnabati the work was complete, and some progress had been made also in the translation of the Old Testament. But here Carey ran into an unexpected difficulty which was to haunt him and his colleagues until the end of his life. His achievements as a grammarian and lexicographer place him in the foremost rank of Indologists, but he was lacking in that gift essential for a translator – a keen sensitiveness to the finer shades and nuances of idiom and meaning. It was found that this first version of the New Testament was hardly intelligible; for the second edition almost the whole work had to be done again.

Towards the end of the year 1799 the situation of the mission was radically changed. Word reached Carey that four new missionaries, Marshman and Ward, Brunsdon and Grant,[13] were on the way. In view of the probable hostility of the British government in India, the travellers were advised not to land at Calcutta but to proceed straight to the tiny Danish settlement of Srīrāmpur (Serampore) sixteen miles up the river. On 14 October 1799 they presented themselves to the governor, Colonel Bie, and were received by him with every possible kindness. He decided that the missionaries were entitled to stay under the protection of the Danish crown – and stay they should.

William Ward completed his thirtieth year a few days after reaching Serampore. He had received a better education than his colleagues, and had been well trained as a printer. Being 'endowed by nature with a lively imagination and a pregnant wit',[14] he had soon abandoned the more mechanical parts of the printing industry and had served in England as editor of a number of periodicals, each of which he had brought to a high level of repute. Having once met Carey in England, he offered his services in the hope that his skill in printing might help in the production of the Scriptures in the Indian languages. He was a most competent technician, a good manager and a patient student of men and things; and he was reckoned to be the best preacher at Serampore.

Joshua Marshman was one year older than Ward. He was a man of splendid diligence and genuine learning, but his mind was like a jackdaw's nest, full of wise saws and modern instances derived from many sources, but without any clear order or coherence. His devoted son, John, recorded sadly that 'his firmness was apt sometimes to degenerate into obstinacy. From the peculiar constitution of his mind, he seldom went straightforward to an object, but took a wary and circuitous course to remove the difficulties in his way. Hence he was often charged with pursuing a tortuous and designing policy.'[15] The greatest good fortune that ever befell Marshman was his marriage in 1794 to Hannah Shepherd, a lady of whom it was written that she 'was a woman of feeling, piety, and good sense, of strong mind, and great disinterestedness . . . and withal of so amiable a disposition that nothing was ever known to have ruffled her temper'.[16]

Not many weeks had passed before the new arrivals were convinced that chance or divine providence had provided them with a centre for the work of the mission than which none better could be found. But a strong-willed colleague had first to be convinced. Fortunately, the arguments in favour of Serampore prevailed, and Carey was obliged to give way. The British government was inclined to increase rather than to remit its hostility to the presence of unauthorised foreigners; in Serampore they would be under the protection of a friendly and fearless governor.

So began a partnership of many years to which there are few parallels in Christian history. Not many weeks had passed before Carey knew how fortunate he was in those who had come to join him:

> Brother Ward is the very man we wanted; he enters into the work with his whole soul. I have much pleasure in him, and expect much from him. Brother Marshman is a prodigy of diligence and prudence, as is also his wife in the latter: learning the language is mere play to him; he has already acquired as much as I did in double the time. I believe all their hearts are entirely set on their work.[17]

4 PRINCIPLES OF MISSIONARY ACTION[18]

When Carey came to Serampore, he had already had nearly six years of gruelling apprenticeship such as rarely falls to the lot of a missionary. He entered his second period of work with clear ideas as to what was to be done. The Serampore principles can best be set out as a five-pronged assault on the very heart of the non-Christian world, to which in the light of experience a sixth was added:

i. Non-Christian peoples must be approached in their own language. For that reason the missionary must possess as good a knowledge as possible of the local forms of speech.

Carey was not a scholar for the sake of scholarship; all his work was practical and pragmatic in aim. For learning a language the availability of a good grammar is half the battle; no good grammar of Bengali existed, so one must be produced. Carey loved the language, and was convinced that 'the Bengali is intrinsically superior to all other spoken Indian languages' (Carey did not know Tamil).

His imaginative sympathy is shown in his provision of simple *Bengali Colloquies*, written with the help of Bengali scholars, and later enlarged to serve as a ready book for his pupils at Fort William College.[19] These brightly written little studies are described by the great H. H. Wilson as giving 'a lively picture of the manners and notions of the people of Bengal' – too lively in the opinion of those who did not approve of the inclusion in Carey's work of the kind of language used by quarrelling women. Carey and his colleagues opened the eyes of the Indian world to the beauty and to the literary possibilities of pure Bengali as it existed on the lips of the people. He is rightly regarded as one of the creators of modern Bengali prose.

ii. Coming as he does from a wholly different culture, the missionary must be sedulous to acquaint himself with the mind and customs of the people among whom he dwells. The fulfilment of this duty falls into two parts. The missionary should be able and eager to read the religious literature of his neighbours. He should be a trained and accurate observer of the minutiae of custom and in particular of worship.

In 1805, or a little earlier, Carey set himself to translate into English the *Rāmāyana*, the second of the great epics of India. The choice was excellent. The story is known all over India, and the many vernacular versions are all derived from the Sanskrit original. But in 1810, when three quarto volumes had been published, Carey felt that the labour was unrewarding in comparison to some of the other tasks that devolved upon him, and no further volumes were published.[20]

The expert in local manners and customs was William Ward, who had begun to collect information soon after his arrival in India. In 1806 he published the first volume of a compendium on the *Manners and Customs of the Hindus* which by 1811 had grown to four volumes.[21] This work was re-edited and revised time and again, and for a long period remained the main quarry of those who wrote on India. The diligence of the writer cannot but be admired. He drew largely on his own observations, but was not afraid to incorporate sections from the writings of others, such as H. T. Colebrooke, better qualified than he in relation to some parts of his great enterprise.[22]

iii. The primary task of the missionary must be the widespread diffusion of the Gospel among the peoples of India. In a land where the vast majority of the inhabitants are illiterate, this can be achieved only by oral proclamation. The preacher must seek out the people in the streets and in the bazaars, under the great village trees, on the river banks, and wherever they are wont to resort. All the missionaries, as soon as they had acquired sufficient knowledge of the language, spent many hours in this occupation. It was generally agreed that Ward was the most effective among them.[23]

With experience the missionaries found themselves drawn increasingly away from controversy, in the direction of a positive proclamation of Christ and his work and especially of his death and resurrection:

> Carey and I went to a village this morning. Our congregation was noisy; but, whilst he was relating the sufferings and death of Christ, there was all attention. He is more and more persuaded that this is the one net for the catching of converts. Redeeming love is more and more his theme.[24]

This theme recurs in the fifth section of the 'Bond of the Missionary Brotherhood of Serampore':

> In preaching to the heathen, we must keep to the example of St Paul, and make the greatest subject of our preaching Christ Crucified... So far as our experience goes in the work, we must freely acknowledge, that every Hindoo among us who has been gained to Christ, has been won by the astonishing and all-constraining love exhibited in our Redeemer's propitiatory death.[25]

Carey and his colleagues did not fail, when challenged, to point out to their hearers what they judged to be the weaknesses and imperfections of Hinduism and Islam; but on all was enjoined the most scrupulous avoidance of everything that could cause legitimate offence to the non-Christians:

> Nor is it advisable, at once to attack their prejudices by exhibiting with acrimony the sins of their gods; neither should we upon any account do violence to their images, nor interrupt their worship. The real conquests of the Gospel are those of love.[26]

To this moderation there was one grievous exception, not in speaking but in writing. In 1809 the attention of the government was drawn to a pamphlet which had issued from the Serampore press and which by its style and tenour, including abusive remarks about the Prophet Muhammad, could not fail to irritate the minds and to inflame the zeal of the adherents of the faith of Islam.

The facts, as established by the missionaries, are as follows:

A Muslim *munshi*, a recent convert, had been asked to prepare a Persian version of a Bengali booklet comprising a short account of the life of the Prophet. This had been taken almost wholly from the dissertation prefatory to Sale's translation of the Quʾrān (1734), a most respectable authority.[27] The *munshi*, with the zeal of a convert, had introduced into the text new material not in the original, including a reference to the prophet as a tyrant and other remarks which could not but be offensive to Muslim readers. Only 300 copies had been sent out, and there was no sign of any public uproar; but valuable ammunition had been placed in the hands of the anti-missionary party. The Serampore trio took serious account of the dangers into which imprudence had led them and never offended in this way again.

Carey was a man of vivid, extended and sometimes fantastic imagination. His purview ranged far beyond the confines of Calcutta and Serampore. As early as 1805 he had written to George Udny, at that time in Calcutta as deputy of the governor-general:

Our ultimate plan is to settle missionary stations throughout Bengal and Orissa, and in several parts of Hindoostan Proper . . . The places at which we desire to settle missionaries are at or near to Cawnpore, Benares, Dinagepore, Goalpara, Chittagong, Jessore, Cutwa, Dacca, and Juggernath.[28]

The plan was not as visionary as it seemed. By the time of Carey's death in 1833 the Baptists were established in nineteen stations – in Bengal, Assam, the North-West Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh), and as far away as Delhi. To staff these many and varied places the Serampore trio made use of a great variety of workers – Europeans, converted soldiers, Armenians, Anglo-Indians and Indian converts. Only six of those employed by them had been sent out from Europe. Not all these workers were equally satisfactory; a number of enterprises failed to take root and had to be given up. But the work of 'Serampore' was far from being confined to Serampore and its neighbourhood.[29]

A few examples may be given as illustrations of the character of the workers and of the work undertaken.

One of the earliest stations to be founded was Katwa, some distance beyond the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah but still in the Hūglī valley. The missionary appointed to this place was John Chamberlain, a man of whose deep devotion and linguistic gifts there could be no doubt, but whose contentious temper made him at all times a difficult colleague.[30]

In 1810 Chamberlain was transferred to Agra. His place was taken by William Carey the younger, who in this year was first formally introduced into the service of the mission.[31] William was diffident and, suffering from asthma, lacked the vigour of his father. But he served the mission faithfully for a period of forty years.

Chamberlain had made a good start in distant Agra, both with the study of the local languages, and with work for the improvement of the existing Hindi translation of the Scriptures. But, not much more than a year from the time of his settlement in Agra, as a result of a disturbance in the fort in which Chamberlain had acted with less than ordinary prudence, an imperative order was received by the British authorities in Agra that the missionary was to be brought back to 'the Presidency' (Calcutta). Against this decision there was no appeal.[32]

The most astonishing extension of the Serampore mission was that to Burma. In the year 1807 this mission was entrusted to Felix Carey, then twenty-two years old, a man of extraordinary intellectual and especially philological ability, and with no small medical capacity. But Felix's stability was not equal to his ability. After various adventures he returned to India, a bereaved and broken man, heavily in debt. For a time he withdrew entirely from contact with the mission. But in 1818 he returned, in his own touching phrase 'a prisoner of hope' (Zechariah 9: 12). As 'the most complete Bengali scholar among the Europeans of his day', he was of great service to his father in the revision of the Serampore translations. But he never recovered the glowing faith and bright promise of his beginnings. His death at the age of thirty-six was a blow from which his father perhaps never completely recovered.

iv. Like their great predecessors, Ziegenbalg and Fabricius, the men of Serampore were convinced that the Word of God is in itself the great instrument for the conversion of non-Christians, and that therefore it must be made available to Indians, Christian and non-Christian alike, at the earliest possible date. When Carey came to Serampore in 1800 he brought with him the sheets of his first, gravely imperfect, Bengali New Testament.

Once a knowledge of Bengali had been gained, Carey saw that his next business must be with Sanskrit. This was the key to many of the main languages of India; given a reliable translation of the Scriptures in that language, it should be possible for the learned Indians who were now gathering at Serampore and Fort William to produce respectable versions of the Bible in all the languages which belong to the Indo-European family.

For ten years, all the time that Carey could spare from other tasks was given to perfecting his knowledge of Sanskrit and to completing the Sanskrit translation of the New Testament. By 1808 this work was accomplished. The work could now be extended to all the languages of which Sanskrit is the parent.

One year after the appearance of the Sanskrit version, the New Testament was printed in Oriya. Hindi and Marāthī followed in 1813, Punjabi in 1815, Assamese in 1819, Gujarati in 1820. The work was not done at haphazard. Each sheet of each translation was carefully checked and revised; for the final revision the work came to Carey himself. His knowledge of Indian languages steadily increased, and he was telling no more than the truth when he said that, on first hearing a paragraph read in Gujarati, he understood it so well that he hardly needed to ask a question.[33]

Yet it must be questioned whether the method followed was the best that could have been devised. Carey's book-knowledge of languages was astonishingly complete; but he never understood the difference between that kind of erudition and the knowledge which can only be acquired in long years by a sensitive ear through association with those who speak a language as their own. Moreover, there was another cause of inelegant expression and harsh construction in these translations, which has been correctly identified by H. H. Wilson: like many other translators Carey had an almost superstitious reverence for the exact text of the Old and New Testaments – the style and idiom of the Hebrew and the Greek were part of the revelation, and Carey was anxious that nothing should be lost.

In the minds of the Serampore trio speed was as important as accuracy – it was better to have an imperfect translation of the Bible than to have none at all. In this they were mistaken. Once something has been written down, it becomes fixed and almost immutable. Once a translation has become familiar, it is endeared by use. So through version after version inaccuracies and inelegancies persist until they have become an unalterable part of Christian speech. The men of Serampore would have achieved more if they had attempted less.

If this was true even of the versions in languages related, though somewhat remotely, to Latin and Greek, the difficulty could not but be enormously increased when the labour was transferred to languages of an entirely different structure and idiom. One of the strangest of the enterprises of Serampore was the attempt to produce in India a Chinese version of the Bible, the work of translators who had never set foot in or anywhere near China.

By chance, China had come to Serampore, in the person of Johannes Lassar, the son of rich Armenians resident in Macao. As a boy he had spoken colloquial Chinese, and had then been sent to Canton for thorough instruction in Mandarin. Lassar at the age of twenty-four had come to Calcutta. Claudius Buchanan, finding him proficient in Armenian, Chinese and Portuguese, provided him with a generous salary, with a view to his translating the bible from Armenian into Chinese – hardly, it might be thought, a satisfactory way of producing a Chinese Bible. Lassar wisely transferred himself from Calcutta to Serampore.

There a Chinese class was formed. John Clark Marshman and Jabez Carey were set to this grinding labour, joined by six-year-old Benjamin Marshman, as a volunteer who showed great promise and made a game of teaching his little sister the Chinese characters. Then, by an act of heroism akin to folly, Joshua Marshman himself decided that he would join the class. For the next fifteen years he devoted to the immense labour of learning Chinese every moment that could be spared from other tasks, and some hours that might better have been devoted to sleep.

After many years of work Marshman had the satisfaction of seeing through the press the first complete translation of the Bible into Chinese. But already Robert Morrison had arrived in the environs of China and settled at Macao. In the course of twenty years he produced a Chinese grammar, his Chinese dictionary in six volumes, and a complete Chinese Bible which was published in 1823. So Marshman's Bible was superseded within a year of its appearance, and remains only as an exquisite piece of printing on the shelves of the library at Serampore.[34] Looking back over the years, J. C. Marshman wrote: 'On an impartial review of the circumstances and wants of the Serampore Mission, the appropriation of Mr Marshman's strength to a distant object of doubtful expediency cannot be regarded without some feeling of regret.'[35]

In the field of Indo-European languages Carey was on comparatively safe ground. The Dravidian languages of the South, however, are of an entirely different structure and idiom. Carey learned enough Telugu to write a grammar of the language, and enough Kanarese to see a Kanarese version through the press. With Khasi, a language for which a pundit was found in 1813 – 'he believed he was the only one in that nation who could read and write' – he entered the world of the Austro-Asian languages, that widely extended family of which Khasi may be the only specimen in India. The presence in Calcutta of an Afghan scholar made possible the beginning of work in Pashto, which has Iranian rather than Indian affinities.[36] On the Pashto version there is an interesting note from a considerably later date. Sir Herbert Edwardes, in his book *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848–49* (1851), records that 'Ali Khan . . . the uncle of the present chief . . . showed me a Pushtoo version of the Bible, printed at Serampore in 1818, which he said had been given him, thirty years before, at Hurdwaar, by an English gentleman, who told him to "Take care of it . . . hoard it up against the day when the British should be rulers of his country". A mullāh who had read some passages from the Old Testament, affirmed that "it was a true story, and was all about their own Mohammedan prophets, Father Moses and Father Noah".'[37]

Some authorities have stated that the Serampore fraternity dealt with forty-four languages. This may be true, if the list includes such languages as Tamil, where the translations had been made by other pioneers. A more restrained list suggests that Carey and his colleagues dealt with thirty-four languages, of which a number were no more than dialects of Hindi. But, when every allowance has been made for imperfections of knowledge and style, it is an astounding achievement. Not one of the Serampore versions is in use today; but the pioneers showed the way, in which they have been followed by numberless translators of a later date.

v. The early days of Baptist work had been accompanied by few signs of success. Within a year of the missionaries' settling at Serampore, converts began to come in.

The first was Krishna Pal, a carpenter aged about thirty-six. A long-term seeker after truth, he had come to the conclusion that Jesus Christ was the only way to salvation. After serious testing it was decided that he might be baptised.

Carey and his friends were at once faced by a number of problems. The solutions arrived at in these early days determined the policy which was long followed by the mission.

Baptism must not be too long delayed. If candidates evinced some knowledge of the Christian faith, an understanding of what they were doing, and a sincere desire to follow Christ, that could be regarded as sufficient. But baptism must be followed by a long period of instruction and Christian nurture.

It was not necessary to change the names of converts, or to replace Indian names by biblical, still less by Western, ones. As George Smith rather quaintly expresses it, 'Beside the "Hermes" of Rome to whom Paul sent his salutations, he kept the "Krishna" of Serampore and Calcutta.'[38]

The question of caste had to be faced. Carey held that the partial toleration of caste by the Lutheran missionaries in the south had been a mistake. The Portuguese method was the better. By eating with the missionaries, the candidates must show outwardly their repudiation of caste and the sincerity of their desire to be adopted into the Christian family.

So Krishna Pal was accepted for baptism. He and Carey's eldest son Felix went down into the waters of the Ganges together. Carey's description of the scene is characteristic:

> Dec 29. Yesterday was a day of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate the Ganges by baptizing the first Hindoo, viz Krishna, and my son Felix . . . after the address, I administered the ordinance, first to my son, then to Krishna. At half-past four I administered the Lord's Supper; and a time of real refreshing it was.[39]

Ward in his journal wrote rather more enthusiastically: 'Thus the door of faith is open to the gentiles, who shall shut it? The chain of the caste is broken, who shall mend it?' Krishna Pal, allowing for certain aberrations which caused deep distress to his missionary friends, remained faithful in the service of the mission till his death in 1822. He wrote a number of hymns in Bengali, one of which was translated into English and became widely known. Other members of his family followed him into the church. The first Christian marriage at Serampore was between Krishna's daughter and a Brāhman convert, Krishna Prasād – a further indication that caste was no longer observed in the Christian community at Serampore.[40] When the convert Gokul died (7 October 1803), the body was carried to the grave by Bhaireb the Brāhman, Peroo the first Muslim convert, Marshman and Felix Carey, with the help of William Carey the younger and Krishna Pal. 'The crowd was much struck by the reverent love Christians show even in death to one another.'

It has often been stated that Serampore attracted only the lowest of the low. This was simply not the case. Krishna Prasād was a Kulin Brāhman; other Brāhmans also received baptism. The Kyasts (writers) were a reputable caste. The carpenter was very far from belonging to the lowest of castes. The majority of the converts, indeed, came from those who held a lowly place in society, but there was a leavening from other groups which was not to be despised.

Christians, by abandoning caste, came to be rejected by Hindu society and were treated as outcastes. The inevitable result was that they tended to turn to the missionaries for help and support. With the immense extension of the printing works Serampore was able to offer to many among them honourable employment. Some were engaged as teachers and preachers. No financial aid was ever offered to would-be Christians before baptism. But the segregation of Christians from Hindu society, inevitable as a result of the missionaries' attitude towards caste, did tend to an unhealthy introversion, and to a dependence on the foreigner which could not but be inimical to Christian progress.

Carey and his brethren were well aware of this danger. It was their purpose, clearly expressed in the bond of 1805, that the church in India must be an Indian church, and that as soon as possible Indian Christians must be given responsibility for their own affairs:

> Still further to strengthen the cause of Christ in this country . . . we think it our duty, as soon as possible, to advise the native brethren who may be formed in separate churches, to choose their pastors and deacons from amongst their own countrymen, that the word may be steadily preached and the ordinances of Christ administered, in each church by the native minister . . . [41]

Carey was well aware that time must elapse before an Indian church could become entirely independent; he adds the prudent reservation:

> These churches will be in no immediate danger of falling into errors or disorders, because the whole of their affairs will be constantly superintended by a European missionary.[42]

vi. From the day of the baptism of the first convert onwards, the attention of Carey and his friends was increasingly directed to education.

The men of Serampore were not likely to underestimate the value of knowledge. They were for the most part self-educated men, who owed to their own love of knowledge and pursuit of it their position in society and in the church. Carey especially, with his strong scientific bent, could be relied on to view knowledge not simply as an instrument to be used in the service of the Gospel, but as a good gift for the illumination of the mind and for the purification of the affections.

So, in the bond so often referred to, stress is laid upon the provision of native free schools. These need not be directed towards immediate conversion:

> The progress of divine light is gradual, both as it respects individuals and nations . . . Some parts of missionary labours very properly tend to present conversion of the

heathen, and others to the ushering in the glorious period when 'a nation shall be born in a day'. Of the latter kind are native free schools.[43]

The primary schools set up by the mission very soon proved their worth. The level of education in them was so superior to that ordinarily provided by the village schools that the people came round clamouring for the opening of schools. Before many years had passed, the number of such schools reached 100, and in them 8,000 children were acquiring the rudiments of knowledge.

Carey, however, was already casting his eyes far beyond the elementary level. Within six months of his arrival in Serampore he had become convinced of the value of English as an instrument for the advancement of knowledge in Bengal. But he held, rightly, that the time for this had not yet come. Gradually there formed within his mind the concept of a great college for India, in which promising young people, whether Christian or non-Christian, should be encouraged to ascend to the higher summits of learning.

It is not possible to determine exactly at what date this idea took shape in Carey's mind. It can hardly be doubted, however, that the opening of the Hindu college in 1816 was the spark from which the flame was kindled. By 15 July of that year the Serampore fraternity was ready with its plan for 'a college for the instruction of Asiatic Christians and other youth in Eastern Literature and European Science'. From the start there was a certain ambiguity as to the purpose for which the college was to be founded. Marshman, who wrote the prospectus, laid stress on its character as being 'pre-eminently a divinity school, where Christian youths of personal piety and aptitude for the work of an evangelist should go through a complete course of instruction in Christian theology'; at the same time the college was to be open to all, without distinction of caste or creed, 'with the understanding that the institution be divested of everything of sectarian character'.[44]

The part that English was to play in the development of intellectual life in Bengal was not foreseen by the founders of the college. English was to be a recognised subject; it was hoped that the students would acquire such a complete knowledge of it that they would be able to dive into the deepest recesses of European science, and enrich their own language with the choicest treasures of European literature. But the basis of instruction was to be Sanskrit. The study of the classical languages was required of all students, Christian and non-Christian alike, in order that the Christian might have a full understanding of Indian thought, and that the Hindu might go back to the enrichment of the contemporary languages of India by the knowledge thus gained.

To the great advantage of the college, Ward, when he returned from England in 1821, brought with him the Scot John Mack. This young man had received the best classical education which Scotland afforded, and to this had added enthusiasm for the physical sciences, especially for chemistry.

J. C. Marshman wrote of him that 'it is difficult to speak of the varied excellencies of Mr Mack's character, without an appearance of exaggeration'. After he had spoken at a meeting of the Bible Society in Calcutta, the Lord Bishop was heard to exclaim, 'Why was that man a dissenter?'[45] Mack is less well known than he deserves to be, perhaps because the whole of his life in India was given to the service of the Serampore college. In a very real sense, from his arrival in 1821 until his death in 1845, Mack *was* the college, and when he died the glory departed.[46]

The success attained by Serampore was by no means inconsiderable. In 1834 there were thirty-four Hindu students, six Eurasians, and forty-three Indian Christians. (I have found no reference to Muslim students in the college.) These were probably the highest figures ever attained. But this success was simply premature. Inevitably many students were drawn away to the metropolitan and better-provided institutions elsewhere. The Indian church was still tiny; it could not be expected to supply a steady stream of Indian Christian students in sufficient numbers and of sufficient ability to justify the expense of so splendidly planned a college. The defect, however, which really undermined Serampore from the start was the lack of support from the general body of the Baptists in England and in India.[47]

In 1827 Marshman was in Copenhagen, where he encountered many Danish friends formerly resident in Serampore. An interview with the king was arranged, at which Marshman was able to present a petition that the king would grant to the college the privileges of incorporation. Both the king and the crown prince were deeply interested. The charter conferred on the college the privilege of granting the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity, with the proviso that these degrees should not entitle their holders to any special privileges in the kingdom of Denmark.[48] The Arts degree has never been awarded; the Divinity degree was awarded for the first time in 1915, when Serampore took rank as the centre for theological education for the whole of Southern Asia.

5 OTHER SERVICES OF THE BAPTISTS

Three other services rendered by the men of Serampore to the cause of progress in India remain to be recorded.

Reference has been made more than once to Carey's passion for all growing things; nothing gave him greater pleasure than his own beautiful garden. On his death-bed he remarked, 'After I am gone, brother Marshman will turn the cows into the garden'; to which Marshman, who was not endowed with a keen sense of humour, replied, 'Far be it from me. Though I have not your botanical tastes,[49] I shall consider the preservation of the garden in which you have taken so much delight as a sacred duty.'[50]

In 1820 Carey, with the encouragement of Lady Hastings, was successful in bringing into being the Agricultural Society of India, with Lord Hastings, the governor-general, as patron and Carey himself as secretary. To some extent the society fulfilled its hopes that it would so develop peaceful pursuits as to hasten the beating of men's swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks.[51]

The men of Serampore were pietists. This did not mean, however, that they were so committed to the work of snatching brands from the burning as to have no time for anything else. They were, in point of fact, deeply engaged in all efforts being made to eliminate abuses and to improve the lot of their neighbours in Bengal. With their extensive connections and their knowledge of the language, they were in a uniquely advantageous position for being well informed. As early as 1802 Carey received an order to make a full enquiry into the practice of infanticide at the island of Sāgar. 'You may be sure', he wrote to Andrew Fuller, 'that I shall make my report as full as possible, and do it with the greatest pleasure.'[52] In August of that year a government order was passed uncompromisingly forbidding the practice of infanticide; this was so strenuously enforced that when, in 1829, the abolition of *satī* was being considered, many Hindus denied that the sacrifice of children at Sāgar had ever been practised.[53]

From the early years of the nineteenth century the popular press, though hampered by government regulations and censorship, was beginning to play an important part in the life of Calcutta. It is probable that it was to the nimble wits of John Clark Marshman that the patriarchs of Serampore owed the direction of their energies to this field of human endeavour. The anxieties of Carey as to the possible hostility of government were overruled, and the first issue of the first Bengali newspaper ever to be published, the *Samachar Durpan* (the 'Mirror of News'), appeared on 31 May 1818.[54] Success was immediate, though the circulation was never very large. The aim of the paper was not immediately evangelistic, and this perhaps added to its appeal and to its usefulness. Two Indian writers have borne witness to its influence:

> It exerted an influence over the vast population of Bengal, and was an important factor in the national life... the only bond which bound together the people... This was the channel through which political ideas and thoughts genetrated [penetrated?] into the country.[55]

After Bengali, English. In April 1818 Joshua Marshman began the publication of a periodical with the title *The Friend of India*, a name that became famous in Indian history. Originally intended as an organ for the publication of religious news, the *Friend* gradually broadened its scope. Its influence was greatly increased when it began to appear in the form of a quarterly, on the model of the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly Review* (1820). Although claiming to be non-political, it interpreted the word 'politics' in a somewhat generous fashion, and yet managed to flourish under the eyes of a government which was always inclined to be suspicious of the activities of the press.[56]

6 THE LATER YEARS OF SERAMPORE

The later years of the Serampore mission were marked by many sorrows and disappointments.

That which at the time seemed the most grievous of all was the great fire of 11 March 1812. In a single night the mission family saw the labours of many years destroyed. No single life was lost, but the devastation was terrifying. Yet all was not as dark as it at first seemed. Ward, to his astonished joy, found that his steel punches – 4,000 of them, representing fourteen Indian languages – were uninjured. Many matrices were also recovered. Within a week it was possible to start repairing the damage that had been done. On the Sunday following the disaster, Carey preached on the text, 'Be still and know that I am God'.[57]

Carey, deeply impressed by Moravian ideals, had worked out a plan under which the team would form a close-knit community based on common ideals and a deeply rooted mutual loyalty. Each family would have its own modest establishment, for the maintenance of which a small sum as pocket-money would be distributed. But meals would be taken in common. Everything earned by any member of the community would be paid into the common fund and used for the work of the mission. The financial situation at Serampore in later years was very different from the penury of the beginnings. From Carey's salary as professor at Fort William College, from the highly successful school controlled by Hannah Marshman, and from the profits of what was recognised to be the best press in India, large sums accrued to the mission treasury. Marshman, a short time before his death, reckoned that in the course of nearly forty years he had paid about £40,000 into the common fund. The missionaries together must have contributed not less than what was then the gigantic sum of £100,000.

But times change. As younger men came out to India, they desired greater freedom and a manner of life different from that which had so long been accepted at Serampore. As long as Andrew Fuller lived, the influence of the well-tried and prudent friends of the mission kept murmurings under control. But Fuller died on 7 May 1815, and there was no one qualified to take his place. What had been hidden under the surface now became all too plainly visible.

One who had lived through the contentions wrote calmly many years later:

> The management of the mission . . . had not given satisfaction to the missionaries sent out from England, and a feeling of personal hostility had grown up to Dr Marshman and Mr Ward, on whom the unthankful task of administration had chiefly fallen. Perhaps it was inseparable from the position of the parties, that the seniors who had borne the burden and heat of the day for so many years, should expect a degree of deference which the juniors were unwilling to yield.[58]

After five years, what the older men always sadly referred to as 'the schism' was complete. Carey wrote of it:

> I do not recollect in my whole life anything which has given me so much distress as the Schism. Many sleepless nights have I spent examining what we have done to give it occasion, but can discover nothing on which I can fix. The Mission, however, is rent in twain, and exhibits the scandalous appearance of being divided against itself.

At a certain point of tension division becomes necessary. A new Calcutta Missionary Union was formed, to which the younger men transferred their allegiance. On 15 August 1820 Carey was able to write to his son Jabez: 'I am sure it will give you pleasure to learn that our long-continued dispute with the younger brethren in Calcutta is now settled.'[59]

Far worse was to follow. In England venomous attacks were made, especially on the character of Joshua Marshman. Of all absurd accusations, it was hinted that these great men, who had poured their treasures into the coffers of the mission and were to die as poor as they had lived, were building up great fortunes for themselves and putting their children into positions of grandeur.[60] Not till 1830 was peace patched up, and then only peace of a kind.

Dark shadows continued to gather round the veterans. On 7 March 1823 William Ward died suddenly of cholera. The blow was almost unbearable. In matters of business he was the ablest of the three. But he was far more than that. He had brought each of Carey's sons in succession to living faith in Christ. ('He was my spiritual father', wrote the younger William truthfully.) With his deep understanding of the Indian mind, he was of all those at Serampore the most skilful guide and helper of the converts. It seemed that without him the work could hardly go forward.

For some time Carey had been gently sinking towards the grave. One last task he was able to complete – the eighth and final revision of the Bengali New Testament. This was finished in June 1832. He lived on for another two years, with little suffering and on the whole in great contentment. The end came on 9 June 1834. In accordance with his instructions nothing was inscribed on his tombstone but his name, the dates of his birth and death, and two lines from a hymn of Isaac Watts:

> A wretched, poor, and helpless worm,
> On Thy kind arms I fall.[61]

Dr Marshman lived for three years after his colleague's death, and retained to the end his astonishing clearness of recollection. Five days before his death he was able to attend the weekly prayer meeting held in the chapel. He died on 6 December 1837, having composed himself to a sleep from which he did not awake. In some ways the most gifted of the three, he was also the least attractive. Of his gifts, and of the great services that he had rendered, there could be no doubt. Had he been more gracious in his manner, the services would have been even more valuable.

On 26 April 1846 John Mack was carried off by a sudden attack of cholera, having spent just half his life at Serampore. He was described, not inappropriately, as the last of the giants. Hannah Marshman, having survived her husband by ten years, died at Serampore aged eighty, on 1 March 1847; she was the last survivor of the group which had come to Serampore in 1800.

John Clark Marshman decided to return to England in 1852, to give himself to the composition of the invaluable work, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward.* He lived on until 1877, with no proper recognition of his great merits.[62]

In 1854, just sixty years after Carey had set foot in India, the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society agreed to take over Serampore College as its missionary and educational training school. The breach with the old Serampore was thus finally healed. Many mistakes had been made and much suffering endured; but the men who made Serampore left behind them an imperishable memory. No short account can do justice to all that they achieved. What they accomplished and what they suffered were in many ways paradigmatic for the whole development of Protestant missions in India.

7 OTHER MISSIONS AND THEIR MISSIONARIES

At the end of the eighteenth century the only missionaries in Bengal were the Baptists, who had been able to establish themselves under Danish protection at Serampore. But word of their achievements spread far and wide in the West, and the years between 1794 and 1833 were marked by a steady increase in interest in the missionary cause and in willingness on the part of young people to offer themselves for missionary service.

The London Missionary Society sent its first missionary to India in 1798. Nathaniel Forsyth, a Scot, had studied at the University of Glasgow, and was thus the first missionary to represent the academic tradition of the British Isles.[63] Forsyth, warned by the experiences of others of the hostility of the British government in India, settled at Chinsurah, a few miles north of Calcutta, where the Dutch provided the same protection as the Danes had offered to Carey and his friends at Serampore. It was good that the monopoly of the Baptists, which they had never desired, should be broken; but Forsyth was hardly notable as a missionary. Unlike the Baptists, he was not a linguist; and, though he stressed the importance of education, he had evidently forgotten his own boyhood, and was 'not sensible of the difference between the constricted range of a child's mind and the expansive nature of his own'.[64] By 1820 eight missionaries of the LMS had served in Bengal.

After 1813 conditions for the residence of British missionaries in India were considerably eased. The first two missionaries of the Church Missionary Society reached Calcutta in 1815, and they were followed by two others in 1817. By the time of the next revision of the charter in 1833, twenty-eight Anglican missionaries of the evangelical wing had reached North India, but not all of these were resident in Bengal. As in other parts of the field, a considerable number of the missionaries of the CMS, and some of the most distinguished, were Germans.

For the time being the Scottish Missionary Society and the American Board confined their efforts to western India. The one representative of the Netherlands Missionary Society, A. F. Lacroix, who arrived in 1821, after six years transferred his services to the LMS. Of the missionaries of the time none was more highly regarded and more deeply loved than he.[65]

In the period under review the SPG sent to Bengal fourteen workers; but a number of these were teachers at Bishop's College, Calcutta, rather than missionaries in the strict sense of the term.

The number of societies now engaged in the work must not be allowed to conceal the predominance of the Baptists. During this period, 'stations' had come into existence in twenty-six centres. In eighteen of these the Baptists had been the pioneers; the rest of the societies together had only eight.[66]

All the missionaries of the time were agreed that the aim of missionary work must be the conversion of the non-Christians. The preaching of the Gospel must be the major part of missionary activity. But during the first third of the nineteenth century there was a steadily growing consensus of opinion that preaching is not enough. Inveterate prejudice had made the minds of Hindus and Muslims alike singularly unreceptive of the Christian message; a kind of softening process must go on, and for that the only available instrument was education. The first bishop of Calcutta, T. F. Middleton, put the matter clearly and simply:

> The minds of the people are not generally in a state to be impressed by the force of argument, still less to be awakened to reflection by appeals to their feelings and to their fears... what is further required seems to be a preparation of the native mind to comprehend the importance and truth of the doctrines proposed to them; and this must be the effect of education.[67]

Schools could be started in many places; desire for education was widespread, and the superiority of education in the mission schools to that available elsewhere was self-evident. But should mission schools be entirely secular, or should an element of Christian propaganda be included?

Missionaries have constantly been accused of forcing upon unwilling listeners doctrines which they could not comprehend and in which they were not interested, and of indoctrinating children at an age at which the faculty of discrimination had hardly begun to develop. The facts seem to be at variance with the affirmations. It is clear from the sources that missionary educators on the whole showed an almost exaggerated care in avoiding anything that could unnecessarily cause offence and any imposition of Christian doctrine on minds that were not ready to receive it.[68]

On the principle all were agreed. There were interesting differences of opinion as to the manner in which the principle was to be applied.

The LMS workers at Chinsurah started with a purely secular curriculum, which it was hoped would not cause any religious controversy.

Serampore was a little less cautious. Aesop's *Fables* were regarded as useful. *Moral Tales*, mainly in the words of holy Scripture but without too evident a Christian colouring, were also introduced. 'The soul of a man is of more value than the sun, the moon and all the stars' is a sentiment to which it was unlikely that the rising generation would object.[69]

Not all the missionaries were satisfied with the state of the schools. George Mundy, who arrived in Bengal in the service of the LMS in 1820, wrote to London soon after his arrival:

> I am exceedingly disappointed regarding the state of the schools. I had not the slightest idea but that they were conducted on Christian principles, and was much hurt when I found myself sent out to sup^{d}. schools where the Scriptures were not introduced, and where not the least religious instruction is allowed to be given.[70]

Less caution than might have been expected was expressed by William Adam, the Baptist who had accepted the Unitarian position; he did not expect missionaries to avoid all reference to Christianity:

> On the contrary, there should be a faithful exhibition of those great principles of religion and morality which the reason and conscience of men even when most corrupt and debased will seldom refuse to acknowledge, accompanied with the confirmations which every professed revelation more or less strongly supplies.[71]

The missionaries of the CMS, with their strong evangelical convictions, were likely to move in the direction of the other extreme. In 1818 the Calcutta committee of the Society felt it desirable to issue a word of warning:

> The Servants of Christ . . . must unite the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove . . . it is folly to excite disgust by an open and direct attack on hereditary superstitions . . . The Gospel of Christ requires us . . . to admit the light by a wise system of adaptation to the strength of the visual organ, and to communicate instruction as men may be able to bear it.[72]

The wisdom of the serpent showed itself first in those schools in which the learning of English had been introduced. In 1820 the German missionary J. A. Jetter at Burdwan introduced in his school the reading of St Matthew's Gospel in English; on which the pious chaplain Thomas Thomason commented that, however much people 'may dislike Gospel Truth, they do not object to the learning of English from the Gospel itself'. Not long after, the reading of Scripture was introduced also in the Bengali schools of the CMS throughout its area of work. By 1825 the same policy was being followed in the schools supported by the SPCK.

Bishop Heber, who arrived in India in 1823, noted in a letter of 13 November 1824 that 'the missionaries . . . have in no instance that I have heard of (though I have made pretty diligent enquiry) pursued a line of conduct likely to give offence to the natives';[73] but he also noted with pleasure that in the schools, which he was also at pains to visit, the prejudice against employing Christians seemed to have disappeared, and 'the pupils seem to attend with interest to the Scripture lessons imparted to them'.

The missionaries were pioneers, more than in any other field, in promoting the education of girls. Hindu society did not regard it as in any way necessary or desirable for a girl to be able to read and write; her duties lay elsewhere. Protestant missionaries from the start were determined that the privileges made available to boys should be accessible also to girls. Serampore had made a beginning in the matter.[74] But the prejudices against schools for girls, and even against the education at home of girls of good family, proved so strong that little progress could be made.

A notable step forward was taken when in May 1821 the British and Foreign School Society, stimulated by William Ward, decided to send Mary Anne Cooke to Calcutta to teach girls in association with the Calcutta School Society. This arrangement could not be carried into effect. In 1824 Miss Cooke's work was taken under the wing of a newly formed society with the splendidly nineteenth-century title, 'The Ladies Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its Vicinity', presided over by Lady Amherst, the wife of the governor-general.[75] Bishop Heber, in a letter of 16 February 1824, set out the principles on which the work of Miss Cooke was based:

> not . . . to attempt in any direct way the making converts, but to give to as many of the Indian females as possible, an education of a useful and moral character; to enable them to read the Scriptures; and to leave them, in short, in such a state of mental cultivation as will enable them in after life to choose their religion for themselves.[76]

The number of girls affected by Christian education was admittedly very small. But the pioneer in the scientific study of this period has expressed the opinion that

> the efforts of the missionaries before 1833 were of supreme importance. They alone brought the status of Indian women under public question . . . 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.[77]

The multiplication of societies and missionaries opened out many new possibilities for Christian work; but this development was not without its disadvantages. What had appeared as a united front when the Baptists were alone in the field was now fragmented. The missionaries did not always find it easy to get on with one another; a spirit of rivalry and mutual criticism soon began to make its influence felt in Bengal.

The Baptists have never been easy neighbours for Christians of other communions. Mutual affection and esteem were maintained, but questions of church order, and in particular the question of close or open communion, could not but raise their heads. What Carey had learnt from his friends in England was the stricter rule, that only those who have been baptised by immersion on profession of faith may be admitted to the Lord's Supper. For five years this was the rule at Serampore, though this was regretted by some among the brethren. But the presence at Serampore from time to time of honoured friends who were not of the Baptist persuasion made it increasingly difficult to maintain the rule. Ward and Marshman, who maintained the more liberal view, were successful in persuading Carey. Ward wrote joyfully:

> I rejoice that the first Baptist church in Bengal has shaken off that apparent moroseness of temper which has so long made us unlovely in the sight of the Christian world. I am glad that the church considers *real religion* as the ground of admission to the Lord's table.[78]

Matters continued in this state for a number of years. But the brethren in England were by no means happy. Andrew Fuller, the well-tried friend of the mission, regarded this as far more than a difference in detail regarding the ordinance. He succeeded in persuading Marshman; the latter had little difficulty in securing the adhesion of Carey, who had always regarded the stricter rule as 'the safer side'. Ward never agreed, but would not allow such a difference to lead to a breach of fellowship within the Baptist community. The decision, however, could not but cause distress to many friends of Serampore who took the other view.[79]

If Baptists could sometimes be a trial to Christian friends, so also could Anglicans. Here the difficulty arose not so much from the missionaries, who maintained friendly and intimate relations with their non-Anglican brethren, as from the chaplains, who not infrequently failed to realise the situation and the sensitivities of 'dissenters', and sometimes gave grave offence without knowing that they had done so. The benevolent attitude of Bishop Middleton towards the Baptists earned their gratitude. Yet Middleton was always aware of his position as a bishop of the established church, and was much concerned that its position should be recognised and its privileges in no way abated.[80]

A much more difficult character than Middleton was Claudius Buchanan, who was in India from 1797 until 1806. Able, determined and devout, Buchanan had vision and imagination beyond most of his contemporaries. But, courteous as he always was to the Baptists, he never imagined that they could be on an equality with a graduate of the University of Cambridge who was also vice-provost of the Fort William College. When in 1807 he put forward the plan of a British 'propaganda' to be formed at Serampore and gradually to take over the whole work of Bible translation, the Baptists found it impossible to agree, and what even the gentle Ward called 'a dreadful collision' took place.[81]

Yet, when Buchanan set out for England, Marshman wrote to Andrew Fuller:

> I must, after all, declare that he is a good man, thoroughly evangelical, a friend to the cause of God, but by no means an enemy to us; a man with whom friendship is desirable, but not coalition; the services he has rendered to our mission *ought never* to be forgotten. A little too much of worldly prudence – not avarice – and, perhaps, a touch of ambition are his only blemishes.[82]

The friendly toleration which existed between the various Protestant agencies was not in general extended to the Roman Catholics. The differences were not merely doctrinal. The Baptists especially were distressed at the level of ignorance in which the Roman Catholics had been left by their pastors, and had little hesitation in taking over Roman Catholics who wished to join another fold. It is pleasant to be able to record one exception to the rule. A French missionary of the Paris society, Fr Tabard, had arrived in Cochin–China in 1820. At the early age of thirty-three he had been appointed vicar apostolic of that area. Having been driven out of his field of service, he came by way of Penang to Calcutta, where he hoped to arrange for the printing at the press in Serampore of the dictionary of the Vietnamese language on which he had long been engaged. During nearly two years he was the guest of John Clark Marshman. Just as he was about to leave India for Rome, he received orders to undertake the ungrateful task of vicar-general of Bengal. Twenty-two months later, on 31 July 1840, he died suddenly. Marshman published, in *The Friend of India*, a long account of the work of the bishop, praising highly his competence in the fields of literature, medicine and biology, and in the language, history, laws, customs and religion of Cochin–China.[83]

Missionaries in Bengal certainly had their controversies and contentions; but this is only one side of the picture, and too much stress must not be laid on it.

A 'Monthly Missionary Prayer Meeting' was held in Calcutta with fair regularity from 1816 onwards. Naturally no Roman Catholics were present; but it seems that the doors were open to all missionaries of recognised non-Roman societies,[84] and also to 'a few of the influential laymen who had identified themselves most prominently with the missionary cause'.[85] Out of the Prayer Meeting grew a more formal assembly:

> In 1831, the missionaries of the various societies in the city [Calcutta], few in number, but most friendly to each other, established a monthly meeting for prayer and consultation, which by degrees settled down to what was soon known as the CALCUTTA MISSIONARY CONFERENCE. The fact that they were strangers in a strange land, yet brethren of one faith, devoted to one object, and serving the same Master, naturally drew them to each other. Special reasons for their union were found in the advantage of bringing together their common wants and experience, of making common cause in their many difficulties, and of combining publicly for united action in great public questions . . . very numerous have been the subjects requiring prompt and decided action on the part of Christian men, in which this Conference has brought out measures of high importance which have been productive of great good.[86]

The Conference continued in being for a good many years, and prepared the way for something more important than itself. It happened that in September 1855 a large number of missionaries had occasion to be in Calcutta. The opportunity was taken to organise a General Conference of Protestant missionaries in Bengal. This was attended by forty-seven missionaries of a variety of societies. The meetings, which extended over four days, were found by all those present to be valuable. A precedent had been set. In December of the same year a conference was held at Benares, attended by thirty missionaries, among them the veteran A. F. Lacroix of Calcutta, who had presided at one of the sessions of the Calcutta conference. These gatherings may be regarded as in some ways the small seeds out of which was to grow in due time the great World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910.[87]

10 · New Beginnings in the South

1 THE END OF THE DANISH MISSION

In 1786 Christian Friedrich Schwartz entered on the sixtieth year of his life and the thirty-seventh of his missionary service. He lived for another eleven years. His life, therefore, covered the whole period of the greatest expansion and development of the Danish mission, and was prolonged into the period of its decline. Schwartz was aware of the beginning of this decline and of its causes. But, as long as he lived, Thañjāvur continued to be the centre of harmonious and fruitful activity, all of which revolved round the tirelessly active patriarch.

During these later years official preoccupations added greatly to the labours of the missionary. In a letter of 1793 he remarks that 'for two years I have discharged the duties of a resident'.[1] This meant that his verandah and the enclosure in front of his house were constantly crowded with those who came to him on official business or to seek his favour. They were left in no doubt that the first concern of the missionary was the proclamation of the Gospel:

> Those who came to see me in the morning attended our morning prayers; others who called at night heard the instructions given to the candidates for baptism. Sometimes forty or fifty persons are present, both of high and low castes. Frequently from fifteen to twenty Brahmans are sitting by, while I am catechising. They sit quietly for an hour, and hear everything that I have to say.[2]

Schwartz's missionary concerns by no means excluded other interests and concerns for the whole man. His garden at Thañjāvur was famous, including a number of rare trees and plants; and, being intended for use as well as beauty, it supplied the greater part of the needs of the mission family for fresh vegetables. Schwartz encouraged the development of such cottage industries as spinning among the girls in the mission schools. The baptism of a number of people from the Kaḷḷar (robber) community called out another example of his concern for practical affairs. These converts had fields which they had much neglected. Schwartz was insistent that their irregular and often lawless way of living must be replaced by steady diligence; but, if they were to make a satisfactory living out of their farms, agriculture must be improved:

> As the watercourses in this district had not been cleared for fifteen years, by which neglect the cultivation was impeded and the harvest lessened, I entreated the collector to advance a sum of money to clear them . . . The work was completely done, and those inhabitants who formerly, for want of water, had reaped only four thousand large measures, called *kalam*, now reaped fourteen thousand *kalams*, and rejoiced in the increase.[3]

The mission in Thañjāvur had by now taken on the aspect of a considerable and flourishing concern. There were three churches – a small church in the fort, mainly for the use of Europeans (from 1785 comes the astonishing note that in this church about 100 soldiers of the garrison gathered each evening for a short service), a Tamil church at a distance of about a mile from the fort, and a third church at the outstation of Vallam about six miles away, where another regiment of Europeans was stationed.

Some notes may be added here on the numerical growth of the congregation. In 1792 one hundred and forty six non-Christians were baptised; in 1793, the year in which Schwartz was absent from the station, forty-three; in 1794, sixty-two; in 1795, twenty-nine; in 1796, thirty-nine. These figures show both the attraction exercised by the Gospel and the care taken by the missionaries in admitting enquirers to baptism. In the year of the death of Schwartz it was reported that the Christian community in the Thañjāvur area, apart from those in Rāmnād and Pālayankoṭṭai, numbered three thousand, the majority of whom were from the more prosperous castes.

Schwartz retained his health and vigour until November 1797. In that month he fell seriously ill; though his robust constitution for some time resisted the spread of infection, it became clear that he could not recover. The end came on 14 February 1798. The death of this great and good man was greeted with universal lamentation; the respect in which he was held by all is clearly shown in the monuments erected in various places in his memory.[4]

In quiet and somewhat isolated Thañjāvur, matters might go forward very much as they had always done, but the mission as a whole could not remain unaffected by what was going on in the rest of the world. The Enlightenment had burst upon Germany. Schwartz, shortly before his death, had written sadly: 'The condition of the church in Germany is grievous; they have invented a Gospel which was unknown to Paul and the other apostles; they cast aside the precious sacrifice of Christ, and the powerful workings of the Holy Spirit.'[5] It is not surprising that the supply of missionaries able to carry on in the old ways was drying up.

The most notable among the later missionaries was Dr Christopher Samuel John, probably the ablest of all the missionaries sent out by Halle; he arrived in 1771 and continued in service in Tranquebar without a break until 1813. With him was his 'Jonathan', J. P. Rottler (1749–1836), who left Tranquebar for Madras in 1803. The passion of John's life was education; he greatly improved the mission schools and, to the distress of his colleagues, opened a school for European pupils, which he ran at considerable financial profit to himself.[6] John was a devout man, who kept his eye on the pastoral well-being of the congregations, but the conversion of non-Christians ceased to be the centre of his missionary concerns.

The missionaries were not idle, but time that in the earlier days would have been devoted to direct missionary work was now spent, not unprofitably, in scientific pursuits. In a statement made by the secretary of the mission in 1785 we are told that the missionaries are ready

> as far as their work and means permit, to study and contribute to the knowledge of learned men in Europe . . . we have already provided them with a telescope, microscope, thermometer, air-pump, and an electrical machine; but they still need a large terrestrial globe, as well as a celestial one, besides the latest works in natural history.[7]

The supply of missionaries did not completely fail. In 1791 Augustus Frederick Caemmerer arrived and settled in Tranquebar, which was to be his home for forty-six years. But it was his destiny to watch a long slow process of decline and to be present at the death of the old Danish mission.

Support from Denmark was erratic and could not be depended on. The English mission was in the field with much of the strength of English Christianity behind it. In 1819 Caemmerer yielded to the inevitable, and asked the SPCK to assume temporary responsibility for the work, except in Tranquebar itself, for which the Danish mission was still responsible. This meant the transfer of eleven congregations with their catechists and chapels, and of the care of 1,300 Christians, from the Danish to the English field.[8] In practice this transfer was less startling than might appear. All that it meant was that J. C. Kohlhoff, the son of Tranquebar missionaries, who had spent his early years at Tranquebar, would extend his operations and would assume responsibility for Christians who had not been earlier under his care. It does not appear that any disturbance took place in any of the congregations affected.

A more radical change took place in the year 1825, when the SPG, now able under its charter to work in any of those parts of India which had come directly under British rule, agreed to take over all the work of the SPCK in those areas.[9] The consequences of the change were more extensive than perhaps any of the parties to the operation had foreseen. It was not the intention of the SPG to dislodge any of those already in service in India;

indeed, the SPCK was under obligation to maintain Kohlhoff and some others until the day of their death. But as a chartered society the SPG felt itself bound to carry on the work on purely Anglican lines, supplying as missionaries those who had received ordination in the Anglican tradition or in one related to it.[10]

The transfer was carried out gradually, and with tender regard for the feelings of all concerned. The churches would probably have become completely reconciled to the changes had not the matter of caste become a centre of burning strife.[11] The old Lutheran forms of worship were retained in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi until 1826, and in Thañjāvur until 1844. No suggestion was ever made that the venerable Pohle and Kohlhoff should be ordained according to the Anglican rite or should be regarded as unqualified to hold the positions in the church which they had so long held. In 1817 the SPCK asked Dr Rottler, who was already sixty-eight years old, to move to Madras and to take charge of the work there. Rottler had no anti-Anglican prejudices. He translated the Anglican Book of Common prayer into Tamil,[12] and introduced it in his congregation. Tamil Christians in Madras and its neighbourhood, surrounded as they were by English and Anglican influences, seem to have raised no difficulties at all.

2 MOVEMENT IN THE FAR SOUTH

To most observers the events recorded in the last section must have appeared as an end; but in Christian history it often occurs that an end is also a beginning. In the early years of the nineteenth century the first community movement towards a Protestant church in India came about.

The Shānārs – or, as they prefer to be called, the Nādārs – are a large community in the extreme south of India, and were divided at that time between the British-controlled district of Tirunelveli and the independent Indian state of Travancore. Some of these people are farmers, but many of them earn their living as climbers of the palmyra tree. The home of many is in the strange area known as the palmyra forest, where the tall, straight trunks stand so thickly together as to give the illusion of a real forest. The hard, exacting work of climbing the trees to extract the sweet juice gives to the men immense physical strength and hardiness, matched by a certain ruggedness of temperament. When they were first brought under Christian influences, the great majority were illiterate; but, since education has been made available, a number of them have given evidence of great intellectual powers, and from among them have come outstanding leaders in the Christian churches of India.

In the Hindu social order the Nādārs did not rank high. Their association with the production and sale of alcohol carried a certain social stigma and a measure of exclusion from Hindu society. The touch of a Nādār has never been regarded as defiling, but Nādārs were not permitted to enter Hindu temples. The uncertainty of their status may have made them inclined to look with favour on a different social system which could offer them recognition such as could not be hoped for within the Hindu social order.[13]

Considerable obscurity attaches to the circumstances in which a notable movement into the church began. The first convert drawn from the community was a young man from the village of Kālankudi, whose Hindu name was Sundarānandam, and who on baptism became David. Born in or about the year 1775, this man had come into contact with Kohlhoff, was instructed and baptised by him, and in 1796 was sent to help Satyanādhan in Pālayankoṭṭai. He made his way to his own village and there was made welcome by his relatives, who had not seen him for a number of years. He soon found among them considerable willingness to listen to the new truths which he communicated to them and to believe. The first baptisms took place in October 1797, in a village named Shanmugapuram, not far from a considerably larger village which, after the entire population had become Christian, took the name Kadāchapuram, the village of grace. The new believers were subjected to much harassment at the hands of their Hindu neighbours; though this rarely reached the level of violence and personal injury, it could be disagreeable and wearying. David was able to secure a plot of land some miles away, and there the refugees settled. As this was the first settlement in that area which could be called a Christian village, it was given the name, Mudalūr, the first village; and under that name it has continued to the present day as a centre of Christian life and activity.

The movement grew gradually, and then suddenly gathered pace. The figures for the years 1802 and 1803 are astonishing. A carefully kept record makes it plain that between 2 April 1802 and 24 January 1803, forty-six baptismal services were held and 5,629 persons were baptised.

The actions of the Lutheran missionaries and their Indian associates have been harshly criticised; when so many people were baptised in so short a time and with so little instruction, how was it possible that there could be any real faith among them? It is true that, eight years later, at a time of great hardship, many of the converts lapsed from the faith and returned to their old ways. But many stood firm, and a number of villages in the area have a continuous Christian history of more than a century and a half. The evidence has been carefully sifted by Bishop R. Caldwell.[14] His sober conclusion (p. 78) is that 'their apostasy seems to have been owing not so much to their having been baptized prematurely as to their having been neglected after baptism'.

There is no evidence that any financial inducement was offered to the converts by the missionaries – the mission was far too poor to have provided even a pittance for so large a number. If the people expected to be brought under powerful protection against oppression, they must have been much disappointed; the evidence suggests that oppression was worse after they had been baptised than it had been before.

The direction of the work in Tirunelveli was in the hands of C. W. Gericke, who had arrived in South India in 1767 and had worked continuously and faithfully for thirty-five years.[15] His journal makes it clear that everything possible was done, in the short time available, to prepare the people. The catechists visited them on a number of occasions. Gericke himself spent long hours with them, trying to ascertain the measure of their sincerity. The solution of the problem that faced him was not easy. Immediate baptism would indeed bring with it the danger of extensive apostasy. But, if baptism was postponed and the opportunity lost, it was to be feared that sincere enquirers would lose heart and drift away. It can hardly be doubted that Gericke, acting in faith, made the right decision; he can hardly be blamed if for the next thirty years the resources of the mission were inadequate to the demands made upon them.

The great period of the baptisms was followed by what a number of writers have not inappropriately called the dark period. Until 1808 the Christians were under the care of the godly but erratic William Tobias Ringeltaube, but in that year he withdrew to Travancore and severed his connection with the SPCK. The veteran Satyanādhan was growing old; he retired to Thañjāvur and died there in 1815. The merchant Mr Sawyer, a true and tried friend of the Christians after whom the village of Sawyerpuram is named, died in 1816. Visits to the south by the country priests were rare. No visit at all seems to have been paid by any European missionary.[16]

Just when everything seemed to be at its darkest, help came from an unexpected quarter. A European regiment was stationed in Pālayankoṭṭai to maintain order in the extreme south. In 1816 the Reverend James Hough was appointed as chaplain.[17]

Hough had been caught up in the great evangelical movement which resulted in the sending of so many 'pious chaplains' to India. He had officially no responsibility for Indian Christians, but he soon began to seek them out, and in four years did much to rebuild what had fallen down and to gather that which had been scattered.

Hough found that there were in the area upwards of 3,000 Christians connected with the Anglican missions.[18] The country priest Abraham had been sent to care for them and was carrying out his duties faithfully. In each of the principal centres there was a church of sun-dried bricks with palmyra-leaf roof. These churches were found to be in good repair, as they were built of the same materials as the houses in which the people lived and were not beyond their means to maintain. There were a few schools, but these were in very poor condition. The greatest lack of all was in the matter of books. There seems not to have been in the mission a single copy of the Tamil bible. There were a few New Testaments, but these were mostly in the churches rather than in the possession of individuals. The Anglican Book of Common Prayer was entirely unknown.

Hough set to work with tireless diligence to improve the standard of Christian life in the villages. Two years after his arrival the changes that could be noted were remarkable. A second country priest, Visuvāsanāthan, had been appointed and was living in Nazareth, the second of the cities of refuge created for the benefit of Christians. The number of schools had risen to thirteen, including two for girls.[19] Books had been widely distributed. The number of baptisms of non-Christians was not large – twenty-five in 1817, fifty-two in 1818; but the church continued to grow.

By 1820 the work had grown to such an extent that Hough, his health enfeebled by frequent illness, was no longer able to cope with it. It did not seem to him that the Indian workers were able at that time to stand entirely on their own. He therefore wrote to the corresponding committee of the CMS in Madras for help. The committee had at its disposal the services of the Reverend C. T. E. Rhenius, a German who had already had five years' experience in Madras. It was decided that he should move to Pālayankoṭṭai; in the following year he was joined by the Reverend B. Schmid, also a German.[20] In March 1821 Hough received appointment to the much larger station of Poonamalee near Madras. The Germans were left alone to develop the work on the lines that seemed to them to promise the best hopes of success.

3 GROWTH, SCHISM, RECOVERY

Charles Rhenius must rank as one of the greatest among the missionaries who have served the cause of Christ in India. Bishop Caldwell wrote of him that 'he was a man of great administrative power, fervent missionary zeal, an excellent preacher and speaker in the vernacular, as well as a writer of unusual merit, and one of the hardest and most continuous workers ever seen in India'.[21]

Rhenius had not been long in India before it became clear that he was a linguist of exceptional abilities. He speedily mastered Tamil to the point at which even his critics were fain to admit that 'in point of Tamil idiom Rhenius was impeccable'. Towards the end of his life he composed a Tamil grammar which after a century and a half is still found useful. Unlike most grammars written by Europeans, which are based on European models, Rhenius, following Beschi, took as his starting-point the understanding of the language which is found in the works of the Tamil grammarians. After some years of work he became dissatisfied with the Fabricius version of the

New Testament, on the ground that at many points it did not correspond to correct Tamil usage. In 1823 he set to work to replace it by a version of his own. The work has many merits. It held its own in the Anglican missions for forty years, until it in its turn was superseded by the Union version of 1869.[22]

The five years which Rhenius had spent in Madras were years of less than perfect peace. In evangelical conviction he was at one with his friends in the CMS; at many other points difficulties could and did arise. In 1820 the corresponding committee seems to have reached the conclusion that it would be happier with Rhenius absent than with Rhenius present; let him go away and found a German kingdom as he pleased. Both he and they would experience a sense of liberation, which would be good for all.

So it came about. Pālayankoṭṭai is about 400 miles from Madras; in the days before the coming of the railway, it was reckoned that the journey, on horseback and with bullock carts, would take a month, though those who were prepared to endure the discomforts of a voyage by coastal craft could with luck make the journey from Madras to Tuticorin in ten or twelve days. Strict control from Madras would obviously be impossible. Rhenius could gather around him a posse of like-minded continentals – Schmid, Müller, Lechler, Schaffter; they would do what he told them to do, and all would be well.[23]

Rhenius was able to build on what Hough had achieved. Earlier movements had been to the east and south of Pālayankoṭṭai. Now a station was opened to the south-west, at the very foot of the western Ghats, and called Dohnāvur, after the pious and wealthy Count Dohna, whose generous gift made possible the building of a large stone church which is in use up to the present day. Work was opened up in the northern part of the district, in the area of the fertile black cotton soil, so different from the green irrigated rice-fields of the Tāmraparṇi valley. In 1826, with the help of many European friends, Rhenius was able to build in Pālayankoṭṭai a graceful church in Renaissance style.[24]

At three points Rhenius left an abiding mark on the development of the church which he guided. Every village was to have a school and a Christian teacher who would serve also as catechist to the local group of Christians. All teachers must come to headquarters once every month, there to receive careful training and instruction in the teaching and practice of the church. In every village every evening the bell would be sounded to call the faithful to prayer. This custom has continued to the present day.[25]

In spite of many difficulties and reverses the work went forward with surprising rapidity. On 3 August 1825 Rhenius reported that 'to my own surprise, there are now, in no less than ninety different villages, 838 families or above 3,000 souls'.[26] Ten years later George Pettitt learnt that Christians were to be found in no fewer than 293 villages. In some places the number was insignificant, but the whole represented a considerable movement into the church of Christ. The great majority of the converts came from the Nādār community, but other groups were also represented.

Rhenius was no starry-eyed idealist. He knew that, even when belief in Jesus Christ is genuine, new converts have a long journey to make before they can be regarded as established in the faith:

> We need not therefore be surprised when in our time, in new congregations from among the heathen, we discover much that is of the Wicked One; evil practices that have become habits from very childhood; nor must we expect that these new congregations will, after believing in Christ Jesus, be immediately perfect . . .[27]

Controversy between Rhenius and friends in Madras slept for a time, but awoke again in connection with the proposal for the ordination of four of the catechists working in the Tirunelveli mission. The work was growing beyond the strength of the missionaries; Rhenius proposed that the old custom of the Danish mission should be followed and that the catechists should be ordained in Tirunelveli without the intervention of a bishop. The CMS committee in Madras naturally replied that, when there was no bishop in India, no objection could be taken to ordination according to the Lutheran form, but that, since the arrival of the first bishop of Calcutta, it was assumed that ordinations would follow the customs of the Church of England.

In June 1832 Rhenius wrote at length to the CMS in London, affirming his independence, and the rights of missionaries to decide all issues relating to the upbuilding of the church which they had been instrumental in bringing into being.[28]

At this point of time Anthony Norris Groves (1795–1853) emerged on the scene to disturb still further the troubled waters in Tirunelveli. This sincere and devoted man had offered himself to the service of the CMS; but, as he had accepted the principles of the Plymouth Brethren, his offer could not be accepted. After a short period of unsuccessful missionary work in Baghdad, Groves came to India in 1833 to seek a field of missionary endeavour. One of the first visits that he paid in India was to Pālayankoṭṭai, where he found himself delighted with all that he saw.[29] There can be no doubt that he fortified Rhenius in his growing disillusionment with the Church of England and strengthened him in the assertion of his independence.

With all his great gifts Rhenius was characterised by a strange insensitiveness to the feelings of others and to the effects that his words were bound to have. On 9 May 1835 he wrote to Dr Stevenson in Bombay:

> I never promised to submit to the English bishops; not even to observe the Church of England forms . . . When my fellow-labourer and I were sent out to India, now twenty-one years ago, no question was ever put to us on the subject of conformity to the Church of England; nor have I, during these twenty-one years, received a single application from the Society to conform.[30]

It is hard to acquit Rhenius at this point of self-deception. When he was accepted for service by the CMS, he knew perfectly well that the first bishop of Calcutta had already arrived in India, and that it was the set policy of the CMS gradually to bring its missions into conformity with the practice and worship of the Church of England. Breaking-point had been reached. The CMS committee felt bound to maintain its Anglican position. Rhenius would not abandon the independent attitude which he had taken up. This being so, the committee could not do other than declare that its connection with Rhenius was at an end:

> afflicting as it is to them to dissolve their connexion with one, whom, on many grounds, they highly honour and esteem, yet they feel bound in consistency, as attached members of the Church of England, to take this very painful step, and to declare that the missionary relation which has hitherto subsisted between the Society and Mr Rhenius is at an end.[31]

Heart-breaking as it was, Rhenius saw that he could not do other than accept the decision and leave the area in which he had worked so long and with such success. Arcot presented itself to him as a suitable location for a new and independent mission. On 29 June 1835 he arrived in Madras on his way to his new station.

Then Rhenius made the second great mistake of his life. A number of friends were urging him to return to Pālayankoṭṭai, though no longer in the service of the CMS.[32] A letter was received on 9 September from seventy-seven catechists pleading with him to return. He yielded to these urgings and made up his mind to return to Pālayankoṭṭai. He knew well that his return would lead to bitterness and controversy, but it was his habit to do whatever seemed to him to be right. On 22 October he arrived in Pālayankoṭṭai to begin the last stage of his earthly journey.

Not much need be added to the story of the 'Rhenius affair'. When it became clear that he must go, the CMS sent in George Pettitt to restore order and to bring back the mission to Anglican ways. Pettitt was young and had had only two years of service in Madras; but from the moment of his arrival he showed great qualities of tact, modesty and firmness. The twelve years of his residence in Pālayankoṭṭai were a time of pacification, stabilisation and progress.

Life was not easy. At the end of the year 1835 careful scrutiny revealed that the figures of the congregations were as follows:[33]

With the Society: 176
With Mr Rhenius: 67
Neutral: 15
Divided into two parties: 35

During the years that followed both sections were enlarged by the accession of non-Christians and the formation of new congregations. But, as the CMS party went from strength to strength, anxiety increased among the supporters of Rhenius. There was, however, no reconciliation, greatly as this was desired by many on both sides of the ravine. Then on 5 June 1838 the entire situation was changed by the death of Rhenius. He had served in India for twenty-four years without a break. The simple marble slab which covers his grave records in English the claim, 'Surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God' (Isaiah 49: 4). There all admirers of Rhenius will thankfully leave the matter, and join in the hope expressed in the Tamil inscription on the stone: 'A crown of righteousness shall the Lord, the righteous judge, give me in that day, and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing' (2 Timothy 4: 8).

The CMS behaved in a manner entirely worthy of a great Christian society. It was agreed that, from the date of the death of Rhenius, his widow should receive undiminished the pension to which she would have been entitled had he never left the society. Eight years later Pettitt had the joy of welcoming the second son of Rhenius, Charles, as a fully accredited missionary of the Society.[34]

There was now no obstacle in the way of reconciliation. The door was open to all who wished to return. Schmid had already left the district and was living in the Nilgiri hills. Lechler felt that he could not honestly accept the Anglican position, and wisely joined the LMS. No difficulty was felt in bringing the Swiss Paul Pacifique Schaffter back to the same relationship to the Society as he had had before the schism occurred. The case of J. J. Müller was more difficult, as he had already received deacon's orders in the Anglican tradition, and had therefore consciously moved into schism. It was not easy for him to return; but in the end all difficulties were removed. In May 1840 he was received back with great joy by all the missionary family. But this time almost all the catechists had signified their acceptance of the new regime. In the Tirunelveli church today Rhenius is universally held in honour as the third founder of the church.

4 AN EXTENSION WESTWARDS

The Tirunelveli district, which was annexed by the British in 1799, had along its western border a common frontier with the Indian state of Travancore, into which a multiplicity of small principalities had been merged. For the greater part of this frontier the two regions are divided by the great barrier of the western Ghats; but where the mountains break down towards the ocean there is no clear division between them. In the north and centre of the state the people speak Malayālam; this is the home of the

Thomas Christians. In the south they speak Tamil and are closely related to their neighbours on the British side of the border.

Nowhere in India was the Hindu caste system more clearly defined and more emphatically maintained than in Travancore. The Brāhmans dominated everything, and a succession of orthodox Hindu rulers had maintained them in their position of power.[35] The Shānārs were kept in a state of total subservience; the situation of the excluded communities – Paraiyas, Pulavars and the rest – could hardly be distinguished from that of slaves. Actual slavery was a feature of this society.

The Gospel came to south Travancore almost, as it seemed, by chance. The apostle was William Tobias Ringeltaube (1770–1815), a man devout and humble but restless and volatile, who carried eccentricity to the point almost of absurdity. After a brief and unsatisfactory period of service in Calcutta, Ringeltaube offered his services to the LMS, was accepted, and reached Tranquebar on 5 December 1804. His fellow-travellers turned north to start the Society's work in the Telugu area. Ringeltaube was uncertain as to where he should go and what he should do, when, as he records in a letter of 5 August 1805, he received a visit from a native of Travancore, who told him that in his village there were 200 people desirous of being baptised and besought him to come and care for this flock without a shepherd.

Behind this information lay a series of strange events. Mahārāsan, a native of Mayilāḍi, a village in Travancore not far from the border of British India, a Paraiyan, but with more education than usually fell to the lot of members of that community, decided to go on pilgrimage to Chidambaram. Dissatisfied with what he found there, on his return journey he stopped at Thañjāvur to see his younger sister and brother-in-law who lived there. On the Sunday he stood outside the door of the church, and heard the preacher, J. C. Kohlhoff, retail such things as he had never heard before. Kohlhoff, recognising from his dress that he was a pilgrim, addressed him, and persuaded him to prolong his stay and to put himself under instruction. After eight days Mahārāsan was baptised, given the name Vedamānickam, and sent back to his own village. His friends and relations were much amazed at the change in him; but, when he showed them his Tamil New Testament and started to explain the new truths that he had learnt, many derided him and started to practise their Hindu ways more zealously than before. Some, however, listened and agreed. Among them were two cousins of Mahārāsan, who on believing received the names Gnānamuthu and Gnānapiragāsam. The younger of the two, who was twenty years old at the time of the coming of the Gospel to Mayilāḍi, later served for forty-eight years with great faithfulness as a catechist of the LMS.[36]

Believers were few, and troubles were so many that Vedamānickam was inclined to sell his lands and to move elsewhere. Before taking this step he decided to go once more to Thañjāvur and to ascertain whether any help could be sent to him. To his joy he learnt from Kohlhoff that there was a missionary in Tranquebar who, as soon as he had learned Tamil, would be free to come to Mayilāḍi. Vedamānickam prolonged his journey as far as Tranquebar, met Ringeltaube and assured him that whenever he could come to Travancore he would be welcome.[37]

So it came about that on 25 April 1806 Ringeltaube passed through the Aramboli pass and was in Travancore. From the moment of arrival his difficulties began: 'I spent the day most uncomfortably in an Indian hut. Perhaps my disappointment contributed to my unpleasant feelings. I had expected to find hundreds eager to listen to the Word; instead of which I had difficulty to make a few families attend for an hour.' Still, the beginning had been made; for nearly ten years this was to be the centre of the life and interests of Ringeltaube.

At first he was able to pay only sporadic visits to the flock. He made Pālayankoṭṭai his centre, and for two years or more gave much time to caring for the neglected Christians of Tirunelveli. In 1809 Travancore was in a state of war, and work there was almost impossible. But in 1810 Ringeltaub was able to settle in Udayagiri, not far from Mayilāḍi, and in 1812 in Mayilāḍi itself, where the greatest number of Christians was to be found.

During this time the missionary lived under conditions of extreme simplicity, with a total disregard of comfort and even of appearances. At times he did not have clothes of even ordinary respectability to wear. According to his own account, his house contained 'four broken chairs, two old couches made of wood and reed, and a rope tied from one wall to the other on which a coat, gown and some boots are hanging. Well, and what more? Shelves with books, two tables and one lamp.'[38] Yet with all these oddities he must have been a man of considerable ability and notable integrity: he retained the respect and liking of both the Residents who served in Travancore during his time there, and also of the British authorities in Pālayankoṭṭai.

Ringeltaube had no illusions as to the nature and the motives of the people among whom he worked. Any white man was supposed to have influence with the Residents, and to be prepared to use that influence on behalf of Christians. Stern warnings had to be issued to them: 'I took occasion to exhort the people to be obedient to their masters, and particularly to the magistrates, and to waive all views of temporal advantage by profession of Christianity, and not to imagine that they would be exempt from the cross, or discharged from the obligation of their relative duties.'[39] In 1813 he writes rather dejectedly: 'I now have about six hundred Christians . . . About three or four of them may have a longing for their salvation. The rest have come from all kinds of motives, which we can know only after years have passed.'[40]

Yet the work did grow. In seven years seven small churches, little more in reality than sheds, had been erected. Each congregation was served by a schoolmaster who served also as catechist.[41] Ringeltaube himself travelled tirelessly from place to place, instructing, exhorting, preaching to the Hindus wherever opportunity offered. But the long years of hard work and loneliness told on both his health and his spirits: 'I am fast decaying', he wrote to the directors of the LMS, 'and am unfit for active service.'[42]

As there seemed to be no hope of a missionary successor, Ringeltaube, on 23 January 1816, ordained the faithful Vedamānickam to the ministry with the laying on of hands, clothed him in his own surplice, and gave him a certificate of ordination. At that time there were in connection with the mission 747 baptised members, cared for by a staff of twelve Indian workers.

What follows is mysterious. Ringeltaube can be traced as far as Madras, where he spent an evening with the chaplain Marmaduke Thompson, and then as far as Malacca, where he was the guest of William Milne of the LMS. Various reports, contradictory and unreliable, were received as to his further movements, but at this point he simply disappears from history. No one knows when or where he died; the probability is that he died at sea and that the ocean was his grave.[43]

Though Ringeltaube never knew it, in 1814 the directors of the LMS had decided to send the help for which he longed and which he never saw.[44] In December 1817 Charles Mead arrived in Travancore. Mead was a man of immense energy and practical skills. He soon saw that Mayilāḍi was no fit place to be the centre of a growing work and moved to Nāgercoil, where a house had been made available for him. From that time on Nāgercoil was the centre of the work of the LMS in Travancore.

In 1819 three important events took place.

Most of the early converts had belonged to the excluded castes. Now a strong movement into the church began among the Nādārs, no fewer than 2,000 being registered as enquirers within two years.

The foundation stone was laid in Nāgercoil for a church which would seat 2,000 worshippers.[45]

A seminary was brought into existence in Nāgercoil, with the same large ideas as activated the Baptists in the formation of their college at Serampore. When in 1840 Bishop Spencer of Madras visited the seminary, he was surprised to find the boys learning Greek: 'They read me a few verses of the *Iliad* and also of the Greek Testament, and their knowledge of the Greek Testament and of the Greek language is really very respectable . . . They also read in English a chapter of the Bible, which they translated readily, and I was told very accurately, in Tamil.'

Charles Mault and his wife arrived to support Charles Mead in the work. Thus began a partnership which was to endure for more than thirty years.[46]

The variety of forms of work developed in this mission is notable.

Plans were put in hand to establish a hospital at Neyyoor. Many difficulties were encountered by the way. The first doctor appointed to Neyyoor left the mission, after only two years, to engage in secular work. In 1853 C. C. Leitch, an ordained missionary who was also a fully qualified medical man, came to take charge of the district and to re-open the hospital. In the five further months of life that were granted to him he won golden opinions, and a great prospect of work seemed to be opening up before him. But in August of that year, to the deep distress of his colleagues and of the many friends that he had made in that short time, he was drowned in the ocean at Muttam, six miles from Neyyoor. But the LMS was planning wisely and largely; the hospital at Neyyoor was to grow into the largest Christian hospital in India.

Slavery was not abolished in Travancore until 1855. A number of the converts and of the pupils in the schools were slaves. Mrs Mault taught little slave-girls lace-making to enable them to earn money to purchase their freedom. This was the beginning of a cottage industry, which survived for more than a century, and brought a little extra prosperity to a great many Christian homes.[47]

It is clear that salvation, as understood by these missionaries, included the health of the body, the enlightenment of the mind, and the training of nimble fingers, as well as the proclamation of the truths of the Gospel.

One unusual activity was added to the list, when in 1818 the pious Resident Colonel Munro secured the appointment of Mead as civil judge at Nāgercoil.[48] This was part of a series of sincere and well-meant efforts to ensure the protection of the poor. But the authorities of the LMS rightly took the view that the combination of the judicial with the spiritual function did not fit well with the character of a missionary. After one year Mead resigned the appointment.

Ringeltaube had discovered the danger to the work that could arise through too close associations of missionaries with government, even though that association was much less than was generally supposed. The LMS missionaries of a later date made the same discovery, and this led them to be extremely cautious in accepting those who applied for admission to the church. Scrutiny was exacting, and the period of probation before baptism was granted was exceptionally long. This is shown by the statistics for the year 1859, just at the end of the period now under review. There were 210 congregations under the care of seven missionaries and 394 Indian workers. Adherents numbered 16,939, but of these only 2,195 had been baptised and there were only 980 communicants.

The lot of converts has never been an easy one. This flourishing church was not to be exempt from persecution. Custom laid it down that women of the less exalted communities should wear nothing above the waist. The

Thomas Christians have never made any objection to this custom; but in south Travancore this enforced nakedness was felt to be a badge of subjection and Christians began to wish that the custom could be changed. Taught by the wives of the missionaries, some of the Christian girls made for themselves small jackets. Others went further, and provided themselves with an upper cloth resembling the upper part of the *sāri*, as worn by Hindu women. To this blurring of distinctions the Hindus took violent objection.[49]

In the year 1827 persecution was fierce, and it continued throughout the three succeeding years. Several chapels and schools were burnt down. Converts were falsely accused and some were imprisoned. School books were torn in pieces and thrown into the streets. Women were insulted and attacked in the bazaars. Military aid had to be called in to restore order.

At length the *dewān* (prime minister) was approached, and a promise was given that a proclamation would be issued to settle all the matters under dispute. The proclamation, when it came, was not such as to bring much comfort to Christians. The use of the jacket was allowed, but the upper cloth was absolutely forbidden. Labour on Sundays and service at temple ceremonies were not to be exacted from Christians, who, however, were reminded that the Christian precepts included humility and obedience to superiors. Something at least had been gained, and much attention drawn to the injustices suffered by Christians.

Strangely enough the persecution brought about no abatement in the number of those desiring admission to the church. They came in crowds to the churches, 'voluntarily demolishing with their own hands their shrines and idols, and some of them bringing their gods of gold, silver, brass, and wood, and the instruments of idolatry which they surrendered to the missionaries. So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.'[50] An unexpected by-product of the success of the Christian mission, was a movement among the Hindus for the revival of Hinduism.

5 STEADY GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

For twenty years, from 1838 to 1858, the southern Tamil country was the scene of steady, and for the most part peaceful, Christian development.

In 1826 the SPCK gave up its increasingly ineffective attempts to maintain a mission in South India and handed over its responsibilities to the SPG, now able without infringing its charter to work in what had become British territory. The first missionary, David Rosen, arrived in 1829.

The SPG was successful in attracting to its service a number of men of great distinction who had started their career in other parts of the Christian church.

Henry Bower (d. 1885) was an Anglo-Indian who, after some years in the service of the LMS, was ordained to the Anglican ministry. His fame rests mainly on his work as the chief translator of the Union version of the Scriptures in Tamil, which appeared in 1869 and in almost all the churches replaced the earlier works of Fabricius and Rhenius.[51]

Robert Caldwell[52] (1814–92) was awarded a scholarship at Balliol College, Oxford. After the award had been made it was discovered that he was not eligible, having been born in Ireland and not in England.[53] In consequence Caldwell took his degree with distinction from the University of Glasgow. He arrived in India on 18 January 1838 in the service of the LMS. Careful study led him to the conclusion that the Church of England was the least un-Christian of the Christian churches and that the SPG was the least unsatisfactory of the Anglican missionary societies. In 1841 he walked up to the Nilgiri hills to be ordained by Bishop Spencer of Madras, and on his return journey stopped at Thañjāvur to call on the aged J. C. Kohlhoff.[54] Early in December of that year he reached Idayankudi, where he was to reside for the next forty years and to labour with great devotion in many fields of missionary endeavour.

George Uglow Pope, a Cornishman sent to India by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, reached Madras in 1839. He, like Caldwell, decided that his true home was the Church of England. He reached Sawyerpuram in 1842 and set to work to make the little, remote village a kind of university for South India. A man of wide learning, a perfect master of Tamil on all levels, a brilliant teacher, he was his own worst enemy. Again and again irascibility betrayed him into unwisdom, and in the end it led to his withdrawal from India. But to the end of his life he continued his services to the Tamil language, producing uniquely valuable editions of the Tamil classics and serving for many years as teacher of Tamil in the University of Oxford. He is buried near to his friend Benjamin Jowett, the great Master of Balliol.

The CMS was equally successful in bringing into its service men of great stature.

First to be mentioned is John Tucker, who in 1833 was brought out from Oxford to be the secretary of the corresponding committee of the CMS in Madras. Since 1817 a fellow of Corpus Christi College, he had been a friend of both Thomas Arnold and John Keble, and was fully abreast of developments in what came to be called the Oxford Movement; but he found himself completely at home with his colleagues of the evangelical persuasion. A notable tribute has been paid to him by Robert Caldwell:

> he was a man of learning and culture, a devout and holy man, with a great reputation for wisdom . . . It was one of the sights of Madras to see the almost interminable line of carriages, especially on Sunday evenings, that filled the street in front of his church, the chapel of the CMS mission, ever since known as Tucker's chapel.[55]

Edward Sargent, though born in Europe,[56] had been brought up in Madras and had in consequence a perfect mastery of colloquial Tamil. By diligent application he had made up for the defects of early education;[57] and, though never a scholar, he was well enough thought of to be placed in charge of the first class of candidates for ordination to be brought forward in the Tirunelveli mission.[58]

John Thomas, a musical Welshman, came to Megnānapuram in 1838, and spent more than thirty years in building up a movement of thousands of enquirers into the Christian church.[59] Thomas was possessed of many gifts – as lawyer, doctor (though untrained), preacher, teacher, administrator. He was a man of resolute will: 'there was only one will in the district, and that was his', wrote his friend Robert Caldwell. He was criticised as being less than successful in stimulating independence of thought and action among his followers; but it must not be forgotten that when he died twelve Indian clergymen whom he had selected, trained and directed joined in carrying his body to the grave.

The co-existence in one small area of two Anglican societies with rather different emphases might have led to difficulties and rivalry. One or two of the SPG men had come under the influence of the Puseyite Professor Street at Bishop's College, Calcutta, and held views which were not congenial to their brethren of the CMS; but on the whole those of different backgrounds and traditions worked together in amity for nearly fifty years.

It was always the wish of the missionaries that the Christians should live at peace with their neighbours and should change the old customs only when these were clearly incompatible with the Christian profession. But inevitably some among the non-Christians felt the preaching of the Gospel to be a threat to society as organised at that time. Many of the villages belonged to Hindu owners or proprietors, who expected complete subservience from their tenants. The Christians, having attained a new sense of human dignity, were inclined to stand up for their rights – conduct which was at times regarded by the owners as provocative. Christians were advised to endure with patience such injustice as they shared with many others of the poorer classes. But if they were hauled into court on false charges, or if violence reached a certain level, it became the duty of the missionaries to report the matter to the higher authorities.[60]

Opposition to the Christian cause was growing and was marked by the foundation of two new societies, the 'Sacred Ashes' (*Vibūthi*) Society, and the Society for Diffusing the Philosophy of the Four Vedas. The formation of such societies was perfectly legitimate, and no objection could be taken to defensive action on the part of non-Christians. But at times the actions were more than defensive, and might even rise to the height of actual violence. About the year 1841 a petition was sent to the authorities complaining of the

> murders, plunders, highway robberies, demolition of the temples of Hindoo deities, and other acts of wicked injustice carried out by the Missionaries, who for some time have been strolling about in this province, teaching the Christian Veda, and by the ever-wicked Maravers, Kallas, Shanars, Parias, Pallas, and other low-caste mobs which they have got into their possession.[61]

Worse was to follow. In 1845, in the neighbourhood of Nallur where P. P. Schaffter was at work, a carefully organised assault was made on a number of Christian villages; lives were actually in danger, and it was clear that one of the aims was the extensive carrying off of plunder. The situation was so serious, and the allegations against the missionaries so many, that the missionaries of the two societies combined to print and send out a carefully prepared statement, setting the bare facts before the public. This was signed by eighteen ordained missionaries, one of them being the Indian John Devasahāyam.[62] A case was also lodged in the local sessions court.

The case aroused intense interest as far away as Madras, and led to a resounding controversy between the civil and the judicial authorities in Madras. A hundred Hindus had been arrested. The sessions judge, concluding that the evidence was confused and uncertain, acquitted some of the accused but convicted others. Those convicted, with the help of leading Hindus, immediately appealed to the Sadr Adalat, the higher court in Madras, which reversed the judgement of the lower court and ordered all the prisoners released.

At this point the governor, the Marquess of Tweeddale, intervened, called for all the papers relating to the trial, and, taking the view that one of the judges, Malcolm Lewin, through over-sympathy with Hindus and dislike of missionaries, had gravely departed from judicial impartiality, dismissed him from his post, constituted a new court and ordered a re-trial. Inevitably such a decision aroused an immense furore of controversy. The missionaries on the whole took the view that Tweeddale had been specially sent by the Lord to prevent a grave miscarriage of justice; the legal profession and many in the European community took the opposite view, and held that the independence of the judiciary had been gravely infringed.

However, the governor's decision was a decision. The new court was formed, the re-trial was held, the guilty were again found guilty, but were sentenced to less severe penalties than some felt that they had deserved. The missionaries, who had not desired to be vindictive towards the offenders, felt that the judgement of the new court was fair to the Indian Christians, and merciful towards the accused, and were therefore well satisfied with the result.[63]

In many places peaceful co-existence between Christians and non-Christians was achieved. But the harassments were sufficient to make many Christians feel that they would be better off if they moved away from their neighbours and settled elsewhere. The population had been considerably diminished by constant wars, by famine and by the ravages of cholera and other epidemic diseases. There were large areas of empty land, and it was not difficult to secure extensive areas for Christian settlement. So Suviseshapuram (the village of the Gospel), Ānandapuram (the village of great joy) and many others came into existence. These settlements gave peace to the Christians; but there were grave drawbacks. The Christians had drawn out of Hindu society and thus lost the opportunities for Christian witness provided by propinquity and by the tangle of family relationships. There was a certain artificiality about these villages: having no deep roots in tradition, they failed at times to produce coherent and orderly societies. As the number of missionaries increased and a number of them settled in these Christian villages, the power of the foreigner tended to increase, and the ability of the Indian Christians to take independent action correspondingly to diminish.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Christians were without means of asserting themselves. Docility is not a characteristic of the Tamil people, especially in those classes from which the Christians were for the most part drawn. When in 1845 Bishop Spencer of Madras carried out his second visitation of Tirunelveli, he found himself unable to visit Mudalūr, since the Christians were engaged in conflict with their gentle and devout missionary, George Heyne.[64]

The missionaries found it wise to consult the people on all matters which concerned them and, wherever possible, to accept their advice. One example may be given. At the height of the palmyra season, when the sap is rising rapidly, the trees should be climbed three times a day seven days a week. But, if this is done, how can the climbers come to church? The faithful, when consulted, agreed that the second climb might be omitted on Sundays; it would then be possible for the young men to combine their duty to the trees with their Christian avocations. Thus arose the custom, continued to the present day in many villages, of having the principal Sunday service at the hottest time of the day.

Careful as the missionaries were to regard the susceptibilities of the Indian Christians and to take them into their confidence, they were not wholly successful in avoiding contentions, in many cases arising out of caste feelings, of which the Christians were far from having entirely freed themselves. Just at the end of the period under review, the Indian demand for independence reached the proportions of what at one time threatened to become a considerable schism.

The exact occasion of the dissension is uncertain, and very varying accounts of it are to be found in the sources. All, however are agreed that the head and centre of it was one Arumaināyagam (1823–1918), commonly known as Sattampillai ('monitor'), from the title which he bore in the Christian educational system. This man, recognised as the most brilliant pupil of the Sawyerpuram seminary, was employed in the SPG school at Nazareth, but in 1850 was dismissed from his post by the missionary superintendent, in circumstances which have never been satisfactorily cleared up. He went to Madras, and while there read a small book written by the Reverend Robert Caldwell: *The Tinnevelly Shanars: a Sketch of their Religion and their Moral Conditions and Characteristics as a Caste* (Madras: SPCK, 1849). In this Caldwell had written, not untruly but in rather uncomplimentary style, about the people among whom he had worked for nearly ten years. Sattampillai's already existing anti-white and anti-missionary feeling was fanned to white heat, and he returned to Tirunelveli, actuated by two separate but overlapping aims.

The first purpose was to give the Shānārs a new sense of dignity, by elevating them from their ambiguous position in the social scale to the status of a respectable Hindu caste, with the caste title of Nādārs, 'dwellers in the land'. This was supported by the affirmation that the Shānārs were actually the Kshatriyas, high-born nobles, of the south, and descended from the ancient kings. Those who accept this legendary tale are probably few, but it is evidence of the success of the movement to which Sattampillai gave his support that the caste-title 'Nādār' is today in almost universal use, and that the name 'Shānār' has practically disappeared.

The second aim of Sattampillai was to create a church which should be free from all white and missionary influences. With the help of a number of disaffected catechists in the local missions, and of Christians in whom caste relationships proved stronger than Christian affiliations, he brought into a being at Prakāsapuram, a village one mile from Nazareth but within the area cared for by the CMS, the Hindu Church of Lord Jesus. Desirous of removing everything that could suggest European influence, the founder at many points went back from the New Testament to the Old. He himself used the title Rabbi. Like the Seventh Day Adventists, who were later to become their neighbours, the Hindu Christians observed Saturday as the day of worship. The church was built on the model of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem. Incense was used in worship, and it is reported, though not on unimpeachable evidence, that on occasion animal sacrifice was practised. For a brief period it seemed as though the Hindu church might draw in a large number of the local Christians; at the height of its popularity it was reckoned to have 6,000 members. But such hopes were not to be fulfilled.

After more than a century the small community of the Hindu Christians still exists. That it should have been able to maintain itself so long without any help from outside is certainly a remarkable feat in Indian Church history. But the claim that this can be seen as a successful example of an Indian independent church is acceptable only with considerable reservation. The highest point of success of the movement seems to have been reached about 1860. The founder lived on for more than fifty years and watched the slow decline of the movement which he had called into being and the frustration of the high hopes with which he had set out upon his venture. Today the Hindu Christian church exists only as one tiny community in Prakāsapuram. For this a number of reasons can be adduced. The new movement never worked out a coherent theology related to the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Its appeal was limited to a single caste, the Shānār–Nādārs. Almost all those who joined it were discontented members of existing Christian churches. The Hindu Christian fellowship does not seem to have set itself even to convert members of the Nādār community, let alone to spread out among the numerous Hindu castes by which it was surrounded. It was founded not so much on love as on resentment and ill-will. It seems to have depended too much on the charismatic qualities of the original founder, which do not seem to have been passed on to the sons who took over the inheritance from him. To the Christians in the neighbourhood, the Hindu Christian movement has served as a warning against complacency; it has never served as an inspiration or as a guiding star.

To read the records of the time is to receive an impression of great stability. Some fell by the wayside, and there were many imperfections; but many stood firm even in the face of threats and violence. Literacy was on the increase even among girls. There had been a considerable production of Christian literature. Above all there was a steady rise in the competence and devotion of the lay assistants through whom so much of the work was done.

The missionaries had developed, on the foundations laid by Rhenius, the famous Tirunelveli system, which was noted and copied by missions in many parts of India. All the workers were required to come in to headquarters once a month and to spend two days there. Careful and systematic instruction in the Bible and in Christian doctrine would be given. A sermon would be preached by one of the catechists and discussed and criticised by the others. Every problem of Christian life in the villages would be discussed. Then the workers, having received their pay, would return to their villages on foot. Out of this careful lay-training the ordained Indian village ministry came into being. Of those who signed the declaration referred to above, seventeen were foreigners and only one was an Indian. Some missionaries saw that this simply would not do. An Indian church must have an Indian ministry. Risks would be involved, but they must be taken, the best candidates must be ordained, and the result must be left to the Holy Spirit.

6 A HEROIC PIONEER

Just at the end of the period under review the northern part of the district of Tirunelveli was the scene of an unusual form of Christian enterprise.

Thomas Gajetan Ragland (1815–58) had taken high honours in mathematics at Cambridge, and had become fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi College.[65] In 1845, the year in which John Henry Newman finally decided to leave the Church of England, Ragland offered himself to the CMS for service in India and was accepted; he reached Madras in January 1846.

For a number of years he served as secretary of the corresponding committee in Madras, carrying out his duties with the meticulous precision which characterised everything that he did. But he had always maintained a longing for more direct missionary work. On a long visit to the stations in Tirunelveli and Travancore, he was struck by the great difference between the southern and the northern parts of the district of Tirunelveli. In the south were numerous missionaries, each with his flourishing district, and large groups of Christians organised almost on the model of the English parochial system. The north by comparison had been much neglected. There was no resident missionary. When in 1845 a widespread spirit of enquiry was awakened, it died away to nothing because no one could be spared to develop it.

Ragland worked out a careful plan for extensive itineration in the area, to be carried out by three missionaries with Indian helpers, chosen for their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. Life would be hard, as much of the year would be spent in tents, with periods of rest in headquarters. This was to be no casual and unplanned sowing of the seed. A carefully drawn map of the area showed about 1,000 towns and villages. These were minutely surveyed by Ragland, who reckoned that it would be possible to cover the entire area in a year, a period which he hoped later to be able to reduce to nine months.

The aim was to be steady and systematic turning of the soil and sowing of the seed, in the expectation that response would show itself in certain areas; when this occurred, concentrated work should at once be undertaken in the hope that congregations would come into being.

It seemed unlikely that Ragland himself would be able to take part in such a venture. His health was always frail. Slight deafness prevented him from ever acquiring a good knowledge of Tamil; he was not a ready speaker, and had no gift for controversy or for ready repartee. Moreover he had an almost morbid sense of his own unworthiness. By the time of his death all who knew him regarded him as one of the chosen saints of God; but sainthood did not come easily to him. He was sensitive, impatient, fretful, at times hasty and intemperate in speech. Yet he was able so to master all these imperfections that many of those who knew him never suspected the temptations that had been overcome.

When Ragland returned from leave in England in 1853, his health had so much improved that to his great joy he was appointed to lead the new enterprise. He was to be accompanied by two young missionaries, Fenn and Meadows, and by an experienced Indian colleague, Joseph Cornelius. Ragland's plan was put into operation, and found to work excellently. The small, scattered congregations gained new heart. Knowledge of the area was steadily accumulated. Immediate gains were few but not expected.

Fate, however, seemed to be against the venture from the start. Fenn fell desperately ill of typhus and had to be away from the mission for more than a year. In 1858 two other young missionaries, Every and Barenbruck, were carried off by cholera. Ragland's health had shown signs of increasing debility. Then, in October 1858, while resting in the bungalow at Sivakāsi which had been built as a home for members of the team during their periods of rest, he was seized with violent haemorrhages and died in a few minutes.

The work was never resumed in the same way and on the same scale. Nothing seemed to have been gained. Yet forty years after Ragland's death, in Sivakāsi where he lies buried, a notable movement broke out among the women, a movement to which there has never been a parallel in any other part of India. Year after year women of substance and of good position in society (though not of high caste) decided to join the church and were baptised semi-secretly but with the knowledge of their husbands. There has never been a parallel movement among the men; but the Ragland Memorial Church in Sivakāsi preserves the memory of one whom the Indian church has never forgotten.

The four silver cups, engraved with the pelican (the symbol of Corpus Christi College), which he had won while a young man as mathematical prizes at Cambridge, are still in use as chalices in the churches of that northern Tirunelveli which he loved and for which he gave his life.[66]

11 · The Thomas Christians in Light and Shade

All attempts to bring together the two wings of the Thomas Christians had failed. The two groups continued in separation, curiously interconnected by ties of relationship and sometimes of friendship, but distinct in allegiance and in some of their habits and ways of doing things. The end of the period 1786–1858 found them yet more deeply divided by further influences from the West, the coming of which had not been foreseen in the eighteenth century.

I THE ROMO-SYRIANS

The worthy plan of the Portuguese to provide an Indian bishop for the Serra had been frustrated by the untimely death of Archbishop Kariyaṭṭil in 1786, before he had even taken charge of his diocese of Cranganore. The natural successor seemed to be present in the person of the administrator Thomas Pareamakkal, who had accompanied Archbishop Kariyaṭṭil on his journey and had written an account of it.[1] But the authorities apparently felt that he was not the right man to hold this high office. This judgement seems to be confirmed by a letter from the bishop of Cochin to the archbishop of Goa, dated 29 October 1792, in which it is stated that Pareamakal (this is his spelling of the name) is intriguing against the *padroado* and the archbishop in vengeance for the failure to appoint him as archbishop of Cranganore.[2] No further appointment of an Indian bishop was made for more than a century.

C. C. de Nazareth[3] has worked out with immense industry the names, and, as far as the facts are attainable, the careers, of all who held high office in the dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore, over a period of nearly three centuries.[4] With few exceptions these are shadowy figures, few of whom rose above the level of the purely conventional and traditional. The dioceses were often left for long periods without bishops. A number are noted as 'bishops elect', bishops who never managed to secure episcopal consecration but did succeed to the management of their dioceses; but more are listed as governors – administrators who could not carry out any episcopal act unless by special permission. The majority of these officials served only for a very limited period. On a single page of the *Mitras* (vol. II, p. 57) are listed the names of no fewer than nine men who held this office. It should be noted, however, that one of these, the Franciscan Fr Joachim of Sta Rita (Botelho), by special permission of the pope confirmed no fewer than 50,000 children. Another, the Dominican Fr Paul of Thomas of Aquinum and Almeida, did secure consecration as archbishop of Cranganore on 4 March 1821 but effectively ruled his diocese for less than a year. He died on 19 December 1823 at the age of fifty-one.[5]

As far as anything emerges from these pages beyond names and dates, the impression left on the mind of the reader is of a church fully committed to the maintenance of the *status quo*. The Romo-Syrians made no attempt to increase their numbers by conversion of non-Christians. Numbers, in point of fact, show a tendency towards slight diminution rather than increase. There are few signs, if any, of an adventurous spirit or of a desire to adapt the Christian message to the needs of Indian society.

Things went rather better in the vicariate of the Serra, which continued to be under the direction of the Italian Carmelites with their great centre at Varāppoḷi (Verapoly). This is partly to be accounted for by the better relations which they managed to maintain with the Dutch, as long as these were in control. The Dutch never quite overcame their dislike of the Portuguese and their suspicions of the Portuguese missionaries. From the start the Italians managed to enter into friendly, and at times even cordial, relations with the Dutch and received help from them in various ways. The British, when they replaced the Dutch,[6] maintained their rule of even-handed justice to all parties, but their main interest was in the fortunes of the independent Thomas Christians; the strongly Protestant views of some of the British Residents caused them to look with less favour on the Romo-Syrians.[7]

A valuable note from the year 1838[8] gives us the information that in that year there were in the archdiocese of Cranganore 72 churches of the Syrian rite with a Christian population of about 76,000, and in the vicarate of the Serra 42 churches, with 32,000 adherents. To these should be added, on the basis of probability, about 40,000 of the independent Syrian tradition.[9]

2 THE INDEPENDENT THOMAS CHRISTIANS

In 1786 Dionysius the Great (Mar Thoma VI) had already been a bishop for twenty-six years. In 1770 he had accepted re-consecration at the hands of foreign bishops, and from that time on his position seemed secure. Even the Roman Catholics accepted his consecration as valid, though schismatic, and his followers were naturally delighted to have a bishop against whom the old objections could not be raised. Yet life was never as peaceful for him as he could have wished.

To a large extent his troubles were of his own making. Before the eyes of all bishops among the Thomas Christians dangled the possibility that the two branches of the church might become once again one body; each naturally saw himself as the head of this happily united community. This restless ambition led Dionysius into an endless series of negotiations with the Roman Catholics, all destined to end in frustration. It seems that as late as 1799 Dionysius made some kind of submission to Rome, and as evidence of his sincerity agreed to celebrate mass with unleavened bread. But he had hardly entered into the agreement when he broke it, and thereby landed himself in legal proceedings in the Travancore law courts; the verdict of the court was unfavourable to him.[10] This was the end of his attempts to secure recognition from Rome.

Mar Ivanios, the last survivor among the foreign bishops, died in 1794. In 1796 Dionysius consecrated his nephew Mathan as his coadjutor and successor, with the new name Mar Thoma VII.

In 1799 the first British Resident, Colonel Macaulay, arrived in Travancore, to be succeeded in 1809 by the devoutly Christian Colonel Munro. With the coming of the English the independent Thomas Christians emerged from the obscurity in which they had long been hidden.

The first visitor from outside was the Reverend Dr R. H. Kerr, chaplain in Madras, who came to Kerala in 1806. Kerr was sympathetic to what he found. He reported that 'the service in the Syrian church was performed nearly after the manner of the Church of England, and that such Roman Catholic tenets as were rejected by Anglicans were not held by them'. The remark of G. T. Mackenzie that 'Mr Kerr did not go below the surface' is perhaps justified.[11]

Later in the same year came a better-qualified and much more influential visitor, the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, vice-provost of the college of Fort William in Calcutta. Buchanan had a genuinely enquiring mind, and an almost journalistic skill in the presentation of what he had learnt. His book *Christian Researches in Asia*[12] immediately became a best-seller, passed through many editions, and introduced the reading public in England to worlds of which at that time it knew nothing.

Buchanan visited Cranganore and Ankamāli, and others of the main Syrian centres. The highlight of the journey was, naturally, the two visits Buchanan was able to pay to the *metrān* Dionysius the Great, then about seventy-eight years old. The impression made by this prelate was entirely favourable: 'he is a man of highly respectable character in his Church, eminent for his piety, and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions. I find him to be far superior in general learning to any of his clergy whom I had yet seen.'[13]

One of the main subjects discussed with the *metrān* was the provision of Scriptures for the church, and in particular the translation of the Bible into

Malayālam. The *metrān* agreed that there was nothing in their canons against the translation of the Scriptures; such a translation would undoubtedly be of great benefit to the community; he would himself see to it, with the help of learned *caṭṭanārs*, a number of whom were perfectly at home in both Malayālam and Syriac.[14] As a token of affection Mar Dionysius gave to Buchanan a beautiful copy of the whole Bible in Syriac. 'It will be safer in your hands than in ours', he said. 'And yet we have kept it, as some think, for near a thousand years.'[15]

The most delicate subject discussed between Buchanan and the *metrān* was the possibility of a union between the Anglican and the Syrian churches. On this, naturally, the *metrān* was very cautious. 'I should sacrifice much for such a union', he said; 'but let me not be called upon to compromise anything of the dignity and purity of our church.' Buchanan was quick to assure him that, in the event of union being arrived at, no such sacrifice would be demanded of him.[16]

When allowance is made for Buchanan's initial ignorance of the church which he was visiting and the difficulty of communicating through interpreters, what he had managed to learn was of considerable significance. Yet he suffered under a number of illusions, which he passed on to his readers, and these caused difficulties in the later relations between the two churches. He believed himself to have discovered a primitive, and in the main pure, church which had for the most part escaped what he regarded as the deformities of the church of Rome. He gravely underestimated the differences which in fact existed between the Church of England and the Thomas Christians. Like many of his predecessors, he failed to understand the attachment of the Thomas Christians to their own customs and traditions, and the tenacity with which they were capable of resisting any change.

Buchanan's principal hope was that, once enlightened, the church of the Thomas Christians could become a wonderful instrument in the hand of God for the evangelisation of the whole of India, free from the disadvantages which attach to the work of the foreign missionary. In point of fact the Thomas Christians were not much interested in evangelising even their own Hindu neighbours and had never looked beyond the narrow limits of their own territory between the mountains and the sea.

3 NEW BUILDING ON OLD FOUNDATIONS

Buchanan had thrown out the challenge. What would the Church of England make of it?

That an answer was made to the challenge was due almost entirely to the efforts of one remarkable man. Colonel J. Munro became Resident of

Travancore in 1809, and held the office for nearly ten years. For a considerable part of that time he was also in charge of the administration of both Travancore and Cochin. This unusual combination of offices meant that Munro was lord of all that he surveyed. He was strict, authoritarian and paternalistic in his methods; but his strength and his authority were directed to one single end, the welfare of those committed to his care. He found these feudatory states impoverished, divided and weakened by a chronically corrupt government; he left them peaceful, united and moderately prosperous. The whole population rejoiced in the good gifts that he had brought them, and regarded him as their European saviour.[17]

Munro was a man of deep piety and profound evangelical conviction. The independent Thomas Christians were the objects of his special concern and loving care. He found them poor and depressed, ignorant and, by his evangelical standards, superstitious. He was intensely desirous of seeing a renewal of their life, and was prepared to take endless pains to bring this about. If he had been less dictatorial in his methods, he might have achieved more than he did; but to him more than to any other man was due the renewal of life experienced by the independent Thomas Christians in the nineteenth century.

One of the aims of Munro was to make possible the marriage of the *caṭṭanārs*. From one point of view, this was a reasonable step for the Resident to take; he knew that celibacy formed no part of the tradition of the Thomas Christians; it had been introduced only by the Portuguese in the days of their ascendancy. He ascertained that the *metrān* would have no objection to the change.

But Munro's method of giving effect to his wishes was a typical blend of authoritarianism and benevolence. He had expected that the *caṭṭanārs* would come forward eagerly to enjoy the offered freedom; to his surprise they showed considerable reluctance to do so. The reason they gave was poverty – they were too poor to meet the expenses involved in setting up a family. Munro was not the man to waste time on inner scruples; with financial difficulties he was able at all times to deal. In a letter dated 31 July 1816 he expressed approval of the one *caṭṭanār* who had agreed to get married, and asked the CMS missionary Mr Norton to pay to him the sum of Rs. 400, to be handed over in the presence of the bishop. Hearing that fifteen others were prepared to take the step if some provision could be made for their financial necessities, he stated that he would be willing to pay to each of them Rs. 150 or Rs. 200, if this was held to be a suitable sum to set them on the road to domestic happiness. Freedom with pay proved highly attractive; before long the number of married *caṭṭanārs* exceeded that of those who had kept to the rule of celibacy.

4 A MISSION OF HELP

Another of Munro's darling projects was the creation of a college for the education of the priests of the Syrian church. He desired to see as head of this institution an Anglican clergyman of evangelical principles. With this in view he wrote to the corresponding committee of the CMS, recently formed in Madras with the Reverend Marmaduke Thompson as its secretary, asking for its help. The committee took unusually resolute action. Hearing that a missionary, the Reverend Thomas Norton, was on his way to Ceylon, the committee took it upon itself to deflect him to Travancore and to instruct him to report to Munro. Thus an Anglican mission of help to the ancient church in India came into being almost by accident, and without serious thought as to all that was involved in its existence.[18]

Norton arrived in Ālappuḷa (Alleppey) in May 1816. His first task was to meet the *metrān* Dionysius II and to explain his aims.[19] He found himself faced by an almost solid wall of suspicion. The Thomas Christians had seen what the Portuguese had done to their church; it was natural for them to suppose that the aim of the English visitor was the total subversion of their ancient traditions. Norton, in his own words,

> endeavoured to convince the Metropolitan in the presence of several of his Kattanars that we had no other object than the benefit of the Syrian Church; and assured them that it was our sole desire . . . to bring them back to their primitive state according to the purity of the Gospel that they might again become a holy and vigorous church active and useful in the cause of God.[20]

In December 1816 Mar Dionysius II died without having consecrated a successor. The affairs of the independent Syrians were again thrown into confusion. But a wise solution was found. Recourse was had to the little diocese of Toḷiyūr, the foundation of which was recorded in an earlier chapter. The bishop at that time was Mar Philoxenus, already aged, who made a favourable impression on the Europeans and was greatly respected by the *caṭṭanārs* for his saintliness and integrity. He was persuaded with some difficulty to emerge from the retired life which he preferred and to take charge of the Malankara church. He agreed, on condition that he was allowed to appoint one George of Punnathra as vicar-general. After eight months George was consecrated as *metrān* with the title Dionysius III, and Philoxenus returned to his chosen retreat at Toḷiyūr. The new *metrān* ruled the church until 1825.

In 1816 Benjamin Bailey and his wife joined the mission. The buildings of the college were going up. It was reported that there were twenty-five pupils. Plans were put in hand for taking up as soon as possible the work of translating the Bible into Malayālam.

About this time an unexpected visitor appeared in Kerala in the person of Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, the first Anglican bishop in India. As a high churchman Middleton was apprehensive as to the possible effects of this Anglican incursion into the territories of an ancient Eastern church. He strictly warned Norton that 'experience had already shewn that it was not impossible to scatter disunion among the Syrians; and the ministrations of a stranger not intimately familiar with their idioms, either of speech or thought, might very seriously aggravate the evil'.[21] He was glad to see, however, that 'there can be no doubt that they are prepared for an intimate and friendly communion with us'.

The home committee of the CMS, when informed of what was happening in Travancore, was not sure of the extent to which it could give its approval to such proceedings. It was only the assurance given by many friends of the operation that the aim was to secure through the 'renovated Syrians'[22] a wide extension of the work of evangelization in India that opposition was stilled, and approval of the work secured, on the understanding that reform and not proselytisation was the purpose to be kept constantly in view.

Doubts having been set at rest, the committee took up in earnest the task of forwarding the mission. In 1818 two further missionaries, Joseph Fenn and Henry Baker, were sent to Kerala. In the instructions given to them the missionary aim was stressed: 'We think, with Dr Buchanan, that the revival of the Syrian church will be the means of supplying efficient missionaries for surrounding heathen and Mahommedan countries.' More explicitly the missionaries were told what they were to avoid:

> The Syrians should be brought back to their own ancient and primitive worship and discipline, rather than be induced to adopt the liturgy and discipline of the English Church; and should any considerations incline them to wish such a measure, it would be highly expedient to dissuade them from adopting it, both for the preservation of their individuality and entireness, and greater consequent weight and usefulness as a Church.[23]

Fenn was an unusual and highly gifted man. When he felt the call to missionary service, he was already a qualified lawyer earning £1,500 a year, a very large sum in those days. He proved to be an excellent missionary, perhaps the most successful of all those who served the mission of help in its early days. It was a misfortune that ill-health compelled him to return to England after only eight years of service.

One further witness to the propriety of the conduct of these first missionaries may be cited. The Reverend W. H. Mill was in Kerala in 1821 and 1822 with a view to surveying the Syriac manuscripts in the possession of the ancient church; naturally he spent much time with the missionaries – especially with Fenn with whom he had been at school.[24] They made him welcome, took him round on their journeys, and showed everything that he could wish to see of their work. Close acquaintance dispelled prejudice. He wrote:

> they do nothing but by the express sanction of the Metropolitan . . . their use of the Anglican service for themselves and their families in one of their chapels is agreeable to the catholic practice of these Christians (who allowed the same 250 years ago to the Portuguese priests) and is totally unconnected with the purpose of obtruding even that liturgy upon the Syrian Church.[25]

The missionaries were prudent in their conduct, but the disturbance caused by their presence was probably far greater than they realised. They had under their control the young men destined for the ministry of the church; though a majority among these disappointed them by their total lack of desire for learning, some had drunk in new ideas of the Gospel and the church. The Syrians, with their habitual courtesy, concealed their feelings from the foreigner; there can be no doubt that many among them were deeply anxious and apprehensive. The missionaries might have introduced only the nose of the camel into the tent; the Syrians were shrewd enough to feel that the whole weight of the camel was pressing from behind.

The translation of the Bible into Malayālam was from the start a major concern of the missionaries. This proved to be a work of much greater difficulty than had been expected. Neither grammar nor dictionary was available.[26] Two earlier translations made by *caṭṭanārs* from Syriac proved to be so imperfect as to be unusable. The major difficulty was that at the time there was no standard Malayālam prose; into what kind of Malayālam should the Scriptures be translated?[27]

So the work dragged on rather slowly. At last in 1829 5,000 copies of the New Testament were printed and were available for use. The Bailey version is vulnerable to criticism on a variety of grounds. Too close an adherence to the Greek original at times distorts the Malayālam idiom. An excess of Sanskrit words makes the book difficult reading for the less learned among its readers. Elegance of diction is sadly lacking. But the 5,000 copies were sold in a surprisingly short space of time, and the sales continued. Perhaps no single event contributed more to the renewal of life among the Thomas Christians.[28]

The translation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer was a much more questionable proceeding. The missionaries had held Anglican services in English for themselves and their families. Before long, however, they became convinced that to make the Syrians acquainted with the Anglican liturgy would be a valuable contribution to that reformation which they desired to see taking shape within the Syrian church:

> Not that we wish to impose any of our ceremonies on them, much less to identify them with the English Church; but a model is necessary for them in their attempt at

reformation; and we know of none better than the sober but dignified deportment of the Church to which it is our privilege to belong.[29]

A number of copies of the parts of the Prayer Book which had been translated were circulated among the *caṭṭanārs*, some of whom seem to have used them in their churches. For the Syrians to engage in worship in their own language was an entirely new experience, and some of them found this very attractive in spite of the absence of the ceremonies to which they were accustomed. But it was made clear that the Prayer Book was never to be regarded as more than a supplement to the Syriac liturgy. Holy Communion was never celebrated in Malayālam, and the missionaries never on any occasion invited a Thomas Christian to receive Communion at an Anglican service. This they would have regarded as an infringement of the order of the church and of the rights of the *caṭṭanārs*.

What the missionaries were doing was, however, much more dangerous than they seem to have realised. A number of Malankara Christians insensibly came to feel themselves more at home in Anglican worship than in the Syriac rite with which they had grown up. Subversion was not intended, but it was undoubtedly taking place.

In 1825 Mar Dionysius III died. He never made any secret of his attachment to the old ways and of his loyalty to the patriarch of Antioch; but he remained on excellent terms with the missionaries. They in return felt respect and deep affection for him, and sincerely mourned him when he died.

Once again recourse was had to the venerable Mar Philoxenus, who was persuaded to emerge from retirement, and to take up the heavy burden of serving as *metrān* of the bereaved church. It was clear that this aged man could not bear the whole burden alone, and his request for a coadjutor was immediately granted. As there was no agreement among the Syrians as to who the coadjutor should be, the ancient method of casting lots was adopted.[30] The lot fell upon Cheppāṭ Philip (Philipose Malpān), who was consecrated with the title Mar Dionysius IV, on the understanding that he would work under the direction of Mar Philoxenus as *metrān*. This arrangement lasted until 1830, when Mar Philoxenus died, full of years and honour and deeply regretted by his missionary friends. Mar Dionysius then ruled as *metrān* for twenty-five years of what an Indian writer has called 'an exceedingly unquiet episcopate'.[31]

Few writers have a good word to say about Mar Dionysius. As long as Mar Philoxenus lived, he concealed his true character. From 1830 onwards complaints were many. The personal life of the *metrān* was not regarded as being above reproach. Abuses crept into the life of the church. The friendly relationship between the missionaries and the Thomas Christians began to deteriorate.

The events of the period between 1830 and 1840 have been the subject of such extensive and embittered controversy that an impartial account, generally acceptable as such, is almost impossible to produce. By the supporters of one point of view the missionaries are represented as destroyers whose aim was to assimilate the ancient church in every respect to the Church of England; Mar Dionysius, for all his faults, is to be regarded as the courageous defender, who saved the church from being reduced to the status of a Protestant sect. From the other side the missionaries are seen as honourable men who carried out loyally their appointed task of working for a much needed reformation in the church without attempting to alter its essential character; while Mar Dionysius is the crafty prelate who resisted all reforms, even those most urgently needed, and produced in the church a new schism which has lasted to the present day.

In the welter of contradictory allegations and rumours, certain events can be taken as reasonably well established.[32]

In the crucial period 1833–4, the experienced missionaries were all absent, and the Anglican church was represented only by two young and untried men, Joseph Peet and W. J. Woodcock.[33] Woodcock was inclined to enter into ardent controversy with Thomas Christians on every possible occasion, when he knew little of the doctrine and ancient traditions of the church, and even less of the mentality of the people among whom he had come to dwell. The fiery Peet learned wisdom and became in time a greatly respected and valued missionary. But in time of crisis he was impetuous and imprudent. Many of the charges made against him can be shown to rest on flimsy evidence or none at all. But, even when allowance has been made for this, it is clear that the way in which he behaved was bound to be gravely disturbing to the minds even of those who were inclined to favour what the missionaries were trying to do.

One or two of Peet's more incautious actions should be recorded.

Many of the most precious possessions of the Malankara church, including the famous copper-plates, were kept safely in a doubly locked room in the seminary, one key being in the possession of Peet, the other in the possession of the *metrān*. On the suspicion that Mar Dionysius was intending to remove these treasures from the seminary and to take sole charge of them himself, Peet broke the lock to which he had no key and removed the precious articles to his own bungalow.[34] This constituted without doubt grave aggression on the rights of the *metrān*.

A *malpān*, who disliked the doctrines put forward by Peet, on a number of occasions entered the classroom as soon as Peet had left it and directly contradicted what he had taught. One day Peet entered the room while the *malpān* was in possession and heard what was being said.[35] For this act of insubordination the teacher was immediately dismissed from his post; against this high-handed action there was no appeal.

Peet gravely offended the *metrān* by requiring him to sign a declaration to the effect that 'I am bound for the future not to ordain Kattanars, before I receive a satisfactory testimony from the Rev Mr Peet and the Malpan who is in the College that they have a good knowledge of the Scripture both in Syriac and in Malayalam.'[36] The *metrān* had no intention of acting according to this agreement; nevertheless his pride was wounded by having to submit to this imposition by a much younger man.

An important document recently published[37] makes plain the state of exasperation reached by the missionaries and their supporters in Madras at the almost complete failure of nineteen years of devoted work. Much money had been spent and the time of a number of missionaries expended, but there was no sign of any extensive reform of the kind that they desired to see.

The Reverend John Tucker had recently arrived in India as secretary of the corresponding committee of the CMS in Madras. It was part of his duty to supervise the mission in Kerala; in fulfilment of this duty, he arrived in Kōṭṭayam early in 1835. Tucker, like the missionaries then resident in Kerala, was new to India, and he had little understanding of the point of view of the Thomas Christians. He rapidly reached the conclusion that much more decisive steps should be taken against what, from the Anglican point of view were defects in the 'Syrian' position, and that the church should be challenged to engage in a thorough reformation of its ways on lines satisfactory to its foreign helpers. With this in view, the *metrān* should be asked to convene a synod to deal with all the matters still under dispute.

In November 1835 Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, in the course of his primary visitation, came to Kōṭṭayam. Like Bishop Middleton before him, he had an intense concern for the integrity and independence of the ancient church; but his views must to some extent have been influenced by the missionaries with whom he was staying. Several complimentary visits were exchanged between the bishop and the *metrān*. But on 21 November a final and more businesslike meeting was held, with a number of *caṭṭanārs* present. A long discussion ensued,[38] couched in terms of the most careful courtesy. The bishop made it plain that he claimed no kind of authority over the church; he desired simply to make a number of suggestions which he hoped would be acceptable to all concerned. Mar Dionysius replied politely that 'the church shall assemble and take [these suggestions] into consideration'. Subsequent events showed that the *metrān* had no intention of accepting any of the bishop's suggestions. He continued the practice, to which the gravest objection was taken by the Anglicans, of ordaining boys as deacons at the age of seven or eight, and as priests at the age of seventeen.

The synod of Māvēlikara was convened in January 1836. It was attended by Mar Dionysius and by Mar Cyril of Toḷiyūr, by more than fifty *caṭṭanārs*, and by a number of lay-people. The missionaries discovered to their chagrin that the opposition to their work was much stronger than they had supposed. No doubt much pressure had been brought to bear on those present to drift with the tide; but in the course of the debate only one voice was raised in disagreement with the views of the majority. The resolution adopted by the synod amounted to a categorical denial of any need for change, and a total repudiation of all that the missionaries had tried to do.[39] The operative clauses are as follows:

> We, the Jacobite Syrians, being subject to the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch, and observing, as we do, the Liturgies and ordinances instituted by the prelates sent under his command, cannot deviate from such Liturgies and maintain a discipline contrary thereto... For this reason we do not follow any faith or teaching other than the orthodox faith of the Jacobite Syrian Christians, to the end that we may obtain salvation through the prayers of the ever happy, holy and ever-blessed Mother of God, the redresser of all complaints, and through the prayers of all Saints.

Shortly after the dissolution of the synod a circular was sent out to the effect that no deacon might study in the Kōṭṭayam seminary on pain of being debarred from the priesthood, and that any *caṭṭanārs* or lay-people associating in any way with the missionaries would render themselves liable to the penalty of excommunication.

5 A MISSION IN DISSOLUTION

So the projects entered into with such high hopes twenty years earlier were laid in the dust; all that the missionaries had attempted to do appeared to have been in vain. Worst of all, the very thing that above all they had desired to avoid – a split in the ranks of the Thomas Christians – was clearly on its way.

The great majority in the Malankara church had rallied to their *metrān* and had accepted his decisions; but there was a minority which had decided that it could not honestly remain within that fold and which desired to be taken into the Anglican fellowship. A considerably larger number had accepted many of the ideas of the missionaries, but, having no desire to leave the church of their fathers, intended to stay where they were and to work for reform from within.

The missionaries had to decide what they were to do. The easiest course would have been to have cut their losses and to have withdrawn completely from Kerala. There were, however, weighty arguments against any such course. Their work had not been confined to the Christian world. Missionaries were at work in Alleppey and Cochin. Congregations of converts had come into being, and, as the Thomas Christians were not willing to receive them, had been organised on the Anglican model. Furthermore, something had to be done about those who had cut themselves off from the ancient fellowship in which they had grown up. It did not seem fair to leave the reforming party in the ancient church without the help and guidance which could be given only by the missionaries. Rightly or wrongly, they decided to stay. This decision landed them with a number of delicate and intricate problems.

A considerable amount of property had been accumulated – through grants made at the instance of Colonel Munro for the benefit of the 'Syrian' community; through the generosity of the *rāni*; through gifts made by the missionaries themselves from their own resources; and through regular contributions from the Church Missionary Society. The property consisted of buildings of considerable value, especially the seminary at Kōṭṭayam; of landed property, including the large area known as Munro Island; but also of lands acquired by the missionaries and of capital sums held on various terms. It was found impossible to arrive at agreement between the *metrān* and the missionaries as to ownership of the properties, trusteeship and rights of administration. The Travancore government, on the advice of the government of Madras, decided to form a bench of three arbitrators, one appointed by the *metrān*, one by the missionaries, and one by the government, to go into all the related questions and to settle the matter. All were agreed that the properties were to be used for the benefit of the 'Syrian' community; the question as to who should administer what, and in what way, was tangled and intricate. The arbitrators made their award on 4 April 1840. As to the property acquired in various ways before the arrival of the missionaries there was no dispute – these were held to belong absolutely to the Malankara church, and were to be administered by the *metrān* with the help of one priest and one layman elected by the church. The later gifts, received through the agency of Colonel Munro, were held to be controlled by the conditions laid down regarding the services to be rendered by the missionaries; they were therefore to be administered 'by the Rev. the Missionaries at Kōṭṭayam, the secretary to the Madras Corresponding Committee, and the British Resident jointly'.[40] Other properties were sold and the proceeds divided, in what the arbitrators judged to be equitable proportions, between the *metrān* and the missionaries.

To the impartial student it may seem that a fair and generous solution had been reached. This is not the view held by the Malankara church, most of the members of which believed and to this day believe that they were deprived of their rights by cunning and self-interested missionaries, through whose machinations they were robbed of valuable properties which they have never been able to recover.

The missionaries of the CMS felt that in two directions they had full liberty to operate as directed by their consciences.

The college in Kōṭṭayam was still under their control, though it had moved to a different building. They would continue to provide for all classes, non-Christians as well as Christians, the best education which it was within their power to offer. As, despite the threats uttered by the *metrān*, there were always some deacons in the college, *malpāns* to instruct these students in Syriac were from time to time appointed.

The 'mission of help' had now been transformed into an open mission. The missionaries found themselves increasingly drawn into service to the non-Christians around them. For a considerable period, having no church of their own and no Indian congregation of the Anglican persuasion, they had refused to baptise any non-Christian in the neighbourhood of Kōṭṭayam. This restriction was withdrawn, when in 1842 the church (which later became the cathedral) of the Anglican diocese was opened for worship.[41]

Converts from the upper classes have always been few. The first successes of the missionaries were among the Īzhavas, that stalwart community which stood roughly on the same level as the Shānārs further south. But the attention of the missionaries had been drawn to two of the most needy groups in the population.

As early as 1818 the missionaries had written to the CMS in London about the forlorn condition of the people called Pulayas, and added, 'should any plans for their amelioration be adopted, and if we can be of assistance, it will afford us great pleasure'. As late as 1906 the official State Manual of Travancore wrote of the Pulayas that they 'occupy a very low rank in the social scale. They are a polluting caste; even other polluting castes above them are polluted by them. Formerly they were all slaves of the masters they worked under.[42] They are steeped in ignorance and superstition, and generally very poor.'[43]

Another group which attracted the attention of the missionaries was that of the hill peoples, often called the hill Arrians, who lived in the forests between Travancore and the Tirunelveli district.[44]

Converts from these two groups were numerous and soon far outnumbered those from among the Thomas Christians and other groups of higher social standing.

From the start the missionaries took a firm line on the principle of the equality of all human beings as children of God redeemed by Jesus Christ. The conference of 1857 declared that 'we are and have been unanimously agreed that converts from the slave castes are to be introduced into our churches and partake of the ordinances of religion and stand on the same footing as other members of the church'. Against their will the missionaries found themselves compelled to spend much of their time in the defence of what they regarded as the elementary rights of their people. One student of the period writes amusingly that 'the aggressive tendencies of Joseph Peet were now directed from fighting "Syrian superstition" into the more profitable occupation of opposing the appalling social injustice which denied to large groups of people the simplest decencies of life'.[45]

Two Indian writers have drawn attention perceptively to the revolutionary effects of this pioneer evangelistic work on the understanding in 'Syrian' circles of the nature of the church:

> Syrians had been inclined to regard their church as an exclusive social caste or ethnic community . . . For the first time many Syrians were awakened to three truths. First that the Church exists for spreading the Gospel to all peoples, irrespective of their caste status. Second, that the Church has a special responsibility to serve and uplift the poor and depressed. Third, that the church has a spiritual unity in Christ, transcending all caste divisions.[46]

The third problem for the mission, and by far the most difficult, arose from the predicament of those who had been so deeply influenced by evangelical teaching, and so disturbed by the refusal of the *metrān* to consider any kind of reformation, that they felt conscientiously unable to remain within the fellowship of the Malankara church. That church refused to regard dissidents as still forming part of its membership. Were they to be isolated without any form of fellowship within the Christian world? The Romo-Syrians were always waiting with open doors to welcome any who wished to leave the Malankara fellowship. Were the Anglicans to be condemned for ever to a self-denying ordinance?

The handling of the problem followed no systematic plan. The strongest group of would-be Anglicans was not in Kōṭṭayam but at Mallapaḷḷi some miles away. The missionaries, regarding them as still in some sense members of the 'Syrian' fellowship, drew up for them a revised form of the Eastern liturgy, removing all those elements which they regarded as unscriptural. These Christians, having formed themselves into a community, naturally desired to have a place of worship. The foundation was laid on 9 March 1836; the church was opened for worship on 27 September 1842. In 1838 land was bought at Māvēlikara; a church was built and opened for worship in 1840.

In 1840 Bishop Spencer of Madras, from whom the missionaries now received their licences, held a visitation in Kerala. He visited nine centres and held confirmations in most of them. The Anglican wing of the ancient church was now in being. The bishop spent eleven days at Kōṭṭayam and enquired carefully into the proceedings of the missionaries. He declared himself entirely satisfied with all that had been done, and was particularly pleased with the college, recognising the promise it showed of great service in the future.

The Anglican 'Syrians' have never been a large body, but for nearly a century they provided the greater part of the leadership in the Anglican diocese of Travancore and Cochin, as well as producing men and women capable of holding high positions in education, in government service and in business.

Some had left the church of their upbringing. Others, while no less committed to the cause of reform, felt it possible to remain where they were and to further the cause of reformation from within the ancient church. The most prominent among these was Abraham Malpān.[47] Born in 1796, this remarkable man had been ordained to the priesthood at the age of sixteen. For many years he served as teacher of Syriac in the college founded by the CMS missionaries, and was thus brought into close touch with the evangelical form of the Christian faith which they professed. More perhaps than any of the other *caṭṭanārs*, he had adopted the principle that the doctrines and practice of the church must be tested by the Scriptures, and that, though the venerable traditions of the church must not be unnecessarily interfered with, there were many areas of both teaching and practice in which reform was greatly to be desired.

In 1840 Abraham surrendered his position in the college and gave himself up completely to the care of his large congregation at Marāmannu. Here he began to put into effect the principles of reformation as he understood them. The first great change was the holding of the Sunday services in Malayālam. A revised form of the *Qurbāna*, the service of Holy Communion, was also introduced, those elements which Abraham regarded as being at best superfluous, at worst erroneous, being quietly removed. But the structure of the *Qurbāna* remained unaltered; it was still unmistakably the Eastern service which had persisted for so many centuries in the church.[48]

Later events were to show that there had been more sympathy with the cause of reformation, among both *caṭṭanārs* and lay-people, than had appeared in the apparent unanimity with which the decisions of the synod of Māvēlikara had been received. But at this time the main support for Abraham's policy came from the deacons, who like him were deeply under the influence of biblical authority and who rallied round him as their leader. All this was sufficient to arouse suspicion and hostility in the mind of Mar Dionysius; he proceeded to excommunicate the entire congregation of Marāmannu, and announced that he would not advance to the priesthood any of the deacons who had associated themselves with Abraham.

6 ON THE WAY TO DIVISION

This action of the *metrān* aroused grave anxiety in the mind of the *malpān*. He was a reformer, not a revolutionary; convinced though he was of the need for reform, the last thing that he desired was to cause the disruption of the church or the abandonment of its inherited order. He was still a comparatively young man, but his health was already precarious, and he foresaw that, in the event of his death, the whole reform movement might die away and be lost. Nothing was to be expected from Mar Dionysius, whose opposition to reform of any kind had if anything become more rigid with the years. Many problems could be solved, if it were possible to secure the appointment of a *metrān* concerned for more than the maintenance of the *status quo* and open to new ideas.

Abraham looked round for a possible candidate and found one in his own family. His nephew Matthew had studied under the missionaries in Kōṭṭayam, and while there had been deeply influenced both by them and by his uncle. In 1840 he was studying in the CMS institution in Madras, where he was again exposed to the biblical and evangelical principles maintained as stoutly by the missionaries in Madras as by those in Kerala. Abraham decided to approach the patriarch in Mardin directly, and to use his nephew as his emissary for this purpose.[49] Sometime in 1841 Matthew completed the long and arduous journey to Mesopotamia and introduced himself to the patriarch. This potentate received him cordially, and from the first moment formed a favourable opinion of the character and talents of his guest. At some point in the year 1842 the patriarch reached the conclusion that, by consecrating Matthew as bishop and sending him back to India with his own special authorisation, he might restore peace to the church by providing it with a head against whose status no cavil could be raised[50] and who would be accepted by the whole church as its true and lawful bishop. It is not clear whether the patriarch was fully aware of the evangelical movement in the church in Kerala and of the reforming proclivities of his protégé. The deed was done. The consecration took place, and Mar Matthew Athanasius, as he had now become, prepared to set out for home. To clear the way before him the patriarch issued an order of excommunication against Mar Dionysius.

In carrying out this consecration the patriarch was departing from precedent in a number of ways. Patriarchs had in the past consecrated bishops for the Indian church to which the majority of their subjects belonged. But in every case these had been Syrians of Mesopotamia, selected by the patriarch on the basis of his personal knowledge of them. Consecration of Indian bishops had begun in the seventeenth century; but such consecrations had been carried out in India, in most cases by Eastern prelates resident in or visiting India. It appears that Matthew Athanasius was the first Indian ever to be consecrated as bishop by the patriarch in person. Moreover, though the patriarch was right in thinking that many in the Indian church desired the replacement of Mar Dionysius by a more reputable successor, it could not be said that Matthew had come to Mesopotamia with any recommendation from the church as a whole. The step taken by the patriarch in the hope that it would lead to peace worked in the opposite direction and became in the end a source of further division leading to the disruption of the church.

The new prelate arrived back in Travancore in 1843, to be warmly welcomed by his uncle, whose health gave cause for increasing anxiety.[51] But Matthew disappointed the hopes of his friends by showing greater eagerness for the expulsion of Mar Dionysius than for the promotion of the reforming movement. It was natural that a new *metrān* should be anxious to establish his position in the church. But it was unlikely that Mar Dionysius, after so many years in office, would tamely accept supersession by a younger rival; he could count on the support of the majority of the *caṭṭanārs*, and hoped for the support both of the Travancore government and of the British Resident. Without delay he took the initiative by writing to the patriarch, assuring him of his own loyalty, and informing him that Matthew Athanasius was in reality an agent of the missionaries, whose aim it was to subvert the church from its allegiance and to change its ways.

Perplexed by these contradictory reports, in 1846 the patriarch sent his secretary, Mar Cyril (Kurilos), to Kerala to straighten things out. It appears that he gave Mar Cyril letters under his seal, but with a blank space in which the name of the person to be accepted as *metrān* of the church was to be filled in. By agreement with Mar Dionysius, Mar Cyril entered his own name in the blank space, and claimed to be the only legitimate *metrān* of the Indian church. Mar Dionysius reported to the resident that he had laid down his office in favour of Mar Cyril.[52]

The government of Travancore had no wish to become involved in the internal dissensions of Christians. But, being under legal obligation to make certain payments to the church, it could not evade the necessity of deciding which of the two claimants was entitled to receive the money. A commission was appointed to determine whether Mar Matthew Athanasius or Mar Cyril had the better claim; it reported in 1852 that the documents put forward by Mar Matthew Athanasius were genuine, and that those put forward by Mar Cyril were a forgery.[53] Matthew Athanasius was accordingly recognised by the civil authority as the one and only *metrān* of the ancient church.

The new *metrān* could urge many things in his own favour. All authorities seem to agree that he was the best qualified, theologically, of all the metropolitans who have ruled the ancient church. Even his adversaries seem to have cast no aspersions on his moral character. He remained on friendly terms with the missionaries, who, though no longer directly concerned in the affairs of the church, continued to take a great interest in them. Unquestionably he had been given authority by the patriarch to rule the church, and as to the validity of his consecration there could be no doubt. The government of the country in which he lived had recognised him as legitimate *matrān* and had assured him of its support.

On the other hand there was much against him. The majority of the *caṭṭanārs* were not willing to accept him as their head; obdurate in their adherence to the ancient ways, they could not tolerate one who had made no secret of his adherence to the reforming party, though less than active in pressing its claims. There were other *metrāns* on the scene who might be able to question the validity of his consecration, on the ground that the patriarch had acted without full knowledge of the situation. Some Anglicans could be counted on to support him; there were others who regarded him as an intruder and were prepared to lend what aid they could to those opposed to him. He could not have a quiet life.

It is almost impossible, on the basis of the available evidence, to form a reliable estimate of the character and work of Matthew Athanasius. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his acceptance of his uncle's ideas and plans; yet at times he seemed inclined to place his own interests ahead of the interests of the church. He depended for the validity of his consecration on the patriarch and declared his loyalty to the patriarchal throne of Antioch; but when the patriarch seemed to turn against him, he asserted his independence and acted in defiance of what the patriarch would have required. At times he made no secret of his adherence to the evangelical views of the faith;[54] at other times he seems to have adhered rather strictly to the ancient Syrian tradition.

It may well be that, in the extraordinary complexities of the situation of the ancient church, no individual could have followed an absolutely straight and inflexible course. Matthew lived on until 1877, having been for twenty-five years the recognised head of the ancient church. It was his aim, as it was the aim of his friends, to establish and to secure peace for the church. It was his misfortune that he became largely instrumental in bringing about that very thing which, from the start, the CMS missionaries had been most anxious to avoid – further dissensions and, in the end, disruption in the already divided church of the Thomas Christians.

12 · Anglican Development

1 INDIA AND THE ANGLICAN EVANGELICALS

Anglican clergymen had been active in India since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Throughout the eighteenth century the SPCK in London had given generous help to the Lutheran mission in South India; but chaplains had always been few, and Anglican missionaries were nowhere to be found. By the middle of the nineteenth century the situation was entirely different. That this was so was due more to one cause than to any others – the development of the evangelical revival in the Church of England.

Some of the followers of John and Charles Wesley separated themselves from the Church of England and formed the various branches of the Methodist fellowship; but a good many of the most highly educated and most influential among them remained in the church of their origin and gradually formed the evangelical wing of the Church of England.

Among the Anglican evangelicals one man stands out, in the range and depth of his influence, far above all others. Charles Simeon (1759–1836) never held any office in the church other than that of incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge. For fifty-four years he expounded the Gospel as he understood it from the pulpit of that church, and gathered round himself a group of devoted, and in some cases distinguished, disciples. His attention had early been directed to India, to which he referred as 'my diocese', and later as 'my province'.[1] At the time of his appointment to his church in Cambridge, the Church of England was not sending missionaries to work in India; it therefore seemed to him good that some of the most promising among his followers should serve the East India Company as chaplains on its establishment. Thus the noble succession of 'pious chaplains' came into existence. These men were not missionaries; they earned their salary by caring for the English-speaking communities in India. But no one could forbid them to learn an Indian language or to make their services available to any Indians who might care to take advantage of them.

The first of Simeon's friends to arrive in India was David Brown (1762–1812), of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who arrived in India as a newly ordained deacon and was never able to secure advancement to the priesthood.[2]

Brown was not marked out by any special intellectual gifts, nor is he credited with great eloquence. But he was exactly the right man for the times. Calcutta society was dominated by the goodly trinity – Cornwallis, unemotional in his devotion and unsullied in his integrity; John Shore, later to be governor-general, whose growing piety gradually overcame his constitutional shyness; Charles Grant, the intensity of whose evangelical convictions at times led him into a rather disagreeable narrowness. Brown's manly, straightforward and uncompromising proclamation of the Gospel as he understood it secured for him the favour of these three men, and in course of time he came to exercise an outstanding influence on the whole of English society in Calcutta. For some years senior chaplain at the presidency, he was appointed by Lord Mornington (Wellesley) as provost of Fort William College, an office in which he rejoiced in the opportunities of influencing the minds of young men, some of whom would later come to be rulers in India.

David Brown, though not a missionary, had at all times a deep concern for the non-Christian population around him. But there was at the time little missionary interest in England, and he had to wait long for colleagues who would share his wider interests. At last in 1796 he was joined by Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815), a Scot who had entered Cambridge at the age of twenty-five and was just thirty when he arrived in India. Buchanan proved to be one of the ablest, and certainly the most flamboyant, of all the chaplains who served on the establishment.

Buchanan found various fields in which to exercise his talents. He was appointed by Wellesley as vice-provost of the college of Fort William, and he had much to do with drawing up the statutes by which the college was governed. Mention has already been made of his *Christian Researches in Asia* and of the immense interest aroused in England by successive editions of that work. More influential than any other of his writings was perhaps his *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India both as the Means of Perpetuating the Christian Religion among our own Countrymen and as a Foundation for the Ultimate Civilization of the Natives* (1805).

When the long debate on this theme wound to its end, and it had been agreed by Parliament that a bishop should be appointed for India, it was the opinion of many Christians that Buchanan was better suited than any other, by his abilities and his acquaintance with India, to put into execution the plans with whose drawing up he had had so much to do. But considerations of health made this impossible. Buchanan returned to England in 1808 and died peacefully in 1815, having seen accomplished much of what he had planned.

In 1806 four new chaplains, all of evangelical persuasion, reached India – Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie and John Parson for Calcutta, Marmaduke Thompson for Madras.

Henry Martyn was perhaps the ablest, and certainly is the best known, of all the chaplains who have served in India. A Cornishman, he entered St John's College, Cambridge, apparently unaware of his own great abilities. When still less than twenty-one years old, he was ranked as senior wrangler,[3] and showed equal proficiency in the study of the ancient languages. In due course he became a fellow of his college. Friendship with Charles Simeon led on to ordination, and to a deep desire to serve Christ in the non-Christian world. Martyn had in fact offered his services to the CMS in 1802, but had had to withdraw the offer because of heavy financial losses and undischarged duties to his family. In 1805, on the advice of his friends, he accepted a Company's chaplaincy in India; this would give him enough both to live on and to support the unmarried sister who was dependent on him. He arrived in Calcutta on 12 May 1806.

Martyn served only six years in India; but he left behind him three imperishable memorials.

Soon after his early death his *Journal* was published *in extenso* by Samuel Wilberforce, later bishop of Oxford and of Winchester. This work revealed to the world an evangelical saint, worthy to stand in the same rank with Blaise Pascal and David Brainerd. In these pages the reader encounters an intensely sensitive, vulnerable spirit, unsparing in criticism of his own weaknesses, increasingly consumed by the desire to be wholly centred in God, to love him above all things and to find his only joy in doing God's will. The writer seems completely and successfully to have hidden his inner torments from all his friends[4] and to have impressed them by his unvarying cheerfulness.

Martyn was never afflicted by that narrowness which at times has been the bane of evangelicals. His concentration on the study of Scripture was intense, but he records that closer acquaintance with it had deepened his appreciation of poetry, music and painting. From his Cawnpore days the formidable Mrs Sherwood, authoress of *The Fairchild Family* and of *Little Henry and his Bearer*, has left us a series of attractive vignettes. The simplicity and charm of Martyn stand out in every line: 'He used to come on horseback with the sais running by his side. He sat his horse as if he was not quite aware that he was on horseback, and he generally wore his coat as if it was falling from his shoulders.'[5] Confirmation of this estimate comes from an unexpected source, the *Life* of the great Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had Martyn as a companion on his voyage from Calcutta to Bombay in 1810:

> Mr Martyn has proved a better companion than I reckoned with, though my expectation was high. His zeal is unabated, but it is not troublesome and he does not press disputes and investigate creeds . . . he is a man of good sense and taste, and simple in his manner and character, and cheerful in his conversation.[6]

This is amplified in an even more striking comment in a letter:

> We have in Mr Martyn an excellent scholar, and one of the mildest, cheerfullest and pleasantest men I ever saw. He is extremely religious . . . but talks on all subjects as heartily as he could do if he were an infidel.[7]

Secondly, Martyn introduced a new expertise into the art of Bible translation in Asia. He had an ear for languages (he was highly musical) such as the Serampore brethren for the most part lacked, and that sense of idiom in which Carey was so sadly deficient. His personal relations with the group at Serampore were as friendly as could be; but not many months passed before he became aware of the crudeness, and the occasionally misleading character, of the Serampore versions. He seems at times to have expressed criticisms which could not but be felt by his elders as wounding.

Even before leaving England Martyn had begun the study of Hindustani. He then launched out on Sanskrit, but abandoned it as being of little use as an aid to the study of the languages used by Muslims, to which he felt himself increasingly drawn. He welcomed the suggestion made by David Brown that he should give himself to the production of a completely new translation of the New Testament in Hindustani, a language in which the Serampore version was held to be particularly defective. But what is Hindustani?[8] Urdu prose literature was in its infancy; there was no accepted standard to which Martyn might attempt as far as possible to approximate. To a large extent he had to rely on his own judgement and on that linguistic intuition with which he was so well endowed. Intelligibility could be ensured by constant contact with Urdu speakers. Elegance could be attained only through extensive acquaintance with Persian and Arabic. To this, then, he now set himself. Like many other Europeans, Martyn fell in love with the Persian language and acquired a rare mastery in it. For the acquisition of Arabic his knowledge of Hebrew was a great help. Here then was the gigantic task he had set himself – to produce a Hindustani New Testament which would be independent of all previous attempts at translation, a Persian translation so extensively revised as to be in effect a new work, and an Arabic New Testament also extensively revised.

Colleagues in Calcutta believed that Martyn's plans, though grandiose, could be defended, and, thinking to lighten a little the load of his labours, they sent to work with him one Sabat, an Arab. Rarely can good intentions have been so closely matched with disastrous consequences. Sabat is one of the strangest of the many characters who appear in these pages. There is no reason to doubt that he was an Arab of high lineage. After a wandering life, restless, disorderly, and by his own account criminal, he landed up in Madras, where he secured employment as expounder of Muslim law in the civil courts. A chance reading of the Hindustani New Testament brought him to a sudden conviction of the truth of the Christian Gospel. He was baptised by Dr Kerr and received the name Nathanael, being then twenty-seven years of age. He made his way to Serampore, and by service in the fields of Persian and Arabic translation won the confidence of the Serampore brethren. It seemed a good idea to send him to Martyn, who was setting himself to master the thought world of Islam and the main languages spoken in the Muslim world.

Difficulties began to arise from the very start.

It was not long before Martyn discovered that, though Sabat had amassed a considerable store of miscellaneous learning, he was lacking in judgement and in the habit of self-criticism. Perhaps aware of his own deficiencies, he made up for them by enormous arrogance:

> Another of his odd opinions is, that he is so much under the immediate influence and direction of the Spirit, that there will not be one single error in his whole Persian translation . . . Sabat, though a real Christian has not lost a jot of his Arabian pride. He looks upon the Europeans as mushrooms, and seems to regard my pretensions to any learning as we do those of a savage or an ape.[9]

Dealing with Sabat may have been of great service to Martyn in his painful striving after perfect Christian sanctity; but the weariness consequent on endless dealings with his irrationalities helped to deprive him of the already precarious remnants of his health. When he returned to Calcutta, his friends realised that he was already a dying man. Still, the Hindustani (Urdu) New Testament was complete, and from the moment of publication proved itself a classic. When, many years later, a revision was needed, Dr H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, himself no mean scholar, recorded that the Martyn version was the basis for the revision and that, though changes had to be made, what emerged was still essentially the work as originally produced by Martyn. To very few versions made by foreigners has such a tribute ever been paid.

Martyn saw that, valuable as his work on the Persian version might have been, a finally satisfactory translation could not be produced outside Persia itself. The enfeebled state of his health made it necessary for him to return to England. He decided to take in Persia on his way, to continue his study of the Persian language, and to make what he hoped might be a final revision of his translation. The story of his year in Shiraz, of encounters with the *mullāhs*, of his desperate ride through Turkey in the hope of reaching England alive and of his lonely death at Tokat on 16 October 1812 produced an immense wave of human sympathy in the English-speaking countries and beyond. Even today the influence of Henry Martyn has not died away.

Martyn's third legacy to the church was one which he himself might have regarded as even more important than his translation work – the winning of a convinced Muslim to faith in Christ.

During his stay in Cawnpore (1809–10) the multitude of those who came to him begging was so great that he let it be known that he would distribute alms only once a week, on Sunday evenings, and that any who wished to profit by his generosity might come to his bungalow at that time. A group of educated young Muslims used to lounge on a kiosk attached to the wall of Martyn's compound, while he addressed this strange congregation. One Sunday they forced their way to the front of the crowd, listened with supreme contempt, and audibly criticised what was said. But one who came to mock remained to pray. Sheikh Salih, a Muslim of good family in Delhi, had become profoundly dissatisfied with his Islamic faith. Having heard Martyn, he desired to know more. Rather cleverly he arranged to make the acquaintance of Sabat, and without the knowledge of Martyn secured appointment to the translation staff. Entrusted with the task of seeing to the binding of the Persian version, now complete, he read the work from cover to cover, and when the reading was complete found himself to be a convinced Christian. He followed Martyn to Calcutta, and after a year of further testing, was baptised by Daniel Corrie, receiving in baptism the name Abdul Masih.[10]

Two others among the pious chaplains demand further notice. Daniel Corrie was united to Martyn by the ties of closest Christian friendship. He was a man whom no one seemed to find it possible to dislike. Wherever he went, he was foremost in promoting Christian work among the non-Christians; what he could not do himself he tried to carry out through the work of Indian helpers. Especially notable was his loving care of Abdul Masih during the years in which they worked together in Agra. In 1835 Corrie was called to be the first bishop of Madras, but the call came too late; he lived for only eighteen months to adorn that high office in the church.

Thomas Thomason, fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, another of Simeon's men (1774–1829), was rather older than most of the other chaplains when he reached India in 1808. For the greater part of his time of ministry, he was attached to the Old Mission church in Calcutta. According to Bishop Heber, who knew him well, he was 'a very good and very learned man – a child in gentleness and facility of disposition . . . he is an excellent preacher'.[11] Perhaps he is best known as the father of a more famous son, James Thomason the great administrator, who carried into his official work the spirit that he had learnt from his father in India and from Simeon in Cambridge.

In later times a regrettable division tended to arise between the work of chaplains and the work of missionaries. The evangelical chaplains refused to recognise the existence of any such barrier. They would carry out conscientiously their work among Europeans and Anglo-Indians, but they did not admit that this was the limit of their responsibilities. The non-Christian peoples were all around them, and must equally be the objects of their concern. They associated on intimate terms with such missionaries as there were. They influenced many laymen in favour of taking the Christian faith seriously and of accepting its missionary obligations. An astonishing number of mission stations owed their origins to the combined efforts of missionaries, chaplains, government servants and soldiers.[12]

2 A BISHOP FOR INDIA

The act of 1813 for the renewal of the charter of the East India Company had laid it down that there should be a bishop for India, and had added that, if a bishop should be appointed, his salary should be paid by the Company, but that all other matters relating to appointment and duties of the bishop should be defined by royal letters patent.[13]

The appointment of the first Anglican bishop in Asia raised a number of problems to which the answers were not obvious. He was to be a bishop of the Church of England, and must therefore be appointed by the crown; but, as there was no electoral body in India, he must be appointed by letters patent, as in the case of episcopal appointments during the reign of Edward VI. As he would not be resident in England, he would not be a member of the House of Lords. He was to be in some way subordinate to the archbishop of Canterbury, but no indication was given as to the way in which archiepiscopal supervision could be carried out. He was to govern his diocese according to the ecclesiastical law of England, but no provision was made for exceptions, such as might be required in India where conditions differed so widely from those prevailing in England. The whole of India was to be in the diocese of Calcutta; but Ceylon, being a crown colony, was not.[14]

The letters patent included the name of the cleric who was to become bishop, and also of those who were to be archdeacons of, respectively, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

For the bishopric the choice of the authorities fell upon the Venerable Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, archdeacon of Huntingdon. The selection seemed to be unexceptionable. The new bishop was forty-five years old, married but without children. He was a moderate high churchman of the eighteenth-century stamp – well-read, devout, dignified and an acceptable preacher. He had already had an indirect connection with the work of the church in India; an ardent supporter of the SPCK, he was selected to give the charge at the dismissal of the Reverend Christopher Augustin Jacobi, who, under the auspices of that society, was about to leave England for India.[15]

The three men selected to be archdeacons were all fellows of Oxford colleges – Loring (Calcutta) of Magdalen, Barnes (Bombay) of Exeter, Mousley (Madras) of Balliol. All three proved themselves to be well qualified for the new and difficult tasks that they had to undertake.

Consecrated in London on 8 May 1814, Middleton reached Calcutta on 25

November of that year. His arrival was allowed to be as unostentatious as possible, apparently out of fear of some disturbance among the populace. Nothing of the kind occurred.[16] Fears as to the consequences of the appointment of a bishop were seen to be wildly exaggerated; insofar as opinion among the Hindus could be tested, the general view seemed to be one of approval that the Company was at last resolved to follow its Hindu and Muslim predecessors in giving official recognition to the religion which it professed. Nor did the Hindus expect the bishop to live like a half-clothed ascetic. It seemed to them reasonable that, like the eminent teachers of Hinduism and Islam, he should have means to live without discredit among his peers.

The bishop had hardly landed when he began to be aware of the gaps and inconsistencies in the letters patent under which he had been appointed. Deeply conscious of the importance of his position as the only Anglican bishop in Asia, he tended to stand upon his rights, and to spend time and strength on matters that in the light of history can be seen to have been trivialities.

The bishop managed to fall out rather seriously with the Presbyterian chaplain, Dr Bryce, who had travelled out to India with him. Bryce, as a minister of the established Church of Scotland, wished to claim parity with the bishop of the established Church of England, and hoped that his church of St Andrew would rival and even surpass the bishop's cathedral of St John. It cannot be pretended that Bryce acted modestly or in a conciliatory spirit; but Calcutta society was not edified at beholding Anglicans and Presbyterians debating almost in arms the question whether both churches might have steeples, and, if so, which was to be the taller.[17]

Middleton soon had much more serious causes than these to disturb his mind. He had been empowered to visit and to license all the Anglican clergy in India, all of whom had been placed under his jurisdiction. But what kind of licences could he issue to them?

Many centuries earlier the whole of England had been divided into parishes. But chaplaincies were not parishes; they had no such clear boundaries; and the chaplain had no such guarantee of permanence as his brother in England. Moreover, not all the chaplains were convinced that they needed a licence from the bishop. The tradition had grown up in the three presidencies that civil chaplains received their instructions and appointments from the governor in council, and military chaplains from the officer commanding in the area. What further authority could be conveyed by a licence from the bishop?

Even more difficult, from the point of view of Middleton, was the problem of his relationship to the missionaries. Missionaries of the CMS had been in Bengal before the arrival of the bishop. They were sent out not by the church, but by a private and voluntary society, to preach to the non-Christians with a view to their conversion. They seemed to wander at their own sweet will, rather than to be settled in one particular place. At the start they had no Christians and no church. But in a number of places where there was no chaplain they were ministering with great acceptance in English, at the request of the English-speaking inhabitants. What in the world was the bishop to do? If he licensed them to preach in English, 'that were to acknowledge them as performing the duties of parochial clergy... If I should forbid them to preach in English, while so many European congregations are without any pastor, it would excite horror and hatred both of my person and of my office.'[18] Again, 'I must either license them or silence them ... there is no alternative. But how can I silence men who come to India under the authority of a clause in the charter?'[19]

To a large extent Middleton was responsible for his own troubles. Like many high churchmen of his day, he had an inveterate prejudice against the CMS. Middleton approved of the SPG as a church society, though it was not represented in Calcutta in his time. The CMS did its utmost to show respect for the bishop and sympathy with his aims; it pleaded with him to license its missionaries – it had no wish to see them exempted from episcopal control, though it might wish to see that control rather carefully defined. It made £5,000 available for the great college which the bishop was in process of creating, and £1,000 a year for its maintenance. Yet to the end relations remained cold rather than cool.[20]

One of the great merits of Middleton's administration was that he set himself diligently to make himself acquainted with all the affairs of his vast diocese. On his first visitation he left Calcutta on 15 December 1815 and did not return till 10 December 1816. The sacrifices involved in so long an absence were considerable but should not be exaggerated. For those parts of his journeys which could be carried out by sea, the government provided him with ships and with such comforts as the ships of those days could make available. When on land, the bishop travelled with a considerable array of chaplains, secretaries, servants, and even a contingent of armed men, the total being in the neighbourhood of 300 persons. Travel was accomplished in the cool of the morning between 5.00 and 7.30 a.m. by which time fresh tents were already in place at the appointed stopping-place. The distance travelled in a day rarely exceeded twenty miles, and Sunday was always a day of rest. The remainder of the day was spent in relaxation and reading, in attending to the business which awaited the bishop everywhere, in visits to the local Christians, if there were any, in visits to scenes and objects of interest on the way, and in the exchange of courtesy with local potentates.[21] In the course of this and subsequent visitations Middleton was able to visit the old missions of the SPCK in the south, to meet and encourage a group of Christians in

Tirunelveli, to spend some time with the Thomas Christians, to enquire with great particularity into the doings of the CMS mission of help to the ancient church, and to make contact with the leaders of British society in all the main centres of British administration. Although Ceylon was not included in his diocese, he found time to pay it a visit. These travels brought a measure of order into the diocese as well as encouragement to the scattered Anglican forces.

From an early period of his episcopate one of the chief concerns of Middleton was the formation of a great missionary college to be located in Calcutta. The first statement in detail of the bishop's plans for his college is to be found in a letter to the secretary of the SPG dated 16 November 1818. He enumerated four purposes which could be held to justify so extensive and so expensive a plan for the development of education in a church which was still in a rather rudimentary stage of its life:

1. To train native and other Christian youth in the doctrines and discipline of the church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists and schoolmasters.
2. To give English education to young Hindus and Muslims, the propagation of English knowledge in India being conducive to the progress of civilisation and Christianity.
3. To promote translation of the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and improving books and tracts.
4. To make a home for missionaries on their first arrival in India.

Contributions came in from various sources. The government granted what appeared to be an excellent site on the left bank of the Hūglī, about three miles from the centre of Calcutta. On 20 December 1820 the bishop was able to lay the foundation stone of the building.[22] Best of all, the bishop had been able to secure for his college the services of two professors who proved to be all that he had hoped and more than he had expected.

William Hodge Mill (1792–1853) was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, where after completing his degree he had made good progress in the study of Hebrew and Arabic. He was an old-fashioned high churchman, and this was enough to win for him the special favour of Middleton; but his diary reveals an unexpected depth of spiritual sensitivity, and this makes him a brother under the skin of his elder contemporary Henry Martyn.[23]

Students could not be admitted till 1824. Mill, not having much to do during the first three years of his stay in India, devoted himself to the study of Indian languages and especially of Sanskrit. One result of this application to Indology was the production of a remarkable book, the *Christa-Sangita or Sacred History of our Lord Jesus Christ in Sanskrit Verse.*[24] According to the Introduction (p. viii), the original projector of this work was neither Jesuit nor missionary, but 'an unconverted Gentile pundit, Rāmachandra Vidyābhūshanam of Burdwan'. This Hindu had been deeply impressed by reading, in Bengali, the Gospels of John and Matthew, and formed the idea of working up this material into an Indian *purāṇa* in Sanskrit metrical form. When it became clear that he had not the intellectual resources needed to complete his self-imposed task unaided, Mill took over the direction of the work, not only in the selection and supply of the materials, but in their Sanskrit rendering also, using in this occasionally the aid of other pandits beside Rāmachandra (p. xi). The method followed is that of dialogue between a seeker who asks the questions and a scholar who is able to provide the answers to the questions posed. The aim is to set forth the Gospel material with no more distortion than is involved in genuine translation into an Indian medium.[25] The writer was modest in his expectations as to the effect of his work; yet he notes with pleasure that 'many Brahmans have expessed a strong desire to read the work; and one heathen pundit now teaches it to his heathen pupils' (p. lix).

Dr Mill held the post of principal of Bishop's College until 1838, when ill-health compelled his return to England. During the years of his residence he played a vigorous part in all the intellectual life of Calcutta, becoming vice-president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On learning of his impending departure, the Society presented Mill with an address (4 October 1837) in which the members expressed their regret at his departure, and their appreciation of the services that he had rendered to scholarship. In particular they noted that

> the most valuable of your literary undertakings is your Sanskrit poem, the *Christa Sangita*. In that beautiful work the praises of our redeemer have for the first time been sung in the sacred language of the Vedas. It is your peculiar boast that you have caused the purest doctrines to flow in the stream of this noble language.[26]

Bishop's College never fulfilled the high hopes of its founder. When it opened its doors in 1824, only four students were admitted, and of these only one was of pure Indian descent. By 1829 the number had risen to ten, and by 1835 to fifteen, a very small number considering the scale on which the college had been planned. The majority of the students were sons of missionaries or were drawn from the Anglo-Indian community. The idea of admitting non-Christian students was discussed from time to time, but nothing was done about it. From 1830 on a few non-theological students were admitted. Some of the students did well, but none was distinguished. And Anglican opinion in Bengal was not wholly favourable to the college. The pious Daniel Corrie wrote to the CMS in London that it was likely to produce 'a poor irreligious clergy, likely to become a scourge instead of a benefit'.[27]

Bishop's College, like Serampore, though based on a noble idea, was premature. By the middle of the century it had almost wholly lost sight of the purpose for which it was founded. It did not come to life again until 1917, when with Serampore and other colleges it entered upon the project of providing for Indian students in India as good a theological training as they could obtain in the West.

Bishop Middleton did not live to see the disappointment of his hopes. Worn out by labours, frustrations and anxieties, he died on 8 July 1822.

For all Middleton's excellences, his work and that of his successors was impaired and hampered by one grave defect which it was beyond their power to cure – the shackles of the state were firmly fastened on the Anglican church in India. Bishops were appointed by the crown and were sent to India with no knowledge of the country which they were to serve; nearly a century was to pass before a bishop of Calcutta was appointed from among those who had already seen service in Asia. Bishops and chaplains were civil servants, whose salaries were paid by the government from local resources.[28] No change could be made in the Book of Common Prayer to adapt it to Indian conditions. In spite of all these handicaps the Indian church did begin at quite an early date to develop characteristics of its own and an ethos different from that of the church in England. But the weight of English authority still rested heavily on it, and denied it that spiritual liberty without which it could not worthily fulfil its ministry on the Indian scene.

3 BISHOPS IN INDIA, 1823–58

The successor of Middleton was Reginald Heber, who arrived in India in October 1823, being then just forty years old.

Heber was not a great scholar, though he was well-read both in theology and in other fields. He had a poetic gift of no mean order, and was the author of some of the finest hymns in the English language. He served the church in India for less than three years; yet in that short time he left a deeper impression on the mind of Christian India than any other man, with the possible exception of Francis Xavier. The means by which he exercised this profound influence was by, in addition to unexceptionable Christian goodness and charity, the mysterious gift of charm:

> The singleness of his heart, the simplicity of his manners, the heavenly sweetness of his temper, the passionate devotion of all his faculties to the work of an evangelist, seemed to bend towards him the hearts of all the people, as the heart of one man. They who were, at first, surprised at the unostentatious plainness of his demeanour were soon impressed by the vast resources and genuine dignity of his mind.[29]

To his other great virtues Heber added that of being a most attentive and perspicacious observer of Indian ways and life.[30] We owe his great achievement in this line to an accident. He set out on his visitation of India on 15 June 1824. He was to have been accompanied by his wife; but, as she had very recently given birth to a daughter and was unfit to travel, Heber had to set out without her. He kept her in touch with his doings through journal letters, illustrated by his own charming drawings. These letters give a clearer picture of the life of Europeans in India, and of the Indian inhabitants, especially in the villages, than any other writing of the time.[31]

Heber was kinder in his judgements on the Indian peoples than many of his contemporaries. In his charge to the clergy of Calcutta (27 May 1824) he said:

> I have found a race of gentle and temperate habits, with a natural talent and acuteness beyond the ordinary level of mankind, and with a thirst for general knowledge, which the renowned and inquisitive Athenians can hardly have surpassed or equalled.[32]

He urged his hearers to avoid 'all expressions hurtful to the national pride, and even all bitter and contemptuous words about the objects of their idolatry'.[33]

In matters of churchmanship Heber was simply an Anglican without more precise definition.[34] Men and women of all schools of thought found something to admire in him. His attitude towards the Baptists at Serampore was one of respectful friendship; in fact his admiration for them was so strong that he hoped that a union between the churches might be possible: 'if a reunion of our churches could be effected, the harvest of the heathen world would ere long be reaped, and the work of the Lord would advance among them with a celerity of which we now have no experience'. It has to be recorded with regret but not with surprise that this proposal was received with less than enthusiasm by William Carey.[35]

Heber, in his farewell address to the SPCK before leaving England, had declared that 'his best hope would be to be the chief Missionary of the Society in the East'.[36] More relaxed in his attitude to life, and less rigidly attached to the letter of the ecclesiastical law than Middleton, he soon found his way to the solution of problems that had perplexed his predecessor to the end.

The question of the ordination of Indians to the Anglican ministry was settled once for all by act of Parliament (4 Geo. IV c. 71 para. 6), which laid it down that the bishop of Calcutta may ordain any person whom he shall deem qualified for the care of souls; this service to be rendered only within the diocese of Calcutta; all such persons not being British subjects being exempt from making the oaths and subscriptions required of candidates in England.

The first Indian to be ordained under this act, was a Tamil, Christian David, who had for a number of years been at work in the north of Ceylon. Being satisfied of his suitability, Heber arranged for this man to be sent to

Calcutta to receive some further training, and then ordained him deacon and priest on successive Sundays.

The second ordination was that of Abdul Masih, Henry Martyn's convert from Islam.[37] This was a more controversial matter, since Abdul Masih, having failed to obtain ordination from Bishop Middleton, had been presented by the CMS missionaries for Lutheran ordination. After long reflection Heber decided that Abdul Masih should receive Anglican orders. His action was misunderstood by many in India at the time, and has been misunderstood by many later readers. Under the Act of Uniformity of 1662 (preface to the Ordinal), no one who had not received episcopal orders could minister in a church regularly consecrated for Anglican worship. Where missionaries had built their own churches, this difficulty did not arise. But, if the ministrations of Abdul Masih were to be acceptable in all Anglican places of worship, including those which had been consecrated in legal order, there was no alternative to his receiving episcopal ordination; it was not within the power of any bishop to change the law.[38]

To Heber's great satisfaction, the difficulties in the way of missionaries receiving the bishop's licence were seen to be imaginary. The highest legal authorities in England gave the opinion that, under the letters patent, all clergymen of the Church of England exercising any public ministry within the diocese of Calcutta were subject to the authority of the bishop. The CMS had from the beginning desired that its missionaries should receive the episcopal licence. Heber was glad to find that the missionaries to whom he accorded his licence were 'very respectable and painstaking young men, who are doing far more in the way of converting and educating the natives than I expected'.[39]

The first long journey of Heber in India lasted fifteen months. After only three months' rest in Calcutta, he set out again on his travels, this time heading for South India, where his presence was eagerly desired by reason of the urgent question of caste in the church.[40] The bishop should have been warned against setting out on such a journey so late in the season. By the end of January the cooler weather in South India is at an end; from the middle of March very hot weather can be counted on. But Heber's strong sense of duty prevailed against the probability of danger to his health.

On this journey, as on the previous one, Heber charmed everyone he met, and he himself was delighted by a great deal that he saw both in the chaplaincies and in the missions. On 25 March he reached Thañjāvur and spent Easter there. On 31 March he was at Tiruchirāpaḷḷi. On the succeeding Sunday he spent no less than seven hours in church (for English and Tamil services, including a confirmation), clothed all the time in the heavy robes which at that time were regarded as obligatory for a bishop. He then went out to refresh himself in a small swimming-pool attached to the house in which he was staying; when he did not return, a servant went out to look for him and found only his lifeless body. Heber was not drowned, as has often been asserted. The cause of death appears to have been the bursting of a blood-vessel in his brain on which death followed immediately. Medical opinion was inclined to ascribe this to the excessive strain to which he had subjected both body and spirit. The crisis could have come either earlier or later in his life.

The grief was universal and well justified. Heber was one of those men so gifted that it seems natural that they should lay their stamp on a whole epoch. If he had lived out the full course of his days, the story of the church in India might have been very different from what it came to be.

The next bishop, John Thomas James, who reached India twenty-one months after the death of Heber, survived only seven months. Of his episcopate there is hardly anything to record, except for the remarkable fact that he received a commission to land at the Cape of Good Hope, now firmly in British hands, and to carry out whatever episcopal functions might be required.[41] He was buried at sea on 22 August 1821.

His successor, John Mathias Turner, lasted a little longer; he arrived in India on 10 December 1829, and died on 6 July 1831.[42] Turner was more inclined than his predecessors to the evangelical form of Anglicanism, and found a close friend in Daniel Corrie, by that time archdeacon of Calcutta. Of his episcopate also there is not much to be recorded. Perhaps the most notable event of the period was a double ordination which took place in Madras on 7 November 1830. Edward Dent, an Anglo-Indian, proved to be a faithful missionary of the CMS; he is credited with having planted at Dohnāvur the famous avenue of trees which still survives. The other candidate was John Devasahāyam, the first Indian to be admitted to Anglican orders in South India. This remarkable man was born in 1786 of Christian parents and was baptised in Tranquebar by Dr John. He had served in various capacities in the Danish mission and under the CMS, and had everywhere shown himself worthy of higher responsibilities. He had married in succession two granddaughters of Aaron, the first Indian ordained (1733) in the Danish mission, and himself became the progenitor of a noble line of Christian ministers, which continues to the present day.[43] He was a man of considerable talents, and in his case experience was rightly allowed to take the place of elaborate theological training.

'Mr John', as he came to be universally known, was in later years given charge of his own district (Kadākshapuram, not far from Megnānapuram), and was regarded as being on an equal level with the missionaries of the CMS. He served for thirty years after his ordination, greatly respected by all, and known throughout the mission as an upholder of high standards of discipline. The Reverend J. F. Kearns of the SPG gave a vivid description of him in his old age:

> A good scholar and a good musician, playing on the pianoforte, organ and harp. A real good humbleminded Christian withal. He is now upwards of seventy, and of course not quite so active as he was, but he still will not give up any of the work, and even now puts some of the younger brethren to shame. He is a perfect terror to lazy or inefficient catechists or schoolmasters under him . . . [he has] seen him, but a few years ago, mount his pony with a cheroot in his mouth, and gallop off across the red sandy plain in the heat of the day, to pounce down upon an idle schoolmaster in a distant village.[44]

Tragic experience had shown that no human frame could be expected long to endure the labours involved in being the only Anglican bishop in Asia. In eighteen years there had been four bishops of Calcutta; three of these had died while still in their forties. It was evidently necessary that the diocese should be divided. This matter was attended to before the fifth bishop of Calcutta sailed for India, and the necessary legal steps were taken without undue delay.[45]

The act of 1833 for the renewal of the Company's charter contained the words:

> And whereas the present Diocese of the Bishoprick of *Calcutta* is of too great an extent for the Incumbent thereof to perform efficiently all the duties of the office, without endangering his Health and Life, and it is therefore expedient . . . to make provision for the . . . founding and constituting two separate and distinct Bishopricks . . . the Bishops thereof to be subordinate to the Bishop of Calcutta . . . as their Metropolitan.[46]

Letters patent completed the work by constituting the dioceses of Madras and Bombay and recognising that bishops for these sees could be chosen from those already at work in India.

For Calcutta the choice fell upon Daniel Wilson, vicar of Islington, a doughty evangelical and a strong supporter of the CMS. As a known friend of India, Wilson had been consulted about the appointment. A number of clerics had been approached, but all for one reason or another had declined. Then, on 11 December 1832, the thought arose in Wilson's mind that, if others could not go, he might go himself: 'I was compelled by conscience, and by an indescribable desire, to sacrifice myself, if God should accept the offering and the emergency arise.'[47]

The offer was accepted, and on 29 April 1832 the consecration of the fifth bishop of Calcutta took place. There was a great deal to be said against the appointment. Wilson was already fifty-four years of age; it seemed hardly likely that he would long survive the rigours of the Indian climate. As Miss Gibbs pointedly puts it, commonsense told him that 'one of the first duties of the Bishop of Calcutta was to keep alive'.[48] Plenty of exercise, an abstemious diet, and the necessary rest – like Winston Churchill, the bishop rested, and often slept, every afternoon for two hours – bore their fruit. Wilson held the office of bishop of Calcutta for twenty-five years and died shortly before his eightieth birthday.

One aspect of Wilson's character was delineated after his death with perfect felicity by Alexander Duff of the Free Church of Scotland:

> He kept all around him in a state of constant friction and glow. About his manner of speech and action there were some peculiarities, and even eccentricities, which might have proved fatal to the credit and influence of a more ordinary man; but in him . . . they served only to impart a certain spicy zest to all his appearances, alike public and private.[49]

One of Wilson's first concerns was to bring into effect the provision for the creation of the two new dioceses in India. He thought that he had the suitable men ready to hand – Archdeacon Corrie should go from Calcutta to Madras, Archdeacon Robinson (1790–1873) should leave Madras for Bombay, and Thomas Carr should come from Bombay to Calcutta as archdeacon. But Robinson refused the dignity on the ground of ill-health;[50] so Thomas Carr, 'an angel, so sweet, humble, and spiritually-minded' as Wilson described him, had to become bishop of Bombay.[51]

Corrie, who was fifty-eight years old at the time of his appointment and had spent nearly thirty years in India, held office for less than two years, during which he won all hearts by his goodness and simplicity. The authorities then made the mistake of appointing as his successor a man who had never been in India – the Hon. J. G. T. Spencer (1799–1866), who was connected by family ties with the ducal house of Marlborough. Spencer was a good and upright man, thought by some of his clergy to be too authoritarian, but a true friend of Christian missions. But his health was delicate and he spent much of his time in the cooler climate of the Nilgiri hills. His published records of his visitations, however, give us vivid insights into the state of the missions in Tirunelveli during his time of service in India.

After Spencer came Thomas Dealtry (1796–1861), who had been archdeacon of Calcutta, and who held the see until his death in 1861. In Calcutta he had earned for himself a considerable reputation as a preacher – even that critical lady the Hon. Emily Eden refers to having heard an excellent sermon from the archdeacon.[52] His administration was excellent, considerate to all but firm in essentials. Especially notable was the increase of the ordained ministry during his episcopate. Dealtry conducted no fewer than twenty ordination services, holding them in a variety of places in order that people might become acquainted with the dignity of Anglican ordinations. He ordained forty-four deacons and sixty-one priests, a considerable number of them being Indian.[53]

Dealtry had his weaknesses, on which his critics were all too ready to fasten. But there is no reason to doubt that the *Bombay Times* was telling the truth when it reported that 'his influence . . . extended to all classes of the Christian community, European and native, official and non-official, in whose estimation he was constantly rising till the day of his death'.[54]

Bombay was fortunate in having only two bishops in thirty-one years, Thomas Carr and John Harding. Bombay could not compare with Calcutta or Madras as a centre of Christian activity, but one or two happenings are worthy of record.

In 1847 British cruisers began to land at Bombay African slaves who had been rescued from Arab slave-ships. Gradually a home for them was built up by the CMS in Nasik. The part played by 'Nasik boys' in the history of the church in East Africa will come before us in a later chapter.

In 1843 Sind had been annexed by Britain. In 1852, a school which had been founded in Karachi by a British magistrate from his own funds came as a gift to the CMS. In 1854, a CMS missionary, James Sheldon, arrived, and the CMS mission to Sind was in being.

Like his predecessors, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta was a tireless traveller. In the course of his visitations he penetrated many parts of India in which a bishop had never previously been seen. In almost every place he encountered groups of Christians, European and Indian, eager to be confirmed. In Delhi, in November 1836, no less a person than the famous Colonel Skinner of Skinner's Horse, the builder of St James' Church in that city, presented himself for confirmation with three of his sons. It has often been stated that Skinner maintained a large and agreeable harem. This seems to have been true in earlier years, but, after a remarkable deliverance on the field of battle, he abandoned these habits and lived in strict fidelity to a single wife. However, as he explained to the bishop, his wife, being of the Muslim faith, did not enter into society. It is probably the case that he built a mosque for her not far from the Christian church.[55]

Prominent among the aims of the bishop were an increase in the number of ordained ministers and an increase in the provision of seemly and convenient places of worship. There were many isolated groups of Europeans which never saw a priest; even in large centres congregations were meeting in private houses, barrack-rooms or other unsuitable places. A typical example of this was in Ludhiana, almost on the borders of the Punjab; here the bishop was successful in securing the erection of a church to seat 100 worshippers and, as he was unable to send a chaplain, in arranging for a godly layman to read the appointed prayers and a sermon.[56]

A subsidiary but not unimportant aim was the provision of a great place of worship in Calcutta which should serve as a standing witness to the non-Christian world that the English people are not without religion, and as a central point of reference for what was growing into a great province of the church. A magnificent site on the Maidan, the great open space of Calcutta, had been secured from the government. The foundation stone had been laid on 8 October 1839. Now at last all was in readiness, and on 8 October 1847 the consecration could take place. The noble edifice has twice been deprived by earthquakes of its spire, and has not the appearance which Wilson intended it to have. Moreover the building as it stands, spacious and impressive as it is, is only the choir of what Wilson intended to be the equal of the greatest cathedrals in the Christian world.[57]

Bishop's College attracted much of the bishop's attention. When in 1839 the college was paralysed by the serious illness of both the professors, the bishop and the archdeacon took up the burden of teaching the students and added this to all their other labours. Much was hoped from the appointment of a young man, A. W. Street, 'about thirty years of age, ripe scholar, iron constitution, fine health, active, enterprising, zealous for missions, prodigal of his strength'.[58] But there was a problem. The first applicant for the post had been H. E. Manning, later a cardinal of the Roman Catholic church.[59] The SPG withdrew the proposed appointment on the ground of the candidate's adherence to the Tractarian principles of the new Oxford Movement; but it now turned out that Street had been for seven years under the influence of John Henry Newman and had come with a recommendation from him. Wilson was a pronounced and at times combative evangelical; the last thing that he wanted was the introduction of division at the very heart of the training of the future clergy of the church. Bishop's College was for years a source of anxiety rather than of joy to the authorities of the church in India.[60]

On 25 April 1851 the bishop received news that Street was dangerously ill. He hastened to his residence, and, hearing that Street desired to see him, went straight up to the sickroom. Street was so weak as to be unable to speak. After a short prayer, the bishop kissed the sick man, pronounced the benediction and withdrew. As he was leaving, the dying man raised himself by an immense effort in the bed and said, 'God bless your lordship.' Three days later he died.

In 1845 Wilson had been gravely ill and had been advised by his doctors that he must return for a time to England. He left Calcutta on 3 May and did not return until 14 December 1846. It would have been better for his reputation and for the life of the church if he had agreed at that time to resign his office. He had served in India as long as his four predecessors put together. He was in his sixty-ninth year and could never recover the vigour that he had once had. But Wilson was one of those who do not easily give up; he had undertaken a great charge and would see it through to the end. Ten more years of service were granted to him; but it cannot be said that these were as productive as those that had preceded them.

A number of interesting events did occur. Among these was the first consecration of an Anglican bishop to take place in Asia. That strange figure Sir James Brooke, the white *rājā* of Sarawak,[61] whose dominions Wilson had visited, decided that his little kingdom would not be complete unless he had a bishop of his own. The choice fell upon the doughty doctor–priest F. T. MacDougall, whose wife was a sister of the wife of the controversial Bishop Colenso of Natal. MacDougall was given the title bishop of Labuan,[62] and was instructed to seek consecration at the hands of the three bishops in India. The bishop of Bombay was unable to reach Calcutta; but by good luck George Smith, the first bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, was on leave in India and was available just at the right moment to make up the complement of bishops. Wilson wrote movingly of the great service of consecration on St Luke's Day, 18 October 1855, when 'Dealtry preached a glorious sermon, and hundreds could not get admission to the Cathedral'.[63]

One of the concerns of Wilson was for the formation of a new diocese for the North-Western Province with its centre at Agra. British control had been extended by the annexation of the Punjab. The number of European residents was increasing, and the missions of the CMS were well entrenched. But nothing came of the scheme, partly because the support of the CMS for the plan was languid. It was felt that the missions should be placed under 'a resident bishop who is familiar with the language and habits of the Native Christian Church, and who fully enjoys its confidence. But the question will then arise whether a *native* will not be the proper person.'[64] The CMS had underestimated the difficulties. The time had not yet come when it was thought possible for English missionaries ordained in England to work under an Indian bishop chosen and consecrated in India. So the proposal was allowed to drop, and for once Wilson did not get his way.[65]

At the end of his long life Daniel Wilson could look back on many changes in India. Early in his episcopate he had taken the lead in planning the introduction of steam communication between England and India. When this came about, the gap between the sending of a letter and its reception was reduced from five or six months to two. The full implications of this revolution, both for government and for missionary operations, was not realised at the time.[66]

On 5 February 1855 the East Indian Railway was inaugurated. The bishop was present, wearing episcopal robes, and offered prayer before the train set out; it safely accomplished its journey of sixty-seven miles to Burdwan in three hours.[67] Later in the same month, having occasion to summon the bishop of Madras for the consecration of the bishop of Labuan, he was able to communicate with him by telegraph. In earlier times, it would have taken at least fourteen days for a letter from Calcutta to reach Madras.

If great changes had taken place in outward things, equally important changes had taken place in the state of the church.

The number of ordained ministers had greatly increased. In 1838 there had been sixty-nine ordained clergymen in the diocese. By 1845 the total had increased to 106, of whom fifty-one were chaplains. In 1858 there were sixty-eight chaplains and the number of missionaries had correspondingly increased.[68]

Largely as the result of the efforts of Bishop Wilson, the number of churches had greatly increased, so that there was now a good and well-built church in each of the main centres of administration, civil and military, and a good church for Indian Christians in each regular mission station.

Anglican missions were strongly entrenched in the south of India, in Bengal, in the Ganges valley, in the west and in the north-west of India. Numbers of converts were steadily increasing, and considerably more than half the Protestant Indian Christians were Anglicans.[69]

Important as these developments were, one factor in the situation was more significant than any other for the future of the Indian church. For the first time a great Christian church had taken account of the fact that from now on India must be dealt with as a unity.[70] For this purpose episcopal organisation proved itself admirably suited. Dioceses were still far too few and far too large, but this was a defect that could be remedied in the future. The bishop of Calcutta took very seriously his position as metropolitan, and was setting himself to create a common outlook and a unity of purpose among the bishops.

The episcopate of the nineteenth century was far too closely connected with the imperial system in India and was financially dependent upon it. But this was only a temporary phenomenon arising out of circumstances, and did not affect the essential reality of the episcopal office. As the office and work of a bishop gradually evolved in action and reaction with the Indian situation, it so commended itself as in later times to become part of the organisation of the united churches of South and North India, of Pakistan and of Bangladesh; this was one of the great achievements of the Indian churches in the twentieth century.

13 · The Recovery of the Roman Catholic Missions

I THE AGE OF DEPRESSION

When the nineteenth century dawned, Roman Catholic missions in India had reached a point of weakness almost amounting to inanition.

The devastation wrought by the suppression of the Society of Jesus has been described elsewhere. The depredations of Tipu Sultan and his armies had spread terror far and wide. The number of forced conversions to Islam had been considerable. Then came the deluge of the French Revolution. As one disaster after another fell on the church in France, recruitment for the missions almost ceased, and the number of those who actually reached India was far less than adequate to fill the places of those who for one reason or another had fallen out of the race.

In 1801 Napoleon, as First Consul, had considerably changed the situation by his concordat with the religious bodies; he was even prepared to tolerate the existence of a number of missionaries, regarding them as possibly valuable sources of information as to what was going on in distant lands.[1] But the church of Napoleon was not the church of the ages; to him it was simply an instrument in the hands of government, useful insofar as it could serve purposes other than those for which it was called into being, but dependent at every point on the favour and goodwill of the authorities. It was hardly to be expected that spiritual renewal should come from such a church.

More of Christian substance had survived in the church than Napoleon had either foreseen or desired. In 1802, the year after the concordat, Chateaubriand published his *Génie du christianisme*, a work in which the Romantic spirit of Rousseau is turned to uses different from those which its originator would have approved. Literary critics are divided as to the merits of the work of Chateaubriand; in his day he was extraordinarily effective. Christians began to feel that they could again hold up their heads in the certainty that they had something of which they had a right to be proud.

The end of the Napoleonic age ushered in the restoration of the Bourbons. For the church this meant reaction rather than renewal. What the new rulers desired was a church of the *ancien régime*, with worldly and wealthy bishops drawn from the aristocracy, moving in the best circles and giving back to the church some of the splendour it had enjoyed in the days of its power. From such a church little of spiritual value could be expected. The renewal of the French church and of its missionary outreach began only after the expulsion of the Bourbons in 1830.

From the period of desolation in India, one clear voice rings out, and that a voice of disillusionment amounting almost to despair. John Antony Dubois was ordained in 1792, and in the following year was sent to India in the service of the Paris Mission. Here he served for twenty-one years, first in the Tamil country and later in the area of Mysore. From the start of his work, he followed the example of Nobili, 'conforming myself to the usages of the country, embracing in many respects the prejudices of the natives, living like them, and being almost a Hindu myself; in short being made all things to all men that I might by all means save some'.[2]

The lasting fame of Dubois rests on his great work *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, the first full translation of which from French to English was published by H. K. Beauchamp in 1897.[3] Dubois earned the reward of his manner of life by finding that 'I was able to ensure free and hearty welcome from people of all castes and conditions, and was often favoured of their own accord with the most curious and interesting particulars about themselves.'[4] He was an excellent observer, listening intently, and then organising the vast mass of material available to him in such clear and orderly fashion that the book is a delight to read. He recognised that his experience was limited to South India and that even in that area there were groups and communities of which he knew nothing. After a century and a half some parts of the book are naturally out of date. But India changes slowly, and even today there is no other book which can be commended with equal confidence to those who want to know what life in India as lived by Indians is really like.

The Abbé Dubois is famous, or notorious, for another and less reputable reason. Wisely or unwisely he published a number of letters which he had written between 1815 and 1821 on the state of Christianity in India. As the title of his book indicates,[5] he wrote in a mood of extreme pessimism. The great age of conversion was the seventeenth century, and the method followed by the Jesuits was full of promise. But now all is changed:

> The Christian religion, which was formerly an object of indifference, or at most of contempt, is at present become I will venture to say, almost an object of horror . . . The very small number of proselytes who are still gained over from time to time, are found among the lowest tribes; so come individuals who, driven from their caste, on account of their vices, or from some scandalous transgression of their usages, are shunned afterwards by everybody as outlawed men, and have no other resources left them but that of turning Christian, in order to form new connexions in society, and you will easily fancy that such an assemblage of the offals and dregs of society only

tends to increase the contempt and aversion entertained by the Hindoos against Christianity.[6]

So it goes on through page after page. Caste is an insuperable obstacle to the spread of Christianity. It is impossible to persuade the Hindus to change any of their established practices. It is impossible for the Hindus to imagine a religion which offers to them only spiritual gratifications. Hindus may be divided into two classes – the impostors and the dupes. 'I will declare it with shame and confusion, that I do not remember anyone who may be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction and through quite disinterested motives.'[7]

2 BEGINNINGS OF BETTER THINGS

By the time that Dubois published his letters a notable revival of missionary zeal had come about in the Roman Catholic Church; by the time of his death it was in full swing.

One of the first actions of Pope Pius VII was the reconstitution of the Society of Jesus. The Society had never been completely extinguished, and there had been no absolute breach of continuity. But so much had been destroyed that immediate recovery could not be expected, and in the early years after reconstitution an efflorescence of missionary energy was hardly possible. But by 1840 the Jesuits were back, though with diminished numbers, on the scene of their former triumphs in Mathurai and on the Fisher Coast.

In 1820 Pauline Jaricot (1799–1862) founded an 'Association to Aid the Missions of Paris', to be followed in 1822 by the 'Society for the Propagation of the Faith'.[8]

In 1807 Mother Anne Mary Javouhey founded the order of the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny, an order which was soon called to service far beyond the limits of France – in Réunion (Bourbon) in 1817, in West Africa, in French Guinea in 1828. Though she probably never knew it, Mother Javouhey was inaugurating one of the greatest of all revolutions in missionary history. In 1800 'foreign missions' were almost exclusively an operation of the male sex; in 1900 the number of women engaged in missionary service both Roman Catholic and Protestant far exceeded the number of men.[9]

The sisters of St Joseph made their first appearance in India in 1827, when a party of them arrived in Pondichéri and settled down to the creation of two schools.[10] At first the Superior, Mgr Hébert, was not sure whether he desired to have these religious women in his bailiwick, fearing that they might show a spirit of independence greater than he was prepared to tolerate. But Mother Javouhey was able by her tact and prudence to set at rest the anxieties of the authorities:

tell his lordship that my intention is that the sisters should be directed by the missionaries... we come to help them in their noble work, we hope that they will be our protectors and our guides; their experience should enlighten us. I rely greatly on their zeal, they may count on our perfect devotion.[11]

It was not long before the sisters, and especially their chief, Sister Xavier, won golden opinions from clerics and lay-people alike. Their work for the 'Topazines' the girls of mixed origin, who were numerous in the French colony, was particularly excellent. Sister Rosalind, the sister of the founder, was able to write in 1829: 'This house is certainly one of the best conducted, and in a position to do more good than any other. We owe this to the indefatigable zeal and fine spirit of Sister Xavier; the more I study her the more I admire her . . . this results in religious progress in all directions.'[12]

On 2 February 1831 Bartholomew Cappellari (1765–1846) was elected pope, taking the name Gregory XVI. This able but unlikeable man has gone down in history as the greatest 'pope of missions' who has ever reigned at the Vatican.[13] In the fifteen years of his pontificate Gregory created seventy dioceses and vicariates apostolic in mission lands, and appointed 195 missionary bishops. He left an indelible mark on the history of the Roman Catholic church in India.[14]

3 NEW VICARS APOSTOLIC

At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was reckoned that there were about three quarters of a million Roman Catholics in India.[15] These were under the *padroado* bishoprics (Goa, Cochin, Cranganore and Mylapore) and the three vicariates apostolic (Pondichéri, the great Mogul, resident in Bombay, and Varāppoḷi for the Romo-Syrians). The situation was highly unsatisfactory. For long periods bishops were not appointed for the Portuguese sees. The boundaries of the vicariates were ill defined; in any case, they were far too extensive to be under the superintendence of a single prelate. Gregory XVI took judicious but rapid action to bring order out of chaos. He created four new vicariates apostolic – Madras (1832), Calcutta (1835), Pondichéri (1836), Mathurai (1846).[16] It seems that the pope was not following a calculated policy of undermining the Portuguese *padroado*; in each individual case he acted as the situation seemed to demand. But the Portuguese were immediately aware of the significance of the papal actions; they responded with embittered hostility to the appointment of the vicars apostolic and refused to recognise their claims.

Pondichéri presented no special difficulties. On the death in 1791 of Mgr Brigot, who had come from Thailand and had had notable success in bringing together the old missionaries (the Jesuits) and the Paris mission, his coadjutor, Mgr Champenois, who had in effect governed everything since

1785, took over the succession, and ruled peacefully but without special distinction. The work suffered continually from shortage of priests, but in general it was maintained, and the oscillations of fortune between France and Britain in India caused no serious hindrance to the work of the church.

As early as 1805 it had become evident that Mgr Champenois should be provided with a coadjutor, for fear that, if the bishop were to die, no bishop might be found in India able and ready to consecrate a successor. Various names were put forward, including that of the Abbé J. A. Dubois, but eventually the choice fell on Fr Hébert. Bishop Champenois made many delays, but at length the date of the consecration was fixed as 1 May 1810. On 27 April, however, the bishop had a serious fall; he was prostrated for a long time, and when at length he rose from his bed was so feeble that he could neither say mass nor consecrate his successor. Just what had been feared had happened. When the bishop died, at the age of seventy-six, a coadjutor had been appointed but not consecrated.

There was, however, one bishop in South India, in the person of the discalced Carmelite Raymond of St Joseph, vicar apostolic of Varāppoḷi. Urged on by his colleagues, Fr Hébert posted across the mountains, was consecrated on 3 March 1811, and managed to reach Pondichéri on 4 April of that year. His title was bishop of Halicarnassus *i.p.i.*

Pondichéri seemed fated to have difficulty in getting bishops, though the difficulties were not always the same. When in 1828 Mgr Hébert submitted to the views of his colleagues and agreed to the consecration of a coadjutor, his choice fell upon Fr Paul Bonnand; this nomination met with universal approval. One difficulty remained – the extreme unwillingness of the one nominated to accept the heavy burden of the episcopate. Fr Bonnand made up his mind and then unmade it. When at last everything seemed to be settled, he again wished to withdraw. The historian of those days remarks that, though the modesty and humility of such persons is to be highly commended, the virtue of obedience, of submission to the will of the church, should sometimes take precedence over individual preference. At least the candidate was persuaded finally to withdraw his objections. On 8 November 1833 Fr Bonnand was consecrated as coadjutor of Pondichéri with the title of bishop of Drusipara. He was destined to hold the office of bishop for twenty-five years, to general admiration, and to win lustre as the first visitor apostolic for India.

For a variety of reasons the problems of Madras were different from those of Pondichéri. There was the permanent difficulty of the proximity of Mylapore to Madras. Even when there was no bishop resident, the authorities of the diocese made claims to jurisdiction which neither the Italian Capuchins nor the British authorities were prepared to admit as valid. A considerable number of the soldiers in the king's regiments were Roman

Catholics, many of them Irish. These were very ill satisfied with the ministrations of Frenchmen and Italians, who could neither preach to them nor understand their confessions; there was a ceaseless demand for the services of English-speaking priests.[17] To all this was added the expectation of the arrival of an Anglican bishop of Madras, appointed from England and assured of the support of the government.

After various proposals had been put forward and rejected the question of Madras was discussed on 16 August 1831 in a full session of the cardinals of the Propaganda in the presence of the pope. Three conclusions were reached:

> the Capuchins must give up the mission in Madras; a vicar apostolic must be appointed; the vicar apostolic in London must be asked to put forward the names of persons in the English-speaking community who might be suitable to take up the heavy burden of the work in Madras.

The English Roman Catholics were still a feeble folk, just beginning to profit from the benefits of the Act of Catholic Emancipation passed by Parliament in 1829. Ireland on the other hand was a mainly Roman Catholic country. Propaganda wisely accepted the advice of the future Cardinal Wiseman, then still in Rome, and wrote to Daniel Murray, the archbishop of Dublin, with the request that he would find for them a suitable candidate for the post of vicar apostolic and at least six priests. The archbishop wrote back on 25 February 1834 that the suitable man was Daniel O'Connor, forty-seven years of age, and a former vice-provincial of the Augustinians in Ireland. After the usual delays, O'Connor and his companions reached Madras on 20 August 1835. The Capuchins sorrowfully left the mission. Peter of Alcantara, vicar apostolic of Bombay, who had been temporarily in charge, went home. The British government in Madras had approved the appointment. The new vicariate apostolic was in existence.[18] The vicar apostolic had nothing to complain of as to the warmth of the reception accorded to him by his flock and by the civil and military authorities.

Difficulties soon emerged. The administrator of the diocese of Mylapore refused to recognise O'Connor. O'Connor fell out with Mgr Bonnand of Pondichéri by ordaining students from his seminary who had failed to secure ordination from their own bishop.[19] When the administrator of Mylapore died in 1836, O'Connor published a notice in the Madras papers to the effect that he alone was now the legal governor of the diocese and that all must recognise his authority. The situation was not improved when a new bishop of Mylapore, Teixeira, appointed by the crown of Portugal but not recognised by the pope, arrived in India, determined not to yield at a single point to O'Connor. It must have been a relief to all when the vicar apostolic resigned his office and went back to Ireland.

The new vicar apostolic was John Fennelly, who arrived in 1842. Thirty-six years old, he was active and pious, but during the twenty-six years during which he held office he was able to do little to heal the divisions. Most of the work of the Irish priests was done among the soldiers and the Europeans. Two-thirds of the Indian Christians remained loyal to the Portuguese tradition. In matters of property the legal authorities favoured Teixeira and not the bishop approved of by the pope. Division could hardly go further.[20]

The situation in Calcutta was in many ways similar to that in Madras. Bengal had formed part of the diocese of Mylapore – an arrangement which, in view of the distances involved, could hardly be regarded as practical. Among the various orders which had served in the area the Augustinians had pride of place; but by the beginning of the nineteenth century their reputation had declined. Few of the Augustinians learned Bengali, fewer still could speak English. With the rapid increase in the English-speaking population, discontent grew, and the demand for priests who could minister in English was heard as far away as Rome. This agitation received the support of no less a person than the governor-general, Lord William Bentinck, who would gladly have seen the appointment of one single head of the Roman Catholic church in India, with whom the government could deal on all matters of common interest.

The affairs of Bengal were discussed, on 8 July 1833, in a general congregation of the cardinals of the Propaganda; it was resolved that 'there [in Calcutta] a vicariate apostolic should be brought into being, and that, if this can be brought about, it should be in the hands of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, under the name of secular priests'.[21]

On 18 April 1834, through the brief *Latissimi Terrarum Tractatus* the vicariate apostolic of Calcutta was brought into being. The first vicar apostolic was to be Robert St Leger (1788–1865), who, born in Waterford, had been vice-provincial of the Jesuits in Ireland. He was to be accompanied by a number of priests, not all of whom would be Irish, and not all of whom would be Jesuits.[22]

Most of the vicars apostolic were bishops *i.p.i.* St Leger, though the direct representative of the pope, was not a bishop and had only the title 'prefect apostolic'. This put him from the start at a disadvantage. There was at the time no bishop of Mylapore, but that diocese was represented in Calcutta by a vicar-general. St Leger pleaded again and again with Rome for an extension of his powers. Rome conceded to him a good deal of the pomp of prelacy without its authority; in the course of time he was authorised to do all the things that a bishop can do – except those things which only a bishop can do. The essential thing, episcopal consecration, was withheld.

Inevitably the priests of the old tradition refused to recognise the prefect apostolic. Even if his letters of appointment were genuine, which they doubted, they could not accept these, unless he had been commended by the queen of Portugal, to whom in the first place their allegiance was due. The papal letters had named Fr St Leger prefect apostolic of Calcutta but had said nothing about the rest of Bengal.

St Leger was able to register a considerable number of successes. He was able to establish excellent relations with the British authorities. He was gratified to receive a letter from the secretary, H. T. Prinsep, which informed him of the satisfaction of the governor-general that the direction of the Roman Catholic congregations in Calcutta was now in the hands of a subject of the British crown. Two clauses of the utmost importance were added: the government recognised the right of the prefect apostolic to exercise the jurisdiction conferred on him by the pope, the head of the Roman Catholic church, and it rejected any claim by the Portuguese to interfere in any concern, spiritual or secular (in any area under British control).[23] Fortified by this powerful support St Leger proceeded to issue warnings to the recalcitrant priests. He was so far successful that he was able to report that, of the twenty-four priests in the area, eighteen had submitted to authority, only six Augustinians remaining in opposition.

In the meantime St Leger had become involved in a curious set of problems. General Claud Martin, at his death in 1800, had left a large sum of money for the education of European and Anglo-Indian boys and girls. For thirty years nothing had been done, but in 1832 it seemed likely that steps would be taken to open a school, to be called La Martinière, in accordance with the wishes of the founder. It is not clear to what church, if any, General Martin belonged. But it seemed evident to the bishop of Calcutta, the formidable Daniel Wilson, that the school should be an Anglican school and that the principal should be an Anglican clergyman. In April 1832 St Leger and the senior Presbyterian chaplain, Dr James Charles, were appointed to the board of governors. They combined in strenuous opposition to the idea of a purely denominational school. The prefect apostolic put forward a plan for common religious instruction. According to his own account, as the five bodies – Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Greek and Armenian – agreed on all the main points of Christian doctrine, there should be a course of instruction which should be common to all, but the clergy of each denomination should have access to the school to give whatever supplementary teaching might be necessary. The bishop, the prefect apostolic and the Presbyterian chaplain were entrusted with the task of drawing up the catechism which was to form the basis of the common instruction. The principal of the school should be a layman, not a clergyman.[24]

For three years serious attempts were made to put the plan into execution, and the secular priest (later bishop) Olliffe went regularly to give instruction to the Roman Catholic pupils. But ecumenical thinking was less advanced in

Rome than in India. In September 1841 the authorities of Rome wrote to the vicar apostolic, who at that time was Mgr P. J. Carew:

> You are quite right in thinking that it is necessary to condemn unconditionally the system of La Martinière. Do not involve yourself in any way in the direction of that establishment. We request you to do your utmost to withdraw the catholic pupils from it and to entrust them to catholic teachers for their education and instruction.[25]

By 1843 all contact between Roman Catholics and others had come to an end.

Apart from ecumenical adventures, the relations between St Leger and his brethren were far from happy.[26] On 24 April 1838 the order of recall was issued to him, and he left India, without regret, never to return. On the day of his departure the brief *Multa Praeclare* was issued.[27]

4 AN INTERLUDE

Through many of these troubled years the little principality of Sardhana had been an enclave of Roman Catholic prosperity.

There were many European villains in India in the eighteenth century. The chief of all villains was Walter Reinhardt, an Austrian who was generally known to the English as Sombre, or Somru. When Mir Kasim in 1763 ordered the cold-blooded assassination of fifty-one Englishmen in Patna,[28] it appears that Reinhardt personally carried out, or at least supervised, the operation. There were few among the English who would not have been prepared to eat Somru raw, if they could have caught him. The man proved a turncoat so many times that it is difficult to know whose side he was on at any one moment. To one person only he was continuously loyal – himself. It is certain, however, that in 1774 he received from the emperor Shāh ᶜĀlam the *jagīr* of Sardhana, which was to be the centre of his fortunes for the remaining years of his life.

In 1765 Somru had taken into his establishment a Muslim girl named Farzana, who is stated to have been of noble birth, but who at the time of the encounter seems to have been a member of a dancing troupe. This beautiful and intelligent girl so worked her way into the affections of the hardened man that he selected her from among the inhabitants of his carefully chosen *zenana* to be his official wife. In 1778 he died. His wife succeeded in securing for herself the administration and possession of his estates, and the enormous wealth that went with them. She survived her husband by nearly sixty years.

It is not necessary to go into all the adventures – political, military and matrimonial of the *begum*. Shrewd and at times ruthless, generous and demanding, dexterous and patient, at all times irrepressibly daring, she had in a unique degree the art of survival. At one time the British thought of removing her from her principality. She was too much for them. Lord

Cornwallis, in India for the second time as governor-general, wrote to her in 1805:

> I have great pleasure in apprising you that, reposing entire confidence in your disposition to maintain the obligations of attachment and fidelity to the British Government, I have resolved to leave you in unmolested possession of your *jaghire*, with all the rights and privileges you have hitherto enjoyed.

What brings the *begum* into this story is her conversion in 1782 to the Roman Catholic faith.[29] At the time this conversion may not have meant very much to her, but in the last twenty years of her life she manifested deep and apparently sincere piety. Being immensely rich she was also immensely generous. Her charity reached out to the needy of all religions, and to Christians without regard to denomination. In 1830 she built a chapel for Anglicans resident in her territories. She sent £5,000 to the archbishop of Canterbury, for the promotion of 'the most deserving Protestant institution in England', and to the Anglican bishop of Calcutta £15,000, in part for education, in part for the relief of distress.

Naturally her deepest love was for the church of which she was a member. In 1834 she sent £15,000 to the pope 'as a small token of her sincere love for the holy religion she professed'. Some years earlier she had built in her capital a beautiful church on the model of St Peter's in Rome. She felt that so beautiful a church should be a cathedral with a bishop of its own. In view of her splendid generosity the pope acceded to her request. In 1835 a priest with the agreeable name Julius Caesar Scotti, who had served as chaplain to the *begum*, was appointed as vicar apostolic of Sardhana and consecrated by the vicar apostolic of Tibet (or of Agra, as that vicariate was now more generally known). He did not, however, stay long. In 1835 he returned to Europe, and Sardhana was re-absorbed into the vicariate of Agra to which it had earlier belonged.

The *begum* died in 1836, full of years and having won the respect of many, if the affection of only a few. The territories of Sardhana passed to the British. The Christian congregation then diminished, and Sardhana became no more than a memory of a day that had passed away, the like of which was never again to be seen in India.

5 THE BRIEF *MULTA PRAECLARE* AND ITS CONSEQUENCES[30]

The claims of the Portuguese crown and the endless reassertion of them had in course of time become an intolerable burden. After the death of Manuel de Galdino in 1835 no successor as archbishop of Goa had been appointed. Since 1800 no bishop had been seen in Mylapore or Cochin, none since 1823 in the diocese of Cranganore. The creation of the new vicariates apostolic stimulated Portugal to unwonted activity. Two new bishops were appointed and consecrated in Portugal – Antony of St Rita Carvalho for Goa, and Antony Vaz Teixeira for Mylapore; but, as since 1834 there had been no diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Portugal, these bishops could not obtain papal confirmation of their election and could lay no canonical claim to the obedience of their subjects, clerical or lay. In every part of India the church was riven by the division between those who accepted the authority of the vicars apostolic and those who maintained the Portuguese tradition. Something had to be done.

After long debates and consultations, Gregory issued on 29 April 1838 the apostolic letter *Multa Praeclare*. It was his intention to put an end to the Portuguese claims, to make plain the full jurisdiction of the holy see over all the churches in India, and to assert that, when vicariates had been created, the vicars apostolic appointed by the pope had full and perfect authority over all Christians of the Roman obedience in the territories assigned to them.

It is not the case, as is often stated, that the pope abolished the *padroado* dioceses; but he did declare that all territories within those dioceses which had not yet been assigned to a vicar apostolic were now so assigned, and that all jurisdiction and authority, ecclesiastical and spiritual, in those areas belonged to the vicar apostolic of Madras and to the vicar apostolic residing at Varāppoḷi. Moreover it was not open to the archbishop of Goa to exercise any jurisdiction, under any title whatsoever, in any of the areas thus assigned to the vicars apostolic.

It could easily have been foreseen that the letter *Multa Praeclare* would evoke intense hostility both in Portugal and in India. The opponents of papal policy had two powerful weapons in their hands.

There being no diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Vatican, Rome had omitted to send official copies of *Multa Praeclare* to the queen of Portugal, to those who claimed to be *padroado* bishops or to the vicars capitular of the *padroado* dioceses. This made it possible for the opposition to spread abroad the rumour that the letter was in fact a forgery.

A second argument was that, even if the letter was genuine, it must be without effect, since it lacked the royal *placet* without which documents could not be received in the Portuguese dominions in India.[31]

The 'Goanese schism' was now well and truly launched. Though this term has frequently been used, there are good grounds for questioning its appropriateness. The opponents of *Multa Praeclare* had no desire to question the authority of the pope or to separate themselves from the church of Rome. They regarded themselves as entitled to question some of the pope's actions, especially since they believed him to have been misled by certain designing persons for purposes of their own. There was nothing sinful in suggesting that, if the pope had been properly informed of the state of the case, he would have reached conclusions very different from those set forth in the brief. In any case, the provisions of the brief had been described by the pope himself as provisional.

Justice must be done to the dissidents. Yet it cannot be denied that the result of their dissidence was to produce a deplorable state of affairs in almost every area of India where the Roman catholic church had been at work. A judicious authority summarises the results of the brief, favourable and unfavourable, in the following terms:

> Instead of effecting the rescue of Catholic missions in India from almost complete collapse, its result was to inflict grave injury on the reputation of the church in the eyes of Protestants and non-Christians, to cause loss of the esteem in which bishops and priests had been held, to produce contest and conflict, and even blows, among Christians. And yet, all things taken into consideration, the Brief was far from being a failure. It aroused the *padroado* clergy from their lethargy, recalled to the Portuguese crown in the most urgent fashion its duties under the *padroado*, laid on it the duty at once and vigorously to concern itself for the well-being of its missions in India, and prepared the way for a new agreement.[32]

The areas most seriously affected by dissidence were the vicariate of Varāppoḷi and that of Bombay.

In the area of Cranganore, Bishop Francis Xavier of St Anne had a fairly easy time of it. He had been able to remain on friendly terms with Fr Peixotto, the administrator of the diocese of Cranganore, who went so far as to advise his clergy that, if no validly appointed bishop from the *padroado* were to come to their area, they might accept the ministrations of the vicar apostolic. So Francis Xavier was able to report that of the seventy-four parishes in the area (seventy Syrian, four Latin), fifty three had been reunited to him, and only twenty-one were still separated.

Cochin presented a more difficult problem. The administrator, Fr Neves, was a *padroado* hard-liner. His case should have been strengthened when in 1840 the crown of Portugal appointed a bishop for the see, Joachim of St Rita Botelho. But Botelho waited in Goa for the papal confirmation of his election, confirmation which never came. In the meantime Francis Xavier had been given a young and extremely active coadjutor, Louis of St Teresa (1809–83).[33]

The conflict was hard, and success was slow in coming. In July 1841 Louis was able to report 100 communities under the care of the vicar apostolic; but it was only the lay-people who had responded; not one of the *padroado* priests had come over. Attempts to secure the help of the British authorities had proved unavailing. The stalemate continued, until the arrival (in January 1844) of a new archbishop of Goa, of unquestioned legitimacy, brought about an entirely new situation.

The state of affairs in Bombay was worse than in any other part of India. For this there were several reasons. Bombay had at one time been a Portuguese possession. Many of the Christian inhabitants were Goanese, or had close connections with Goa. These naturally adhered to the *padroado* tradition. The archbishop of Goa had never recognised the existence of vicars apostolic. When the vicar apostolic of 'the Great Mogul' came to reside in Bombay, the tension naturally mounted, especially as some areas, such as Salsette in the near neighbourhood of Bombay, had not been transferred to the vicariate and were still part of the diocese of Goa.[34]

6 DEVELOPMENTS IN BOMBAY AND GOA

In 1843, amicable relations having been re-established between Portugal and the holy see, the Portuguese crown bethought itself of its duties in relation to India and proceeded to the choice of a candidate for the archbishopric of Goa. There seemed to be nothing to object to in the one put forward for the post, Joseph da Silva Torres, a Benedictine. The pope, however, seems to have been a little anxious, and he took steps to ensure that the position was clearly explained to the new archbishop. Silva Torres wrote a letter to the pope, in which he gave what appeared to be a pledge of unconditional submission to the wishes and the instructions of the pontiff: 'Most Holy Father, I will invariably and in all submissiveness follow thee... to my dying day I will whole-heartedly conform to the discipline of the Roman church... If perchance I should give utterance to words in any way at variance with my feelings here expressed, I hereby wholly and solemnly withdraw them.'[35] The pope seems to have felt that this was sufficient assurance; only later did it become apparent that Silva Torres understood the bulls of his appointment in a sense very different from that intended by those who drew them up.

In January 1844 the new archbishop paused in Bombay on his way to Goa. Taking no notice of the existence of the vicar apostolic, he behaved as though he himself was the sole and unchallenged metropolitan of the area – preached, confirmed, conferred holy orders, made visitations of various churches, in a word did everything possible to inflame the situation instead of calming it down as had been expected of him. The supporters of the *padroado* were naturally jubilant at this great victory; the adherents of the new order were correspondingly dejected.

Having done in Bombay as much harm as was possible in a short time, the archbishop passed on to Goa, where he could legitimately feel at home. He proceeded to carry out ordinations on a large scale, and sent many of those ordained to various parts of India; these naturally fomented division wherever they went, hindering the reconciling work of the vicars apostolic.[36]

Naturally complaints went in thick and fast to Rome. On 1 March 1845, Gregory XVI wrote to the archbishop in severe terms, ending the list of his delinquencies with the words, 'In a word, everything that could be done to produce schism has been done.'[37] Silva Torres seems to have taken no notice of this admonition.

Pius IX, who succeeded to the tiara in 1846, took up the matter again in an admonition dated 13 July 1847. Silva Torres, relying on his canonical status and resting on the rightness of his own judgement, seems once again to have taken no notice of the papal rebuke. Matters could not go on in this way. On 22 December Pius IX appointed Silva Torres as archbishop of Palmyra *i.p.i.* and recalled him to Rome. In 1851, yielding to the wishes of the queen of Portugal, he appointed him as bishop coadjutor of Braga, the premier bishopric of Portugal, with the right of succession. So for the moment ended this grievous and unedifying tale.

Dissension was not yet ended. Rome decided to send to Bombay a man whose incisive authority might, it was hoped, bring peace where it was so much needed. Anastasius Hartmann (1803–66) was born in a small village in the canton of Lucerne in Switzerland. From an early age he had had a strong desire to enter the service of the missions. His services in Europe were so valuable that his wish could not be fulfilled until 1844, when at last he was able to reach Agra and to start on a new phase of his life's work. His first appointment was as chaplain of Gwalior. First impressions of missionary work were far from favourable; he admitted that 'had any other purpose led me to India I would repent of it bitterly and wish every day to return to Europe'.[38]

Hardly had Hartmann settled down to his work, when he received the news that he was to be a bishop. This was the age of the creation of new vicariates apostolic. It had been decided that the gigantic vicariate of Agra must be divided and that a new vicariate of Patna must be born. The task with which Hartmann was faced was formidable enough. The vicariate covered an area of about 124,000 square miles, with a population of perhaps ten millions. He had at his disposal the services of no more than four priests. This was the poor end of the vicariate, the greater part of the funds having been reserved for Agra. Ten years later, when his senior came to visit him, Hartmann was not displeased to be able to give him a demonstration of the manner in which vicars apostolic ought to live. This was the man whom the pope chose in 1850 to care for the welfare of distracted and unhappy Bombay.

Anastasius Hartmann must be reckoned as one of the few outstanding prelates in India in the nineteenth century. He was a man of considerable intellectual ability and a linguist of distinction. He combined deep devotion and humility with a rare gentleness in dealing with all kinds of people, and at the same time with a firm and inflexible will and a capacity for getting things done. Perhaps no better man could have been found to tackle the most difficult job in India. He knew well that for him Bombay could be nothing other than a crown of thorns; he never ceased to long for permission to return to his beloved Patna.

Of the long series of troubles which followed only two need be related in any detail.

After the removal of Silva Torres the see of Goa was again left vacant under an administrator. Joachim of St Rita Botelho had been appointed bishop of Cochin ten years earlier but had never been consecrated, so no episcopal acts could take place. There was, however, one *padroado* bishop in Asia – Jerome de Mata, bishop of Macao. This bishop had to return to Europe for reasons of health. It was arranged that he might stop over in Goa in order to carry out ordinations and other episcopal functions. A royal writ was issued to him in August 1852 by the queen of Portugal. This was all perfectly in order, and no difficulty would have arisen if de Mata had kept to the limits of what he was authorised to do. He had no authority to act anywhere in India except in the territory of Goa.

The bishop of Macao arrived in Bombay on 1 February 1853 and was received by the *padroado* party with almost delirious glee. On the following Sunday he preached a fiery sermon in which he denounced the vicars apostolic in no measured terms, calling them thieves and robbers and forbidding the faithful to have anything to do with them. He administered confirmation in a number of churches, and conferred minor orders and the sub-diaconate on a number of candidates.[39] Hartmann naturally protested against this violation of all canonical propriety; no notice was taken of the protest.

At this point Rome bestirred itself to take vigorous action. On 29 June 1853 Pius IX sent out a document known as the *Probe Nostis*, in which he administered to the bishop of Macao a public rebuke of almost unexampled severity and mentioned by name four priests of the refractory party whom he held to blame for the irregular activities of which complaint was made. Even then the pope did not proceed to extreme measures, but warned the culprits that unless they returned (to their true allegiance) within two months they would incur the penalties of *suspensio a divinis* and would be regarded as schismatics and separated from the Catholic unity.[40] Even this decisive document did not restore unity, but it did make it unmistakably clear who alone had the authority over the church in Bombay.

The next episode in this history is a curious mixture of the heroic and the bizarre. One of the oldest churches in Bombay was that of St Michael, Upper Matim. This had been in the possession of the vicars apostolic for nearly sixty years when, in 1853, a discontented group planned to hand the church over to the *padroado* party. In order to prevent this, Hartmann went to the church and refused to leave, declaring that he would rather die a martyr than surrender the church to the schismatics. His opponents blockaded the entrance; Hartmann and the members of the congregation who had managed to join him remained, and friends managed to pass in enough food and water to keep them alive. At last, on the fifteenth day of the siege, the civil authorities intervened and insisted on the opening of the doors; communication with the outside world was restored.[41]

The church remained in the hands of the *padroado* party. All that the bishop could do was to build a new church for those who remained faithful to him, and this he did. Our Lady of Victories came into being, and about 1,000 members of the parish of St Michael transferred themselves to the new centre.

It must not be supposed that the entire time of Bishop Hartmann was taken up with these wretched quarrels. His reputation had been steadily rising throughout India, and in a remarkable way he had won the confidence of government. This brought about his appointment in 1854 as the chief representative of the Roman Catholic community to the government of India. He was then led into a number of laborious tasks, which, though for the most part they belonged to a later stage of his career, may here be briefly referred to.

The British government in India professed even-handed justice as between the various Christian communities. But this impartiality was subject to limitations. The vast majority of *English-speaking* Christians in India were Anglicans. In such matters as the building of churches, allowances to chaplains, education and the care of orphan children, government had shown a marked predilection for members of the national church. But the majority of *Christians* in India were Roman Catholics, and a considerable number of the soldiers in the king's regiments were Irish Roman Catholics and therefore at that time British subjects. Government had naturally been influenced by the fact that almost all the Roman Catholic bishops in India were foreigners, as were most of the missionaries, and owed no allegiance to the British crown. But, on the basis of natural justice, no discrimination on such grounds could be defended.

At five points Hartmann intervened, and with the help of others, not all Roman Catholics, he was successful in bringing about a change in government policy.

Equal consideration should be accorded to Roman Catholic bishops with bishops of other Christian communions. Precedence in the hierarchically organised society of British India was a matter of great importance. The denial of equality had been felt by Roman Catholic bishops and their flocks as a slight on their dignity.

A number of Roman Catholic priests were employed as chaplains to troops. Their salaries and allowances were far less than those of chaplains belonging to other communions; this was an injustice which should be put right.

Orphanages maintained by government were almost exclusively Protestant in character. It was the duty of government to ensure that children of the Roman Catholic obedience should receive education in accordance with the precepts of their church.

There was one La Martinière in Calcutta and another in Lucknow. The Lucknow school had been opened in 1840 but had passed entirely under Protestant control. Hartmann protested that the special needs of Roman Catholic pupils should be cared for. Negotiations went on for a long time, and settlement was not reached until 1863.

Hartmann did not get all that he wanted, but all the same his success was considerable.

The last problem that engaged the attention of Hartmann concerned the Indian Marriage Acts of 1865 and 1866. The general principle of British rule in India was that every individual, in such personal matters as marriage, was under the law of his own community – Hindus under Hindu law, Muslims under Muslim law, and so on. English Christians were under English law in such matters. But the status of Indian Christian marriages gave rise to innumerable perplexities. The attempt to apply English law had led to grave injustices, particularly in the case of Indians who had become Christians and in consequence had been deserted by their spouses; such could not marry again without exposing themselves to a charge of bigamy. The rules of the churches on kindred and affinity (marriages which are and which are not permissible) varied, and this led to further difficulties. The proposals for an Indian Christian Marriage Act, and for an act known as the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act, were an honest attempt to bring order out of chaos, to ensure that in law Indian Christian marriages were valid beyond the possibility of question, and that the special problems of converts should be equitably dealt with. The Roman Catholic authorities, however, felt that in the proposals sufficient attention had not been paid to the doctrine of their church regarding the sacramental character of marriage. Their chief supporter was as usual Anastasius Hartmann.

By Hartmann's own account, nothing could exceed the courtesy and consideration shown to him both by the viceroy and by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal. The authorities were anxious to meet all the requests made by the Roman Catholic bishops, provided that these accorded with general principles of justice. When the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act reached the statute book in 1866, it included (section 34) the words: 'Nothing contained in this Act shall be taken to render invalid any marriage of a native convert to Roman Catholicism, if celebrated in accordance with the rules, rites, ceremonies and customs of the Roman Catholic Church.'[42]

One of the major concerns of Hartmann was the training of a priesthood better equipped for the service of the church than that which he had found on his arrival in Bombay. Loyal as he was to his own order, the Capuchins, he soon became convinced that for theological education he should turn to the Jesuits. With the help of friends in Rome he secured the services of a notable and hard-headed Dutchman, Fr Walter Steins SJ (1810–81).[43] From the moment of their first meeting, on 5 January 1853, Hartmann and Steins took a great liking to one another; the friendship between them was at times imperilled but never destroyed by sharp differences of opinion. It seemed that everything was set fair for the fulfilment of the aims of Hartmann in the field of education.

There followed one of those dreary periods of contention of which we have already had to record too many. In 1854 it was decided that the vicariate of Bombay should be divided and a new vicariate of Poona erected. But no vicar apostolic was appointed for Poona, and Hartmann had to continue as administrator of that area as well as of Bombay. The Italian Carmelites were told that their services were no longer required; naturally they were displeased at being called to leave an area in which they had worked for so many years. The Jesuits were given Poona but were outraged to learn that Bombay would remain in the northern vicariate, which was to be served by the Capuchins. When it became known that a college (school for boys) was to be founded in Bombay and would be under the direction of the Jesuits, the Capuchins were displeased. When Hartmann remarked that Capuchins and Jesuits could not work together, he was reproved; he was, however, regrettably, stating neither more nor less than the truth. The one good thing which emerged from all the wrangles was that the Jesuit college was eventually founded in Bombay and launched on a notable career of educational usefulness.

At last, in 1856, Hartmann was able to leave Bombay and to return to Europe. He had never loved Bombay, his heart being always in Patna. Bombay had meant to him nothing but harassment and sorrow. Probably no man could in the circumstances have achieved more than he did. But he was far from reaching a peaceful solution of the disputes or a reconciliation between the parties. When he left India the situation was much as it had been when he came to Bombay. About half the churches were with the *padroado* party and half with the party of Rome and regularity. The troubles ground on for nearly a century after the time of Hartmann, and perhaps have left a groundswell even to the present day.

Much against his will Hartmann was kept in Europe for four years, occupied with the affairs of his order and with the wider service of the church. At last in 1860 he was able to return to his beloved Patna. There, after six years of further service, he reached the end of his career, beloved and honoured of all. One periodical, not specially associated with the Roman Catholic church, wrote of him:

> In the death of Bishop Hartmann the Church of Rome has lost one of its most amiable children. His kindness, genial spirit and intelligence, combined with a large and liberal mind, will long be missed, not only by his immediate flock but by all who enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance.

In 1858 Bishop Canoz of Mathurai was appointed administrator apostolic of the vicariate of Bombay *provisoria ratione*, and held the position until 1860. Hartmann was succeeded at Poona by Walter Steins SJ, a worthy successor to a great man.

7 THE OTHER VICARIATES

The period 1832–58 has been described by one good authority as the second spring of the Roman Catholic missions in India.

a. Mathurai

In December 1836 the pope assigned to the Jesuits the mission of Mathurai, which had won them so much renown in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Four priests, under the leadership of Fr Bertrand SJ, reached Pondichéri in March 1838. They wisely stayed there some months in order to profit by the experiences of the missionaries of the Paris Society. When, later in the year, they made their way to Mathurai they were accompanied by two of the Pondichéri Fathers, to whom they were much indebted as they took their first steps in the discovery of an unknown land.

The situation as it disclosed itself to them was for the most part deplorable. The congregations had been much neglected. The Paris missionaries had done what they could but had no forces adequate to deal with the needs of so vast an area. The few Syrian and Goanese priests had proved less than helpful. The story, as related by the Jesuits themselves, was one of conflict in four directions.

First, there was the inevitable and resolute opposition of the non-Christians; but under the firm and steady rule of the British, the Christians had much less to fear, even in the semi-independent areas, than in the days of the capricious and not infrequently oppressive *rājās*, when mob violence was an ever-present menace.

Then there were the Protestants. To the Jesuits the Protestants appeared as a swarm of locusts, numerous and with incalculable resources behind them, ever ready to pounce on shivering and unprotected congregations and to seduce them by bribes, promises and deceits from the true faith. The coming of the Protestants in strength was something that the Jesuits had not foreseen. In the early days, when the Protestants had found groups of Roman Catholics entirely unshepherded, they had been inclined to take them in. But as their hands became increasingly full with the care of their own converts, and as they learnt by experience that bad Roman Catholics generally make worse Protestants, the tendency to gather in other men's gardens became steadily less. There were individual cases of mutual kindness as between the missions, but at that date no thought of ecumenical fellowship could be entertained.[44]

Worse than the Protestants were the 'schismatics'. There were a few priests of the *padroado* party, a few Romo-Syrian priests from Kerala, a slightly larger number from Goa; but what they lacked in numbers they made up for by the vigour with which they maintained their claims. No doubt many of the Christians would have been glad to welcome the French missionaries. But they were divided among themselves, and their extreme ignorance hindered them in the effort to choose between the newcomers and those to whose presence they had become accustomed.

The Jesuits received far less help than they had hoped for from the British authorities. In Mathurai itself, while the Goanese priest was absent, they had taken possession of the church. Immediately on his return, vengeance fell on them. They were dragged before the chief magistrate of the place, and judgement was given against them as intruders. According to Fr Bertrand, they were ignominiously expelled from the church and parsonage by the police and led through the streets amid the howls of the populace to the bungalow which they had chosen as their place of refuge.[45] This sharp lesson led them to act with greater prudence in their subsequent proceedings.

The four Fathers at work in the mission decided to divide their forces. Fr Bertrand, the superior, made his way to the Marava country (Rāmnād); a second settled at Tiruchirāpaḷḷi; a third took Pālayankoṭṭai and the Tirunelveli area; the fourth settled at Tuticorin, in the hope of winning back the Fisher Coast. This separation was probably a mistake. Unmarried missionaries rarely have much idea of looking after themselves in an unfavourable climate. Loneliness in the midst of so much opposition proved a heavy burden. It is not surprising that, seven years after their arrival, not one of the original four was in the field. Three had died and the fourth had had to return to Europe for reasons of health.

There was, however, no thought of abandoning the mission. New recruits began to arrive in place of those who had fallen, and patient pastoral work was beginning to show its fruits.

A notable step forward was taken when in 1847 Mathurai was constituted a separate vicariate. There is an apparent and misleading contradiction in the sources. It is stated in many places that the vicariate was created in 1837. It is the fact that in 1837 Fr Bertrand was told that he had been appointed as vicar apostolic of Mathurai; but in the following year he had to return to Europe. No further steps were taken, and the matter slept for ten years. It was in 1847 that the vicariate really came into being. The choice of the authorities fell upon Fr Alexis Canoz SJ, who had been in India for five years, during the last three of which he had exercised the office of superior. No better choice could possibly have been made. Fr Canoz had the confidence of his brethren. He had the privilege of holding the office of bishop for forty-one years. When a man remains for so long a period in one see, it can happen that his subjects grow a little weary of him. It was not so in this case: Mgr Canoz retained to the end the deepest respect and affection of those for whom he cared, and his death was felt by all as a personal loss.[46]

Among many other distinctions Mgr Canoz may claim that of having opened a new period of Christian education in India. The Roman Catholics had done far less for education than the Protestants. Roman Catholic students were pouring into the great Protestant institutions to the great peril of their faith. It was no use telling them not to go; they would go where the best education was to be found. Fr Canoz saw that the only way to safeguard the future of the church was to provide education, secular and religious, on a level as high as that which was offered by government or by the Protestants. In 1844 the college of St Joseph came into existence at Nāgapaṭṭinam (Negapatam).

As with a number of other institutions at that time, the title 'college' was a little grandiose, unless it was taken as proleptic of a great future. Two fathers and fifteen pupils was a somewhat insignificant beginning for an institution bearing such a name. Moreover, the college had to pass through a series of grievous trials – the death from cholera of several fathers and pupils, a devastating fire and, not least, the criticisms of devout people who felt that what was needed was a seminary in the narrow sense of the term, or at least a college whose primary aim would be the preparation of the future priests of the church.[47] The authorities were able to stave off these criticisms. Within two years of the foundation of the college, two of its students had come forward as candidates for the priesthood. These students would undoubtedly benefit from a wider curriculum than would be offered by a seminary and from the companionship of other boys who had no vocation to the priesthood. Before many years had passed, it had become evident that Negapatam was not a suitable place for the main educational enterprise of the vicariate and that it should move to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, which was coming to be recognised as the centre of the mission. In spite of some opposition from the SPG, which was already well installed in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, the move was approved by the government educational authorities. On 18 January 1983 St Joseph's College celebrated the centenary of the beginning of the new phase of its existence.

The southern part of the vicariate included the old missions of the Fisher Coast. Two Jesuits arrived in April 1838 and, accompanied by one of the Fathers of the Paris mission, visited as many parishes as they could. There were some Goanese priests on the Coast, but not many, and some of the parishioners reported that they had not seen a priest for three years. It was clear that, in the absence of true pastors, many grave disorders had entered in.

A warning of what might await them came at an early date in Vadakkankulam.[48] Fr Mousset, with the best intentions in the world, had gathered together the children for instruction; unaware of the offence that he was causing, he brought them all, high caste and low caste together, to sit in the area reserved for the Veḷḷāḷas. At once the Veḷḷāḷas withdrew, to avoid defilement by contact with those whom they regarded as their inferiors. Discipline was meted out to the dissidents and peace was outwardly restored. But dissensions between the castes continued in that place until well on in the twentieth century.[49]

Grave difficulties awaited the Jesuits elsewhere. Each village on the Coast had a civil head, and the custom had grown up that these headmen should keep the accounts and control the administration of the churches. Naturally, when the missionaries arrived, they claimed the right to inspect the accounts. To this grave exception was taken, and revolt spread like wildfire along the Coast. A visit from Mgr Bonnand, the vicar apostolic of Pondichéri, was effective in checking the dissensions, and by 1840 order had been everywhere restored. In 1847 a pastoral tour carried out by the newly consecrated Mgr Canoz was a resounding success.

Beneath the ashes fires still smouldered. Temporary outbreaks occurred in a number of places. Much more serious were the happenings at Tuticorin in 1849. The headman of that large city and congregation was arranging for the marriage of his daughter. A Goanese priest had been invited to perform the ceremony. No fewer than five priests of that allegiance had assembled for the occasion. The supporters of the Jesuits should not have been present at the ceremony, but many yielded to fear or favour and were there. This defiance was taken as a signal for the renewal of the revolt; from Punnaikāyal to Manappādu the Jesuits were driven out; the churches were closed, and the Jesuits found it necessary to defend their rights in the law courts, often in the presence of magistrates who were not inclined to favour their cause.

The years that followed were marked by alternations of peace and conflict. Neither Jesuits nor Goans were able permanently to gain the upper hand.

But the Jesuits had the great virtues of patience and persistence. Their influence tended to grow stronger all the time, and in the end the greater part of the Coast came under their control.

b. Pondichéri

It had long been evident that the mission of Pondichéri was far too large; moreover, there were certain drawbacks involved in having the centre of such extensive work in a French colony. The Vatican wisely decided that the area should be divided into three. Various considerations lay behind this decision. There were, first, the facts of geography – in the great distances that had to be traversed when means of transport were still in many places primitive. The variety of languages made it difficult for equal attention to be given to groups of differing speech. The ravages of the Protestants are constantly mentioned as a ground for the strengthening of the organisation of the Roman Catholic Forces.

i. Mysore. The Protestants had long been established in Bangalore, Mysore city and other centres. When it was decided that Mysore should become a vicariate apostolic, the choice fell upon Stephen Louis Charbonnaux (1805–73), a devout priest of the Paris mission who had been in India since 1831. Since 1841 he had been coadjutor elect of Pondichéri but no consecration had taken place by reason of grave objections put forward by the candidate himself. He had serious doubts as to the suitability of Indians for holy orders and could not pledge himself to lay hands on those who might be brought before him for ordination. This was a period during which the slow wheels of the church were moving in the direction of the creation of a far stronger indigenous ministry, in India as elsewhere; such an objection was an insuperable obstacle in the way of the consecration of Charbonnaux as bishop. Very gradually he changed his mind, while still insisting that the caution of 1 Timothy 3: 6 ought to be observed, 'in view of the inconstancy of heart and levity of spirit, and the lack of aptitude for the inner life, which is generally to be observed among these peoples'.[50] The objection having been withdrawn, and Fr Charbonnaux having in the meantime been nominated to Mysore, where he was already resident and in charge of ninety-two churches, the consecration could go forward. It took place on 29 June 1845.[51]

ii. Coimbatore. Here the choice fell on the young aristocrat Melchior de Marion Brésillac (1813–59), who at the time of his appointment was only thirty-two years old. Brésillac seems to have lacked the gift of making himself acceptable to others. Since his views were often markedly different from theirs, it is perhaps not surprising that after ten years of a rather uncomfortable episcopate he resigned and returned to France.[52] His successor was Fr Joseph Godelle.

iii. Vishākhapaṭṇam (Vizagapatam). The time had come to relieve Pondichéri to the northward by founding a vicariate for the work among the Telugu people. The plans for a vicariate of Vishākhapaṭṇam had been made; but the Paris mission simply had not the resources at hand, and it was hard to know from what source these new needs could be met. Just at this moment a letter was received from the pious bishop of Anneçy in Savoy to the effect that he had under his hand a group of devout priests who were anxious to lend their services to the cause of missions overseas. He had available four priests who were ready to set out for India at an early date. The cardinals in Rome saw in this offer a ready solution to the problem of the Telugu field. If the Paris mission would provide a superior and two experienced missionaries to guide the newcomers through their necessary period of apprenticeship, all would be in train for the creation of the new vicariate, as soon as there was a member of the Anneçy Society[53] qualified to hold the post of vicar apostolic.

The French missionaries arrived in Pondichéri. An experienced priest, Fr Gailhot, was appointed as superior of the mission on a purely temporary basis. Then an entirely unexpected difficulty arose. The new vicariate had not yet been created, and the area was technically in the vicariate of Madras. Mgr Fennelly was wholly unwilling to receive the new mission. Rome was adamant, and Fennelly had to yield; but Fr Gailhot, with admirable tact, wrote to the irate bishop:

> I well understand how anxious your lordship is to preserve for the Irish soldiers the instructions of priests who are their compatriots. I therefore request you to be good enough to station two of these [Irish] missionaries in the stations where their presence will be most useful and most acceptable.

Authority and tact together prevailed; from that time onwards the attitude of Mgr Fennelly towards the new mission lacked nothing in complaisance.

Fr Gailhot's exile was not of long duration. The Frenchmen settled down very well to their new work. In March 1847 Fr Theophilus Neyret arrived to take over the duties of superior. On 24 February 1850 he was consecrated as bishop of Olema *i.p.i.*, and the vicariate was well and truly established. Not content with the work in the plains, the Salesians pressed forward into the hills, and made contact with the Khonds, who were now accessible to the Gospel. Already in 1852 they had founded a missionary station, which fifty years later was reported as being the centre of twenty-six Christian groups, with a Christian population of 3,200 members.

c. Hyderabad

A further alleviation of the burdens of Madras was the formation of a jurisdiction in Hyderabad, to promote work among the Telugus in areas where Protestant missions were already at work.

The ecclesiastical situation was a little complicated. The Irish missionary, Daniel Murphy, was consecrated bishop in 1846 and worked in almost complete independence of Madras; but Hyderabad was not formed into a separate vicariate at that time, and Murphy continued to be a bishop assistant to Bishop Fennelly in Madras.

Murphy had an exiguous staff of Irish priests, a number of whom served also as chaplains to the Irish Roman Catholics in the regiments. For the immense area for which he was responsible – the *nizām*'s dominions and a large area of British India with its centre at Masulipatam – the forces at his disposal were wholly inadequate. It is not surprising that, when help was offered to him from an unexpected quarter, he accepted it with avidity.

In 1850 the missionary seminary of Milan had been formed. By 1854 the first party of missionaries was ready to set out, two of them designated for Hyderabad. It is not always the case that Christian workers of different nationalities, even those of the same allegiance, find it easy to work together, but in this area no such difficulty arose. In the following year, Mgr Murphy was able to write to his colleague Mgr Carew in Calcutta: 'My two Italian priests have arrived, and I am very well content with them. They are extremely well prepared for the apostolate, and I expect great things from their labours and their zeal. I admire the method of this missionary college in Milan . . . they send them out to the missions only after an apprenticeship of at least two years.'[54] As long as Mgr Murphy remained as their head, the Italians could always count on a considerate and affectionate friend.[55] Nor did affectionate friendships with missionaries of other societies fail.

In the early days, when numbers were so restricted, little could be done in the way of direct evangelism, and the plans for a mission to the high-caste Hindus on the old Mathurai model had to be given up. Greater success had to await an increase in numbers and more settled methods of working.[56]

d. Bengal again

In the 1840s Mgr Carew was successful in reducing considerably the area for which he was responsible. In 1845 plans were made for a vicariate of Eastern Bengal, and this came into formal existence in 1850, relieving the vicar apostolic of Calcutta of the region stretching eastwards to Chittagong. Carew had received permission from Propaganda to transfer to the vicariate of Pegu and Ava in Burma the long stretch of the Arakan hills, which belong naturally to Burma and had in fact been politically separated from Bengal in 1847. Assam was too far away to be satisfactorily cared for from Calcutta. By a division of the old vicariate of Tibet–Hindustan, the eastern part of it had become on 27 March 1846 the vicariate of Lhasa and had been handed over to the Paris mission. It had become clear that no access to Tibet was possible from the west; it was therefore arranged to hand over Assam to the Paris mission in the hope that a door to Tibet might open in this quarter. This did not come about, but Fathers of the Paris mission established their headquarters at Gauhati on the Brahmaputra river.

Mgr Carew was successful in considerably extending the range of those who took part in the work of his vicariate.

Bengal was assigned to the English province of the Jesuits. At that time England was still in Roman Catholic eyes a mission field; the assignment to English Jesuits of so important a field as Bengal was a clear sign of renewal of self-confidence. The first team that arrived was, however, international and included Irish and continentals as well as English. For a time all went well. The reputation of the Jesuits came to stand high, and St Xavier's College could stand comparison with other institutions of higher education in the capital. But Mgr Carew took a highly exalted view of his authority as bishop and believed that all in his area should be entirely subject to his will. It seemed to the Jesuits that some of his requirements ran contrary to the principles of their society. Reconciliation having proved impossible, the entire English contingent was withdrawn. The loss to the work was considerable, and was repaired only when the Belgian province took over in 1859.

The Ladies of Loretto came to help the vicar apostolic in his educational work for girls. This distinguished order had spread from England to Ireland, and it was to the Irish house at Rathfarnham that the bishop looked for help. Once again the aristocratic temper of the bishop led to difficulties. The work of the Ladies was educational. The bishop wished them to undertake in addition visitation of hospitals, in place of the sisters of charity whose help he had vainly sought. When he tried to lay this as a duty on the Ladies of Loretto, he was going beyond what he had a right to require. It was made plain to him by higher authority that he must learn to keep within the limits of the authority that had really been committed to him.

At that time Darjeeling was being developed as a refuge in the hills for those exhausted by the steamy heat of Bengal. Mgr Carew was quick to note the new opportunities which the as yet undeveloped station offered. He arranged for four of the Ladies and one priest to go and settle there, overlooking the fact that Sikkim, and Darjeeling with it, lay unmistakably in the areas assigned to the vicariate apostolic of Patna. Anastasius Hartmann was not the man to suffer gladly vicars apostolic aggressive; for a time the relations between the two prelates were less than cordial.

In one area Mgr Carew had good success: he was able to persuade the Christian brothers of Ireland to help him in the work of schools for boys, an area in which up to that time the Protestants had had everything pretty much their own way.[57] The Irish Brothers proved to be diligent, modest and competent. Their contribution was more valuable than their comparatively small numbers might sugest.

When Mgr Carew died in 1848, the vicariate was in many ways in a far better state than when he had taken it over. It is sad to have to record that the death of a prelate whose one great defect was that his prudence was not equal to his devotion brought a sense of relief to many of those over whom he had ruled.

8 TOWARDS THE ORGANISATION OF A CHURCH

Of the Roman Catholic church in India, it could be said, as was said of the church in France, that it had bishops but no episcopate. The *padroado* bishoprics were controlled under the decrees of the Council of Trent. There was a primate, to whom the other bishops were suffragans. In the sixteenth century councils were held, so that the bishops and other leading clergy could meet one another from time to time; but these had ceased to be held. The archdiocese of Goa was frequently without an archbishop, and there was little cohesion. When the vicariates apostolic were formed, each was directly related to the pope; no vicar had any authority over any other; there were no arrangements for meetings between bishops, and some continued to work for a number of years without ever seeing another bishop. Some of the vicars were members of religious orders; these retained much loyalty to the order to which they belonged, and were closely linked to centres in Rome. Vicars apostolic are a little like spokes of a wheel, all running in to the hub but not necessarily having much connection with one another around the rim. In India itself there was no central point of reference, and, except for the fragments of order which remained in the *padroado* dioceses, nothing corresponding to the regular organisation of the church in provinces and dioceses.

Formal organisation had to wait for the great work of Leo XIII and the establishment of the hierarchy in 1886. But, before the middle of the century, there were signs that the need was being felt for closer links between the various regions, jurisdictions and orders, and for stricter regulation of life within the vicariates and dioceses themselves. The synod of Pondichéri, held in 1845, was a turning-point in the history of the church in India, not because in itself it achieved very much but just because it was the first meeting of the kind in India and pointed the way forward to much that was to take place before the end of the century.

Mgr Bonnand had at first no more than the idea of calling together the priests of his vicariate for purposes of consultation and spiritual renewal; but, as the plans developed in his mind, he decided to provide the meeting with a more formal constitution, and to give it the title of synod.[58] All too often in the past priests had been brought together for no other purpose than to listen with suitable docility to decisions in the making of which they had had no share. Bonnand made it clear that he wanted real consultation, with freedom of speech for all. In a long series of documents, in a style which can best be described by the admirable French word *ampoulé*, he is careful always to address a colleague as 'Monsieur et très cher Confrère', and stresses the value of the contribution which each can make.

The synod opened on 18 January 1845 with a lengthy discourse by the vicar apostolic. Twenty-seven priests were present; it is typical of the state of the church at that time that twenty-four of these were foreigners, and only three were Indians. It was agreed that the subjects for discussion should be, in order of importance, the development of an indigenous ministry; the care of Christians; the evangelisation of non-Christians.

Under the first heading some progress had been made. A minor seminary was in existence; but this was under the care of a single priest who was often distracted from his work in the seminary by other cares. It was agreed that attention must be paid to four languages – Latin, Tamil, French and English – and that the level of instruction must be brought to a much higher level than that which had obtained in the past.

The creation of a major seminary was an urgent need. Here, on the European model, philosophy, theology and sacred Scripture must be taught; but this could not become effective without an adequate supply of teachers.

It was agreed by all that the care of Christians could not be raised to the desired level without a great increase in the number of Indian priests. In the meantime the missionary in India must remember that, more than priests elsewhere, he is called to be the father, the judge and the spiritual healer of his people; as far as he is able he must enter into their sorrows and share their joys.

All agreed in expressing regret that, burdened as they were with the care of all the churches, they had been able to give much less time than they desired to direct evangelistic work among the non-Christians. It would be good if some missionary with special gifts in this direction could be set apart to prepare himself for effective work among those outside the limits of the church.[59]

The synod came to an end on 13 February 1845. Propaganda was naturally greatly interested in the synod and its work. The task of reporting on it in full was entrusted to a young missionary, Fr Felix Luquet, who had spent no more than two years in India, and who carried out his duties with such enthusiasm as to produce a report 110 pages long under the title *Eclaircissement sur le Synode de Pondichéri.* In this he not merely gave a vivid account of the state of affairs in the various missions but expatiated at length on the problem of more rapid development of the indigenous ministry. This report served as the basis for the Instruction sent out by Propaganda to all vicars apostolic and other superiors of missions on 23 November 1845; once again their attention was drawn to the obligations resting on them to give to Indian priests such a training as would prepare them to be leaders and not merely subordinates in the work of the missions. This instruction received the approval of the pope himself.[60]

It might have been thought that all the outstanding problems in relation to the organisation of the church in India had at last been settled. But events showed that this was far from being the cause. Always over-sensitive to the claims of Portugal, the Vatican once more engaged in negotiations with the Portuguese government.[61] The result was an extraordinary document, the concordat between Rome and the crown of Portugal of 21 February 1857.[62]

In the concordat the full rights of Portugal under the *padroado* agreement are recognised. The old *padroado* dioceses which has been suppressed may be reconstituted. A commission will be appointed to determine the exact boundaries of the dioceses; when this has been done, the vicars apostolic will withdraw from the *padroado* dioceses, but will continue to exercise jurisdiction in areas not included in those dioceses. In the meantime adherents of *padroado* and of Propaganda will continue in occupation of the churches which were in their possession at the time of the agreement being reached. Portugal has the right under the *padroado* agreement of creating new dioceses in the area assigned to it. The archbishop of Goa will retain the ordinary jurisdiction which he has previously exercised, but for six years he will be in possession of extraordinary jurisdiction over the other *padroado* dioceses. Under this arrangement all the priests of the *padroado* allegiance recovered the right to minister the sacraments, from which they had been suspended by the vicars apostolic. This was the so-called double jurisdiction, which endured for about thirty years.

The *padroado* party naturally proclaimed this as a tremendous victory for their cause, and this view is generally maintained by Portuguese writers up to the present day.[63] Supporters of the Propaganda tend to minimise the magnitude of the rebuff which they had endured, but it can hardly be denied that it was severe.

The concordat, however, as any intelligent observer could have foreseen, was a dead letter from the date of its promulgation.[64] Portugal was in no position to create new dioceses, and the only effect of the concordat was to reintroduce chaos where a measure of order had been brought about.[65]

One great step forward was, however, taken. Up till that time no one had been in a position to survey India as a whole or to consider the state of the church in the entire sub-continent. In 1858 the decision was taken to appoint a visitor apostolic, whose task would be precisely that – to survey the Christian situation as a whole and to report to Rome. The choice fell upon Clement Bonnand, bishop of Drusipara *i.p.i.* and vicar apostolic of Pondichéri, who in that year celebrated his episcopal silver jubilee.[66]. The choice met with universal acclaim. Few men knew India as well as Mgr Bonnand. He was widely known and universally respected. His gracious and courteous approach made him acceptable to all kinds of people.

It is important to note what Bonnand could and could not do. He had great authority but no power to act or to decide. He had the right of access to every diocese and vicariate apostolic in India, as well as the right to enquire into every aspect of the work of the church and to demand the fullest information on every subject to which he might direct his attention. Jesuit visitors had been known in the past. A visitor who came directly from the pope, invested by him with full authority, was a novelty, welcome to many but not to all. The results of the appointment lay in the future; but historians may judge that the year 1858 marked the dividing-point not only in the political life of India but also in its ecclesiastical organisation.[67]

9 POSTSCRIPT

There is good ground for calling the period between 1830 and 1858 the second birth of the Roman Catholic church in India, but some consideration must be given to the question in what sense the term can be appropriately used.

Much had certainly been gained or regained. The church had entered into friendly relationships with the ruling power and had achieved a measure of recognition such as would have been unthinkable in the early days of British rule. Most of the old centres of work had been provided with diligent and faithful priests. Order had been restored where chaos had prevailed. The arrival of nuns and sisters was a new factor in the missionary situation, though the small beginnings gave no indication of the immense developments that were to follow. Geographically something like a rational organisation of the work was beginning to appear. There were great areas in which the Roman Catholic church simply did not exist; but, like the Protestants, the Roman Catholic forces were steadily reaching out into new territories, in such a way that the military term 'occupation' had begun to seem appropriate. The first beginnings of a unified organisation for the whole of India were beginning to appear.

There was much to be said on the other side. The whole picture is still depressingly European. The continuing slowness of communications meant that bishops and missionaries had to exercise a considerable measure of independence; yet supervision and control from Europe were detailed and harassing, and could be harmful to the work. It was impossible that those in Rome and Paris should understand fully the situations with which they claimed the right to deal. The burden of 1744 and the bull *Omnium Sollicitudinum* still weighed heavily on the Roman mission. Hardly anything was left of the grand imagination of Robert Nobili, or even of the minute acquaintance with the Indian mind and Indian customs manifest in the writings of the Abbé Dubois. Everything had to be carried out in the Roman fashion, without departure or experiment at any point. The impression left on the mind of the historian is of a spirit of restoration – everything must be put back to the point at which it was before the disasters of the late eighteenth century fell on the church.

There was great faithfulness, and self-sacrifice without limit; missionaries took it for granted that they might be called upon at any time to lay down their lives in the service of Christ. There was, however, a lack of eminence and of originality. To only one of the leaders of this time could the epithet 'great' be applied. Anastasius Hartmann alone stood out head and shoulders above his colleagues in all the fields of service. The Roman mission had no scholars to compare with Robert Caldwell and John Wilson; no translators in the same rank as Henry Martyn,[68] no appreciation of the excellences of the higher Hinduism such as is found in the writings of G. U. Pope, no evangelist of the intellectual powers of T. V. French, no educator equal in stature to Alexander Duff and his colleagues.

It is on the Indian side that the disparity is most evident. In the period under review it is not possible to name one Indian Roman Catholic of eminence. The idea that Indians might be fit for the episcopate seems entirely to have vanished from sight. High-caste converts to the Protestant way were already beginning to stand up to their European masters and to claim equality with them with no small prospect of success. On the Roman Catholic side, the European dominance was oppressive in its calm assumption that this was according to nature, and could not be changed in any near future.

Fifty years were to pass before the Roman Catholics could claim equality with the Protestants in achievement, and an even longer period before they could lay reasonable claim to that superiority which they believed naturally to belong to them as the first comers in the field.

14 · Education and the Christian Mission

I MISSIONARY BEGINNINGS

Scotland came late into the missionary enterprise in India. The man who more than any other changed the outlook of the Scottish church was the notable Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), one of the great preachers of the day, who combined with a strong evangelical faith views on social reform which might be considered advanced even in the twentieth century. A somewhat exuberant listener has recorded the impression left on the minds of the hearers by Chalmers' inaugural lecture as professor at St Andrews in November 1823, when 'the eloquence of the mighty enchanter, breaking through all conventional trammels, shone forth in all the splendour of its overpowering glories'.[1]

In 1824 Dr James Bryce, the first Scottish chaplain in Calcutta, drew the attention of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the possibilities of India as a field for missionary endeavour. His plan was for a college 'under the ecclesiastical superintendence of the Kirk Session of St Andrew's Church, for the training of those who might in due course be employed to preach from the pulpit of St Andrew's to such native congregations as might attend their ministry'.[2]

Soon after the arrival of Dr Chalmers in St Andrews, his attention was directed to a student who had arrived two years earlier at the age of fifteen and had earned the highest honours in Greek, Latin, logic and natural philosophy.[3] Alexander Duff came from a pious family on the borders of the highlands, in which both English and Gaelic were spoken. He grew up in a home filled with the spirit of a profound evangelical piety, with that peculiar combination of solidity and fervour which seems to be the special gift of highland folk.

On 12 March 1829 Duff made known to Dr Chalmers his willingness to proceed to India as a missionary of the Church of Scotland. Two months later his offer of service was accepted, and on 12 August of the same year he was ordained to the ministry of the church. It was understood that he was to go out as an educational missionary, but he was left free to work out his plans as he judged best in view of the situation in Calcutta. Only one condition was laid down – that he should not settle in Calcutta, but in some rural area of

Bengal. It is characteristic of Duff that, having studied the situation in Bengal, he had no hesitation in disregarding the one instruction which had been given him.

Duff and his wife left Britain on 14 October 1829. After a fearful journey marked by shipwreck and all manner of perils in the deep, they arrived at last in Calcutta on 27 May 1830, to be warmly welcomed by friends, and to make at an early date the acquaintance of the governor-general, Lord William Bentinck. Duff arrived in Calcutta at the height of the controversy on education in India. Orientalists and Anglicists were still in full cry. But, although Macaulay's minute still lay in the future, it was already clear in which direction thought was moving. The importance of English was universally recognised. It was education in English that would win the day. There can be little doubt that on this all-important issue the mind of Duff had been made up before he ever set foot in India.

He did not, however, rush into the fray, but spent two months in consultation with those who best deserved to be consulted. The majority of missionaries were still sceptical of the value of higher education as an evangelistic method. What they had seen of English education at the Hindu College led them to think that the result of Duff's labours might be only to replace ignorant unbelievers by well-educated and aggressive unbelievers.

There were two exceptions to the general chorus of disapproval.

Duff made his way to Serampore, and found himself in the presence of a little yellow old man in a white jacket.[4] Carey was near the end of his days. His ways had led him in directions very different from those which Duff was sounding out for himself, but he found himself able to approve of all that Duff expounded of his plans.

Rāmmohun Roy was at this time fifty-six years old, and about to set out on the journey to England which would bring his days to an end. Roy was convinced that all education must have a religious basis. Placing the Bible, as he did, far ahead of any other religious work, he was prepared for it to be included in the curriculum of the proposed college; nor had he any objection to the work of each day being opened with prayer.

At the end of two months Duff had reached certain convictions from which he never swerved:[5]

1. While the Indian languages should not be neglected, the basis of education must be English. Before the rational order of Western philosophy and science, the irrationalities of Indian thought would fade away. The Gospel and Western science together would prove an invincible tool.[6]

2. The school, unlike Serampore and Bishop's Colleges, must be founded in the very heart of Calcutta, near to the homes of its most prominent citizens.

3. Christian teaching must be uncompromisingly included in the curriculum of the college.

4. Conversions must be expected; but this must not be taken as a limiting factor in the usefulness of the college.

He went on:

> While you engage in directly separating as many precious atoms from the mass as the stubborn resistance to ordinary appliances can admit, *we shall, with the blessing of God, devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine, and the setting of a train, which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths.*[7]

On 13 July 1830 the new school opened. Rāmmohun Roy came in person during the opening days to smooth the path of the teachers and to clear away the deep suspicions which lurked in the minds of many of the pupils.[8] As the first act of the new school, while all stood, Duff slowly repeated the Lord's Prayer in Bengali. The next hurdle was reached when a copy of the New Testament in English was placed in the hands of each of the pupils. This naturally produced an indignant reaction in the minds of some of those present; one young Brāhman cried out, 'I do not want to be *forced* to become Christian.' This was the moment for Rāmmohun Roy to intervene, as one who had read the whole bible and yet remained a Hindu: 'Read and judge for yourself. Not compulsion, but enlightened persuasion, which you may resist if you choose. Constitute you yourselves judges of the contents of the book.'[9]

Duff intended that the teaching in his school should be on what he called the 'intellectual method' (but what would perhaps more commonly be called the Socratic method), of question and answer. Up till that time Indian education had worked almost exclusively on the principle of memorisation; the faculty of reflection on what had been learnt lagged far behind. Duff found that the boys were not able to answer the simplest question on what they had read. But soon all that was changed; the quick-witted Bengali boys soon discovered what was required of them, and what had been a burden became a delight. Duff himself gives an almost lyrical account of the way in which 'passive indolence of mind was roused into activity'.[10]

Lāl Behāri Day, who became a pupil in 1834 and whose recollections of his schooldays have been reprinted in a volume published in Calcutta in 1969,[11] tells us that Dr Duff's teaching was 'thoroughly intellectual, and as lively as it was intellectual. The ideas of the pupils were greatly encouraged . . . and as learning was made pleasant to them, their affection was drawn towards the acquisition of knowledge.'[12]

Day adds valuable remarks on the maintenance of discipline in the school. Duff was of the opinion that 'a teacher who was unable to maintain order in the class without the application of the rod was better fitted to be entrusted with the care of cows in the field than with the education of youth'. So corporal punishment was hardly ever inflicted. Recourse could, however, be had to it in the case of grave moral offence. Day gives a rather gruesome account of the castigation and expulsion of a big boy, who had stolen a book from a fellow-student, sold it in the bazaar and lied about his offence. The more civilised methods of maintaining discipline could not be required of the Indian language teachers, who had grown up in the old ways and could not be expected easily to change them. Day himself was rescued from violence at the hands of one of these pundits by the accidental entrance of one of the Scottish teachers at the moment of peril.[13]

2 CONVERSION AND CONFLICT

Duff had been confident that there would be some conversions; they came perhaps earlier than he had expected. The teachings of the Hindu College and other secular agencies had created a vacuum rather than satisfied the new needs which were beginning to be felt. A message of hope was what the young men felt that they needed and had failed to find.

In 1832 a student of the Hindu College, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, wrote to Duff: 'I am travelling step to step, and Christianity, I think, will be the last place where I shall rest; for every time I think, its evidence becomes too overpowering.' On 28 August of that year he was baptised in the Old Mission church.[14] Of his conversion Mohesh wrote that 'my progress was not that of earnest enquiry, but of earnest opposition. And to the last my heart was opposed. *In spite of myself I became a Christian* . . . Surely this must be what the Bible calls "grace", free grace, sovereign grace, and if ever there was an election of grace, surely I am one.'[15]

Three months later the Kulin Brāhman Krishna Mohun Banerjea was admitted to the church by baptism. He had been a leader in the reforming party, and, as the editor of the *Enquirer*, had launched out week by week on a series of attacks on the superstition and corruption of Hinduism as it existed in Calcutta at that time. In August 1831 Calcutta was convulsed by the news that a group of young rebels had not merely eaten beef, to the Hindus an unpardonable sin, but had thrown the remains of their feast into the adjacent compound of a Brāhman. Banerjea had not been present on that occasion, but his connection with the group was well-known; he was compelled to withdraw from his home and family, and had great difficulty in finding anywhere to stay.

At this point Duff entered into contact with him, and showed friendship just when it was most needed. One thing led to another. Banerjea for the time was inclined to regard the Socinian (Unitarian) form of Christian teaching as more reasonable than the Trinitarian view ably defended by Duff and his colleagues. Gradually he came to see that 'Socinianism was insignificant as a professed revelation', and understood the 'suitableness of the great salvation, which centred on the atoning death of a *Divine* Redeemer'.[16]

Banerjea explained his desire not to be baptised in a church:

> If I go to the Church, my native acquaintance will not go, because their doing so would seem to their friends as making themselves one with the Christians. But they will come to the Lecture Room, as they have been accustomed to do. And my fervent wish is, that those who knew me as an idolator, an atheist, a deist, and unbeliever... may now be the witnesses of my public repudiation of all error, and public embracing of the truth, the whole truth, as revealed in the Bible.[17]

Banerjea lived to be the Reverend K. M. Banerjea LL D, the most distinguished Indian Christian in Bengal, deeply respected by all classes, and the pioneer in the attempt to make Christianity genuinely Indian by drawing on the resources of the ancient Hindu culture.

The third convert was very different from the other two – less intellectually able, morally more awakened, and hindered in the way of faith not by intellectual difficulties but by a profound sense of personal unworthiness. In December 1832 Gopinath Nandi entered Duff's study, sat for a full quarter of an hour in silence, and then burst into tears and said, 'Can I be saved? Shall I have the privilege of being called a son of God, and a servant of Jesus Christ? Shall I be admitted to his holy family?' In a single talk with Duff he received the assurance of a forgiving God, and not long after joyfully entered the church through baptism.[18]

To the historian these records of conversion are of the utmost value. At last Indian Christianity begins to make itself known to us from the Indian side. These young men are intelligent, well versed in the English language, articulate. In what they wrote we can trace the process of conversion as it took place in the thoughtful Hindu mind. What strikes the reader is the measure of intellectual conviction reached before confession of faith in Christ became possible. Duff's appeal was always to the reasonableness of Christianity as contrasted with the irrationality of much in the non-Christian religions, as he saw them around him. Like most highlanders he had within him a highly emotional strain, and this emotion he must sometimes have communicated to his hearers. In these records of conversion, there are references to the distress of the divided mind and to the tranquillity that came with the acceptance of Christ. But the centre of interest in most cases is the intellectual progress from unbelief to faith. Some students stopped short in the theism of the Brāhmo Samāj. For those who went further, it was in almost every case the preaching of the Cross that was the final catalyst; this brought them what they felt to be deliverance from the past, and entrance into a new world.

In nothing is the greatness of Duff more clearly seen than in the ability of the institution which he had founded to continue running without the inspiration of his presence. In 1834, worn out by endless labours, he nearly died of dysentery. Unwillingly he returned to Scotland and recovery, and to equally endless labours of another kind; he was not to see his beloved college again until 1840. That the college was able to go on from strength to strength was due to the zeal of the Church of Scotland in sending to India men of varying gifts, but all worthy to stand by the side of Alexander Duff.

William Sinclair Mackay was the polymath among them. He was an astronomer of considerable talent, and among other things introduced his students to the mysteries of the steam-engine and its working. All this did not prevent his lecturing three times a week, from deep sources of knowledge, on the evidences of Christianity.

David Ewart had deep sympathy for the less able boys. But the range of subjects that it was thought that young Bengalis could master is shown by the fact that he read with them Bacon's *Essays*, Butler's *Analogy*, Herschel's *Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy*, and some of the works of John Locke and Robert Boyle.

Thomas Smith was the best mathematician of the group; but he also had considerable skill in introducing his pupils into the niceties of the art of English composition. Bengalis have a natural partiality for rhetoric and for an ornate style: all the more important that Dr Smith should have advised them 'Strike out the sentences that you think the finest.'.

One new feature in the life of the college was the Sunday evening lecture, instituted during Duff's absence but continued after his return. There was unity of aim, but considerable variety in the presentation of Christian truth. These lectures were open to the general public as well as to students, and after each lecture the opportunity for comment and discussion was given.

Lāl Behāri Day's career is interesting in that, more than any of the other converts, he was slow to make up his mind, and would not act until he was sure of all the consequences of what he was doing. He had studied and pondered the Bible. He spent long hours with two friends, Mahendra Lāl Basak and Kailas Chunder Mukerjea, both of whom had been baptised in 1839.[19] In 1842 he won a prize for the best essay on 'The Falsity of the Hindu Religion', so well constructed that readers could not believe that it had been written by one who was still in name at least a Hindu. At last in July 1843, not without severe struggles, he made up his mind and applied for baptism.

The exact number of converts won to the Christian faith through the institution cannot be established with certainty. Lāl Behāri Day puts the number above 200: 'The Institution has communicated sound and useful knowledge to many thousands of the youth of Bengal; it has imparted the inestimable blessing of Christianity to upwards of two hundred intelligent converts.'[20] This is the highest figure given by any authority. It is unlikely that Day had any accurate statistics before him when he was writing; he probably included all those who had been converted in the first forty years of the life of the institution and members of their families.[21] George Smith gives the names of only twelve 'principal converts' up to the year 1843, not including those who had died. In a later work he gives the total number for the period of Duff's ministry in India as thirty-six.

Two criticisms may be made of the methods and results of Duff's work. The converts tended to become isolated from the main channels of Indian life. For this the missionaries could not be blamed. As the converts were expelled from their homes and from Hindu society, it became inevitable that the missionaries should provide them with a place to live in and food and clothes, until such time as they could provide for themselves. In spite of this, the converts seem to have escaped the worst effects of Europeanisation. They remained self-consciously and aggressively Indian, and in a number of cases managed to regain the respect and even affection of their non-Christian fellow-countrymen.

3 BEYOND BENGAL

Bombay had always been the stepchild of British rule in India. This was as true in the field of missions as in other areas of human life. That by the middle of the century this situation had been entirely changed was largely due to the action of the Scottish Missionary Society in sending John Wilson (1804–75) to western India in 1828.[22] Wilson served the church in India for forty-seven years. During that period he grew to be the patriarch of the missionary cause in the area, revered alike by churchmen and civilians, by soldiers and sailors, and by the adherents of all the non-Christian religions to be found in Bombay.

Wilson soon gave evidence of a notable gift for the acquisition of languages. He acquired Marāthi and Gujarāti, both in their pure forms and in a number of dialectical variations. To these he added Sanskrit, Hindustani and Persian, and was then drawn into the mysterious Zend or Avestan, the language in which the ancient scripture of the Parsis is written.

His attention was early drawn to the considerable community of Parsis in Bombay – that group of refugees from persecution in Persia, who had found asylum in western India and over the centuries had retained their Zoroastrian faith and their separateness from other sections of the Indian population. In this study Wilson had some predecessors; but almost certainly he was the first Westerner to study the religion of the Parsis in the original language, and the first scholar to write in English on that religion. Of his work (published in 1843), *The Parsi religion; as Contained in the Zend-Avesta . . . Unfolded, Refuted, and Contrasted with Christianity*, the great authority Professor N. Haug writes: 'The first work in English which shows any acquaintance with the original Avestan texts was the Rev Dr Wilson's book on the Parsi religion, which . . . contains frequent indications of independent investigation.'[23]

A happy chance led Wilson into contact with one of the most sensational discoveries in the history of Indological research. During a visit to the principality of Junagadh, he had descended rapidly from the peak of Girna, in order to see before night fell a rock inscription which had attracted a good deal of attention but had never been deciphered: 'After examining the block for a little, and comparing the letters with several ancient Sanskrit alphabets in my possession, I felt myself able, to my great joy, and that of the Brahmans who were with me, to make out several words, and to decide on the probable possibility of making out the whole.'[24] The honour of deciphering this, the first of the Asoka rock inscriptions to be made known to the learned world, fell to James Prinsep and his colleagues; the first steps were undoubtedly taken by John Wilson.

When Wilson came to Bombay education was in a deplorable state. The government had done hardly anything. The work of the various missions had not gone beyond the rudimentary level. Wilson attached greater value than did Duff to the direct preaching of the Gospel in the Indian languages, and himself practised it extensively as time permitted.[25] But inevitably he was led to consider education seriously as a means for the advancement of the Christian cause. It was the aim of Wilson to introduce Western knowledge and Western methods, but in the languages of India. He was a far better technical scholar than Duff, and far better placed than he to assess the riches of the Indian languages and their potential value as an instrument for the advancement of knowledge. Yet he was led on insensibly to the realisation that English was destined to be the 'second vernacular' of India, and that its usefulness as the principal instrument of education could not be denied.

In a report on one of his early controversies with the Parsis in Bombay (1853) Wilson quotes one of the Parsi champions as stating: 'With regard to the conversion of a Parsi, you cannot even dream of the event, because even a Parsi babe, crying in the cradle, is fairly confident in the venerable Zarthusht.'[26] Again 'The conversion of a Parsee is a work too difficult for *me* to accomplish . . . It is not too difficult, however, for the Spirit of God.' It was true that there was not, up to that date, any record of the conversion of a single Parsi to the Christian faith, but Wilson was not prepared to admit that such an event was impossible.

Parsis have always been distinguished by their desire for knowledge. As soon as the Bombay College of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was opened in 1835, Parsi students began to come in considerable numbers; in 1839 they numbered 109. In that year three Parsi boys presented themselves to the missionaries with a request for baptism. Dhanjibhai Naoroji, the youngest of the three, was sixteen and a half, sixteen being at that time recognised as the age of discretion.[27] Hormasdji Pestonji was nineteen years old, married and had a child. Framji Bahmanji was also nineteen.

Wilson was well aware of the commotion that would arise, when this purpose of defection became known to the community. He sympathised with their feelings: 'We fully appreciate and allow for the natural feelings of anger which his countrymen must feel at his renunciation of their ancient faith, and the still bitterer regrets which his relations must suffer from a step which in their view estranges for ever a once beloved youth from their society.'[28] But, being assured after careful trial of the sincerity of the young men in their profession of Christian faith, he did not feel that he could withhold baptism from them. Dhanjibhai was baptised on 1 May 1839 and Hormasdji the following Sunday in the mission house.[29]

Everything that Dr Wilson had foreseen came about. Legal proceedings were instituted against the missionaries. But the highest legal authorities decided that no case could be sustained against them; the great care with which they had acted thus earned its reward. Plans were made to establish a rival school from which all religious teaching was to be excluded. As in Calcutta, the plan proved abortive because of the lack of qualified teachers to serve in such a school. Orders were issued that all Parsi pupils in the college were to be withdrawn. This decision having been carried into effect, numbers in the school fell in a single day from 285 to 75; every single one of the Parsi pupils was withdrawn. This collapse was, however, only temporary; before long the numbers exceeded those recorded on the day before the withdrawal of nearly three-quarters of the pupils. Plans were put in hand for a petition to the British Parliament, requesting that no more missionaries should be sent to India, or that, if they were, all attempts at proselytisation should be strictly prohibited. The government of India refused to take action contrary to regulation 7 of 1832, in which that government under Lord William Bentinck had defined the code of civil and personal liberty as that was to obtain in British India.[30]

The two converts lived long in the service of the Christian churches. Dhanjibhai was the first Indian sent to the West by any of the Protestant missions for the study of theology. He was accepted for ordination by the Free Church of Scotland. Pestonji continued his studies in Bombay. Converts from the higher castes continued to come in, but not in any large numbers. The Brāhman Narāyan Seshādri we have encountered elsewhere.[31] In 1854 Wilson reported that the ablest student in the college, Baba Padmanji, had given in his name for baptism. In 1856 a Parsi student of Elphinstone College, the government institution, was baptised, and in the same year a Hindu student of the same college, a Sikh from the Punjab and a Muslim munshi.

As in Calcutta, provision for the care and welfare of these young converts presented great difficulties. Wilson solved the problem by inviting a number of them to live in his own house and treating them in every way as his own sons. This was doubtless good for their spiritual and moral development, but such an upbringing could hardly help them in their preparation for the work of living and witnessing among their own people.

The Scottish Presbyterians were the first in the field of education in Bombay, but they did not stand alone.

Among the closest friends of Wilson in the European community in the early days had been Robert Money, secretary to the government and a devout Anglican layman. When he died in 1835, the respect felt for him by all classes was such that it was decided to found a school in his memory – the Church of England Institution, more commonly known as the Robert Money school. The school never prospered as did the General Assembly's institution; it did, however, produce one of the most notable converts of the era. Sorābji Kharshedji was the only son of a wealthy Parsi family and at the age of fourteen was sent to the Money school. When it became known to the family that he planned to become a Christian, extreme measures were resorted to. The family planned to send him away to an uncle in China. Sorābji, however, managed to slip away to the house of the missionary. He was baptised in October 1841, and like all the other converts faced the loss of all things. His young wife was separated from him and after some years was married to another man.

Sorābji, as a young man, lived for some years in the household of Bishop Carr of Bombay and accompanied him on his travels.[32] This drew the attention of the bishop to the hardships endured by converts from other religions to the Christian faith. On 11 January he wrote a long letter to the governor of Bombay, Sir George Arthur, in which he detailed a number of cases known to himself, including that of Sorābji, in which converts had not merely lost all their property but had been separated from wife and children without hope of redress. The Bengal regulation of 1833, giving protection to those who became Christians, had not been extended to the rest of India; Carr suggested to the governor that Bombay should be included. No notice of this request was taken at the time; but in 1850 the government of India took action, and the regulation was extended to the whole of India.

Sorābji was in due course of time ordained to the Anglican ministry. He lived until 1894, greatly honoured and esteemed, and left behind a distinguished family through whom his name was perpetuated until well on in the twentieth century.[33]

4 IN CENTRAL INDIA

John Wilson showed his usual sagacity in insisting that the work of the Scottish mission must be extended to Central India. Nothing at the time could seem less promising. The area had not come under British control; it was ruled by the *rājā* of Nāgpur, Raghoji Bhonsla III, a man who had disappointed the high hope placed in him in his youth and for years had ruled his territories with a mixture of idleness, inefficiency and corruption. British and Company's regiments were stationed in the area, and British officials managed to exercise a measure of control; but the influence of the Brāhmans was extremely strong. A less promising field for the establishment of a Christian mission could hardly be imagined. But Wilson was right. Nāgpur is geographically almost in the centre of the Indian continent. From the point of view of Christian strategy, it was ideally suited to become the centre of pioneer work.[34]

Stephen Hislop (1817–63) had been appointed as the first missionary to take charge of the pioneer effort,[35] and was ordained to that office by the Free Church of Scotland. John Wilson, in his ordination charge, had stressed as essential the creation of seminaries 'of a vastly higher character', and the provision of 'such an education as will be prized by the rich and middle classes of society'.

Hislop, on his way to Nāgpur, had seen the work of Wilson in Bombay, and had also visited the Americans in Ahmednagar. Here he had become convinced that the lack of an institution for the higher education of Christian converts had gravely prejudiced the success of their work. He was determined that the same mistake should not be made in the mission of Central India.

Little more than a year had passed since the date of his arrival, when 'on the 2nd of May [1846] with much fear and trembling, but looking to the Head of the Church, who disposeth all things for the furtherance of His cause, I opened a school in the native city of Nagpoor . . . I commenced operations with about thirty boys. They have increased to seventy.'[36] Hislop had nothing on which to build. Some of his pupils were young men who had come in the hope of learning English, but with the majority he had to start with the alphabet. From the start, however, it was his intention that this should be a place of higher learning.

Like his colleagues elsewhere, Hislop recognised that the results of such work in terms of actual conversions might be very small – 'but I am persuaded that they are preparing the way for a great moral revolution in a future age, and that no distant one'.[37]

In the last year of Hislop's life his institution had to face a problem by which apparently the institutions in Calcutta and Bombay had been untroubled. Such places of higher learning had naturally been directed towards the well-to-do, the care of the poor and downtrodden being left to the village and primary schools. From the start Hislop had laid down the principle that there were to be no social distinctions in the provision of education in his school. Nevertheless he was a little taken aback when some of the *chambhars*, the leather workers who are regarded by Hindus as the lowest of all the communities, brought their boys for admission to the mission school. The result was exactly as could have been foreseen – numbers in the school dropped immediately from 420 to 240. This was a risk which Christian schools always had to take. In Nāgpur, as in so many other places, in the end efficiency prevailed; the drop in numbers was only temporary, and success was re-established.

Like a number of Scottish missionaries of his time, Hislop combined with profound piety an enquiring mind, ever open to new forms of knowledge, all of which he recognised as coming from God, the source of all truth. His enquiries, however, led him into paths which few missionaries up to that time had trodden.

Well-trained in science, he was an indefatigable and accurate observer. The special joy of his heart was botany, but he did not neglect zoology and entomology. He also entertained an interest in geology, a science which in the India of his day hardly advanced beyond the rudimentary stage. He was the first to draw attention to the extensive deposits of coal to be found in Central India. His skill as an observer was commemorated when the name 'Hislopite' was conferred on 'a very remarkable mineral – a combination of calc-spar and glauconite, of a brilliant grass-green'.[38]

Hislop was also a pioneer in the then almost unexplored field of what today would be called social anthropology. He had become aware that many of the inhabitants of the area in which he worked were not Hindus, and were distinguished from them by physical type, language, religion and customs. The largest group were the Gonds, among whom there was general similarity, though differences of dialect and customs were also to be found. For ten years, in the cold season of each year, Hislop toured among these people accompanied by educated Indians, some among them catechists in the mission, who recorded and transmitted facts to him. It had been his intention to publish the results of these labours, but his sudden death in 1863 brought his own participation in the work to an end. His papers, however, were regarded as so valuable that they were committed to the skilled hands of Richard (later Sir Richard) Temple (1826–1902) who edited and published them in 1866.[39] The writer is described by Temple as 'a gentleman distinguished by all the virtues and qualities becoming his sacred profession, and for attainments in scholarship and in practical science . . . His memory . . . is cherished by the natives, for whose moral and lasting welfare he laboured so long.'[40]

Hislop added to all his other labours considerable services as chaplain to the regiment, in which there were many Scots. But his deep concern for his fellow-countrymen never distracted him from the primary object of his coming to India, the proclamation of the Gospel to the non-Christians around him. He was convinced that educational work and the direct preaching of the gospel must go hand in hand. In so fierce a Hindu centre as Nāgpur, such work was bound to win few friends and many enemies.

In 1855 it was reported that there were already 675 pupils in the various schools. But the Free Church of Scotland did not rise to the height of its opportunity. For much of the time Hislop was left to carry on almost single-handed the work which almost single-handed he had called into being. Long life was not granted to him. To the deep and lasting sorrow of his friends he was accidentally drowned in 1863. The great college in Nāgpur is still called by his name.

5 THE SOUTH FOLLOWS SUIT

Calcutta had led the way in Christian higher education; but before long the attention of the Scots was directed to the older British settlement of Madras.

Too much weight must not be attached to the remark of Sir John Kaye that 'education was in a more depressed condition in Madras than in any other part of the Company's territories'.[41] In 1835 two Scottish chaplains had opened St Andrew's School in Madras; but, observing that the school had not risen to the level of the hopes that they had placed in it, they asked the Church of Scotland to send them a missionary, with a view to the creation of an institution like that founded by Duff in Calcutta. The authorities sent them John Anderson.

Anderson was thirty-two years old at the time of his arrival in Madras. He had passed through deep waters of affliction, and had reached a higher level of maturity than had Duff and Wilson when they set out on their great work. He was at least their equal in energy and devotion, but he had also a shaft of Scottish humour, such as was not shared by all great missionaries. His character has been remarkably well sketched by Duff's colleague, Dr Ewart:

> Mr Anderson had a strong vein of rich and original humour and he could promptly and severely wield the weapons of sarcasm when he chose to do so. He could make himself a most agreeable companion, and he could make it immediately felt if he was in society he disliked.[42]

Anderson had hardly arrived in Madras when he sent out a prospectus setting forth his aims:

> the object is simply to convey through the channel of a good education, as great an amount of truth as possible to the native mind, especially of Bible truth . . . the following branches will be taught – English, including reading, grammar and composition; writing and accounts; history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics and algebra; the elements of astronomy and political economy; the evidences and doctrines of Christianity etc. Moonshees will be employed to teach Tamil and Telugu.[43]

The school was opened on 3 April 1837. Within three months Anderson was able to write to the committee in Scotland that he already had 180 pupils, and that the number was still increasing. The behaviour of the pupils was all that could be desired, and no objection seemed to be taken to the teaching of the Bible in every class. At the start Anderson had only local helpers to rely upon; but before long he had two excellent Scottish colleagues, Robert Johnston and John Braidwood, each of them the equal of Anderson in devotion to the cause, each with his own special gifts, but neither with the dynamic scintillating quality of the leader.

During the second year of the institution's life it was forced into the first of a series of crises. Three Pariah boys had entered the school, well-dressed and wearing Hindu caste-marks to which they were not entitled. At first the deception was not detected; but very soon it became known that there were 'outcastes' in the school. A number of boys of respectable family were withdrawn, and ten of these, to Anderson's intense indignation, were admitted to the Native Education Society's School.[44] Anderson stuck to his point; he would not refuse admission to any boys who were competent to enter the school, from whatever community they might come. He thought that he might lose 100 pupils from 272 on the rolls. But the Pariahs stayed and the school survived.

Anderson believed that the careful teaching of the Bible, and the inculcation of the principles of sincere enquiry would lead to conversions. But conversions were slow in coming. Anderson refused to be discouraged, and after about four years' work the tide began to turn. Two boys – Rājagopāl, a Mudaliār (of the weaver community), and Venkatarāmiah, the grandson of an Indian in the employ of the government – requested baptism. These were among the best and most intelligent boys in the school, especially in mathematics. Venkatarāmiah, by his own account, had never had any idea of enquiring into the credentials, the doctrines and precepts of the Bible. But one day, while still under the domination and in the practice of his sins, he heard an affectionate and penetrating address by Anderson on the text 'Consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces and there be none to deliver' (Psalm 50: 22). This rather formidable text entered into his soul, and set him on the way that was to lead to a new life in God.[45] Anderson was still not in a hurry, and did all in his power to assure himself of the sincerity of the young men and of their awareness of what would follow upon baptism. When there seemed to be no further obstacle, on 20 June 1841 he baptised the two of them in the mission house. That same day they joined the missionaries at their evening meal, and so decisively repudiated caste.

Then followed the familiar scenes with the family and the community. Rājagopāl describes it:

Next day followed the fiery ordeal. We dreaded from the morning facing our mothers, whose looks, tears, and bereaved expostulations, have more in them to melt and carry away converts, than all the arguments that can be stated in favour of heathenism, than all the shame and bitter contempt of the community.

The families went to the police, and complained that the young men were being detained against their will. Sitting on the bench with the European magistrate was a wise and Gamaliel-like Indian judge, Rāghava Āchāriar, who said to the complainants: 'Mr Anderson is an honest man. He told you from the beginning that his object was conversion; and *I warned you about it*, but you did not listen to me and sent your children to him.'[46] A few weeks later, on 3 August, a third convert was added to the list – Ethirājulu, who had been withdrawn from the school by his relatives and flogged by his father-in-law because of his desire to become a Christian, but had managed to make his way back to the mission house.

From this time on Anderson regularly referred to the three as 'our dear sons', 'our three sons'. As there was nowhere else for them to go, the missionary took them into his home and did for them all that a father could do for his own sons. As has been pointed out elsewhere, this had grave drawbacks; the young men learned European ways, and as it seems, adopted European habits of dress.[47] This would not seem to be conducive to the development of a genuinely Indian church. On the other hand this westernisation does not seem to have impeded the access of these Christians to their non-Christian friends and contemporaries.

All these three remained in the service of the mission. They were the first to be licensed as preachers of the Gospel by the Free Church Presbytery of Madras (25 March 1846). The same three were ordained (26 November 1851) as the first three Indian ministers of the Free Church in South India.

One feature of the work in Madras which distinguished it from the other Scottish enterprises was the extraordinary success of the work for girls. This was largely in the hands of Mrs Braidwood, who showed herself admirably fitted for this work. The girls attracted to the school belonged to good castes, but not to the highest in the land. It was unlikely that Brāhman girls would be allowed to attend a school of this kind and to mix with girls of lower caste. Most of the girls were very young, some of them of kindergarten age; this was inevitable, since at that time child marriage was common, and most girls would be withdrawn into seclusion at latest at the age of twelve.

The work started in 1843. By the end of 1844, no fewer than 253 girls from two schools presented themselves for examination. The tests were elementary, but it was recorded that twelve girls could read Telugu and could answer questions on the first three chapters of Luke's Gospel. From the start Bible teaching formed part of the curriculum. The missionaries were well aware of the problems that would face them if any of the girls was led to profess personal faith in Christ. A boy of good family who decided to follow Christ in baptism was bound to be confronted by formidable difficulties; for a girl to take such a step was something up till that time almost unknown.

The first to be baptised was a young woman, the wife of a convert, Rāmānjulu, who had been regarded as full of promise but had apostatised and withdrawn from the mission for two years. When he returned, he brought with him his wife, Alimalammāh, who was a non-Christian. She was placed under instruction; within five months she had made much progress in both Telugu and English, and was beginning to help with the younger girls. Before the end of the year 1844 she asked for baptism. As she seemed to be sincere, and as her husband approved, she was baptised on 29 December of that year.[48]

The baptism of a married woman with the approval of her husband was not an event to cause a great commotion. It was very different when in April 1847 five girls in the Madras schools asked for baptism. These girls were twelve or thirteen years old. The question immediately arose, and was naturally raised at the time by both Europeans and Indians, whether the missionaries were right to expect a decision from girls at such an early and impressionable age, especially when it was known that, if they were baptised, they would have to leave their homes. For the missionaries the answer lay in the circumstances of Indian society. Once these girls reached the age of puberty, it was probable that they would be married to non-Christian husbands, possibly at a great distance from their homes; it was unlikely that they would be able to remain in contact with their Christian friends, or in the married state to live according to the faith which they had adopted.[49]

The coming in of girl converts pointed the way to the solution of one problem that had haunted the minds of the missionaries. Where were the young men who had become Christians to find wives? Hindus of good family would in no circumstances allow their daughters to marry Christians. The general level of education in the Christian community was still low. In order to find a well-educated bride, Lāl Behāri Day had found it desirable to cross the entire sub-continent and to take to wife the daughter of one of the Parsi converts from Wilson's institution in Bombay.[50] Now, with both boys and girls growing up in the missionary households, the hope could be entertained (and was in many cases realised) that from among these adopted children would grow up educated Christian families, able to show to Indian society what it means for a family to be both Indian and Christian.

The graceful partnership of Anderson, Johnston and Braidwood was not destined to last as long as that of Carey, Marshman and Ward. In 1851 Johnston's health completely failed, and to save his life it was necessary to send him back to Scotland at the first opportunity. He was eager to return to

India, but medical opinion regarded this as quite impossible. He died in March 1853. Anderson survived him by just two years. The ceaseless labours of nearly twenty years, and the carrying of burdens too heavy for the strength of any one man, had gradually worn him down. When he fell ill in 1855, he simply had not the strength to recover; on 24 March he died quietly, to the great grief of countless friends and of all those whom he had baptised.

The great college which Anderson had founded was not allowed to die away. In a later chapter there will be much to be said about the work of the greatest of all his successors, William Miller.

6 ANGLICANS JOIN IN

Though the Church of England in India had engaged in many educational enterprises, from Bishop's College, Calcutta down to small primary schools in the villages, it had been slow to follow up the challenge set by Duff and his followers. When at length the CMS did enter the field of higher education, this came about almost by chance, and through the initiative of one outstanding missionary. The chosen field was Āndhra Pradesh; the missionary was Robert Turlington Noble.

Noble had been deeply influenced by the ideas and practice of Alexander Duff, and had become convinced that the approach to educated Hindus through the work of education was the way that lay before him. But, like Duff and Wilson, he was convinced that a good knowledge of Indian languages was a necessary prerequisite for a missionary career; two whole years were spent acquiring a knowledge of Telugu. On 20 November 1843 he was ready to open his school in Masulipatam (Machilipatnam).

From the start the originality and independence of Noble were manifest:

> Our first lesson is to be in the New Testament, our second in the Bhagavad Gita, their most venerated book of morals. I propose, whenever its morality agrees with that of the Bible, showing the different foundations of the two; when they disagree, endeavouring to show the superiority of the New Testament; and to bring them thus dispassionately to weigh and compare.[51]

John Wilson in Bombay had stressed the importance of bringing the students to the point of weighing evidence and thinking for themselves. He had himself a great knowledge of the non-Christian classics. But there appears to be no record of any Christian teacher up to this point venturing to bring non-Christian books into his classroom and to encourage the pupils to study them. Noble acted from a profound conviction as to the reliability of truth; he was convinced that, if a comparison is made between the Bible and any other religious book, its truth will shine and will carry conviction to the mind of the enquirer.[52]

Six months after the opening of the school Noble had forty pupils, a number of them being Brāhmans, and, as elsewhere, a number of grown men who came because they wanted to improve their knowledge of English. They listened with respect to the Bible lessons and were full of questions and objections. But four years were to pass before a single boy expressed a desire for baptism. When this desire became known, the boy's relations carried him off to a distant place and he was never seen again. Even the rumour of these happenings caused no small commotion and resulted in the withdrawal of most of the pupils from the school; but, as had happened in other places, in the end efficiency won the day, and before too long all or almost all were back in their places.

Five more years passed. On 29 July 1852 three boys in one class boasted to their teacher that, however long he might preach to them, he would never win to the Christian faith a single non-Christian in Masulipatam. Hearing of this, Noble assembled all the pupils, and informed them that two of their number had expressed their intention of becoming Christians. He then asked them if there were any among them who had accepted Christ as Saviour and were prepared to confess him openly. Immediately Venkataratnam, a Brāhman, and Nāgabhūshanam, a Velama, stepped forward and identified themselves as those two who had asked for baptism.

The two were eighteen years of age, and both were married men. In July 1852, fearing that they might be spirited away by their relatives and placed beyond reach of the missionaries, the two left their homes and came to the house of Noble, again asking for baptism. On 1 August they were baptised in the mission house. The families made appeal to the collector, the senior British official in the place; but he replied that 'he could not interfere further than to secure peace, as evidently the young men were of full age, in their right minds and voluntary agents'. Both the converts stood firm in their new faith. Six months later Noble was able to write: 'The two dear young men have been growing in every way satisfactorily. They are delightful young characters, full of humility, patience and faith.' Both were ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Gell of Madras in 1864. Their subsequent careers belong to a later stage in the history of the church in India.[53]

Robert Noble was a man of courage and independence, and of intense devotion to the cause of Christ. But he was also a man of strong opinions, and, like many such men, he did not find it easy to suffer patiently those who disagreed with him. As a result he became involved in disputes and controversies with fellow-Christians, and these could not but be harmful to his work and to the cause of Christ.[54] On one important point of policy he did not agree with the course that had been followed by others: he refused to admit to his school pupils from the lowest castes, the so-called 'outcastes'. He pointed out that there was a school in the compound, where the education was geared to the needs of those who did not require a strictly academic training. Feelings in the missionary community rose so high that in 1859 Noble was prepared to resign and return to England. Fortunately the committee in Madras was wise enough to give way, and Noble, who really was irreplaceable, was able to continue in service for another six years. When he died in 1865, he had worked continuously in India for twenty-four years without once returning to Europe.

Converts from the college in Masulipatam were never numerous. But in 1853 three students, all aged seventeen – Mulaya and Krishnayya who were Brāhmans, and Jani Ali, a Muslim – were baptised. In 1860 four Brāhmans, all pupils in the school, were admitted to the church. Once again higher education on an unmistakably Christian basis seemed to be justifying itself by the results.

The church in Tirunelveli had been growing rapidly, and had a considerable educational apparatus. Village schools were numerous, and there were seminaries for those who were to serve the mission as teachers or catechists. But nothing systematic had been done for the education of boys of the higher Hindu castes.[55] The idea of such schools was in the air, but no one could be spared for such work. Then suddenly an admirable solution was found. William Cruickshanks was an Anglo-Indian, a teacher of considerable ability, and a Christian of more than ordinary devotion. He had been blind from the age of ten; but his blindness seemed to make little difference to his capacity as a teacher, and a young man named Browne, also an Anglo-Indian, was willing to help with the administrative tasks with which Cruickshanks could not deal.

The school opened on 4 March 1844 with twenty-five pupils, in a rented house in Pālayankoṭṭai. Cruickshanks held the office of principal for twenty-five years; during that time thirty-six of the pupils professed faith in Christ in baptism. But the principal was convinced that the influence of the school went far beyond the limits of those who had actually become Christians. Even those who continued to be Hindus or Muslims

> cease to be, in many respects, what they were before – they are no longer of the same people; they are a new generation whose views and feelings, if not Christian, are not Hindoo. In fine, if they are not converted, they are enlightened, and henceforth they have consciences as well as understanding.[56]

One of the first pupils admitted to the school was a Naidu boy named Tiruvengadam, fourteen years old.[57] Cruickshanks seemed able to draw lessons from any and every verse of the Bible; but one day the boys thought and hoped that he had reached a passage which would defeat him.[58] The passage to be read was the fifth chapter of Genesis, which seems to consist of nothing but a list of patriarchs, with the years of their lives and a note of their deaths. When the chapter had been read, the teacher placed his hands on his knees, and repeated with solemn emphasis the words 'and he died': that is the one thing certain in human life – and after that the judgement. That night, for the first time, Tiruvengadam prayed to the unknown God.

Two years passed, with slowly growing conviction in the young man's mind; gradually the figure of the unknown God was replaced by a living Jesus Christ. What induced the crisis was the arrangement made for the marriage of Tiruvengadam to a Hindu girl. As he himself related in later years, he twice heard a celestial voice say to him, 'Leave this house.' Believing this to be the voice of God, he fled by night to the house of his teacher, and by him and missionary friends was sent to John Thomas at Megnānapuram.

Naturally the sensation was immense. This was the first case in the area of any member of the higher castes becoming a Christian. Tiruvengadam was brought into court, and questioned by the European magistrate. His reply was 'Christ died for me, and I am going to follow Christ at all costs. My parents and friends will not give me the liberty to do that, and I break away from them.' As the young man had clearly more than reached the age required as evidence of the capacity for rational choice, the magistrate could not take any action to restrain him; with a kindly admonition that he should care for his parents when they were old, he sent him on his way.

Not long after (1847) Tiruvengadam was baptised by John Thomas. He took the names William Thomas Sattianādhan – William for his teacher, Thomas for the great missionary who baptised him, Sattianādhan ('lord of truth') for the Lord who, as he believed, had personally called him to himself. In 1861 Sattianādhan was ordained a priest of the Anglican church, and served as such for just over thirty years. He was for many years the leading Christian minister in South India. When proposals were first put forward for an Indian bishop to be appointed for the work in Tirunelveli, it was natural that the first name put forward should be that of W. T. Sattianādhan.[59]

Other baptisms followed. A specially notable one took place in 1857, when three young men of the Vel̤l̤āl̤a caste were admitted to the church.[60] Of the three, Edward Muthiah, a Tamil scholar, was later appointed member of the committee for the revision of the Tamil bible; Edward Mānickavalaperumal entered business, and was the founder of a firm which greatly prospered and still exists; Dhanakoti *rājā* became widely known throughout South India as a doctor and later as a business man. An earlier convert, W. E. Ganapathi, rose high in government service, reaching the rank of collector and assistant commissioner of salt. Some of the converts entered the service of the mission and were ordained; many, with the warm approval of the missionaries, found their place of Christian service in other avocations. The church in India could become self-supporting only through membership in it of men of substance who by degrees would lift from the shoulders of the missionaries the heavy burden of finance.

7 CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

The Scottish educational missionaries arrived in India at, from their point of view, the most propitious of all possible times.

The mutual penetration of the European and the Asian cultures came about very slowly. For three centuries the number of Europeans in India had been steadily increasing; by 1800 Europeans in considerable numbers were to be found in all the great cities of India. But contacts had remained to a large extent at the commercial level. Missionaries had been the pioneers in discovering the philosophical and religious depths of Hindu culture, but their work had attracted only limited attention in Europe, and much of it remained unknown. Few Indians had travelled in the West. Very few, even among Christians, knew English, though a fair number knew Portuguese. Missionaries had been so busy in inculcating Christian truth that little advantage had been taken of opportunities for introducing India to the wealth of the European traditions in literature and art.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century conditions changed with great rapidity. Indians became aware of the importance of the English language, not only as a means to securing remunerative employment under government, but as a key of liberty – liberty to enter a vast world of thought and knowledge to which previously they had had no access. Minds which had begun to be trained in the thought of Newton, Locke and Burke could no longer remain contentedly in the world of the Purāṇas and the ancient mythologies. But the possibilities of acquiring English knowledge were in most places non-existent, or gravely limited, or elementary, in some cases hindered by gross incompetence.

It was precisely at this moment that the Scottish missionaries arrived on the scene. They were almost immediately successful, in part at least because they knew what they wanted to achieve and set themselves with undeviating energy to attain it. Their aim was intellectual, moral and spiritual enlightenment; they believed in God as the source of all knowledge, but they found in Jesus Christ the very centre of truth, the source of moral regeneration, and the direct path to fellowship with God.

The Scots succeeded because what they offered was so much better than what was being offered by others. At the time there was little effective competition. As a consequence, though the Christian schools were emptied from time to time as a result of conversions, they always filled up again; students, frustrated in their search elsewhere for what the Scots provided, in the end came back to the original source.[61]

The methods of the Christian colleges were no doubt by modern standards highly authoritarian. But the teachers never claimed more than the legitimate authority of teacher in relation to pupil; indeed their claims were probably less exacting than those of Hindu and Muslim teachers at that time. They had a strong sense of personal dignity, believing themselves to be the accredited witnesses to the truth; but this meant that they were under an obligation to treat their pupils with respect. They seem to have been singularly free from any sense of racial superiority. When converts found themselves separated from home and family, the missionaries felt no difficulty about welcoming them into their homes and treating them in every way as sons. Perhaps unconsciously they worked out in a new and Christian form the traditional Indian relationship between *guru* and *chela*, which is so beautifully expressed in the ancient Hindu classics. At the same time, the teachers desired that their pupils should remain genuinely Indian; they did not feel it necessary to change the names of their converts at baptism, even when these included the names of such Indian gods as Krishna.

The early missionaries had three advantages which were denied to those who followed them.

Few of those who tried to rival them in the educational field were their intellectual equals. Effusions based on the writings of Tom Paine and the like were superficial, and proved convincing only to those who desired to be convinced. Indian nationalism was still in an embryo stage, and those who were influenced by the Christian teachers were intelligent enough to recognise that Christianity was in no sense a European religion – it had been in India a great deal longer than Islam, and was Asian in its origins.

In the second place, the numbers with which the missionaries had to deal were limited. This meant that the teachers were able to get to know their pupils personally and to exercise direct influence upon them. Letter after letter gives evidence of the intense affection which the teachers felt for the taught, especially perhaps, but not exclusively, for those who showed some inclination to become Christians. In a great many cases this was reciprocated. The number of those who accepted the Christian faith was always small; but many of those who continued in their ancestral faith retained a deep respect for their mentors, and absorbed from them ideas and principles which in one way or another they managed to combine with the ancient faith. Towards the end of the period the missionaries were beginning to yield to the lure of numbers and to the pressure constantly brought to bear upon them to open their doors more widely, but in the pioneer days it was possible to keep all the teaching, except for that of the Indian languages, in the hands of Christians; theirs was the single influence which permeated the entire life of the school or college. John Anderson did, indeed, employ a number of Hindu monitors, but in most cases these were boys who had come up through the school and had shown some interest in spiritual things. In any case, they were employed only on the lower levels of teaching. Not all of these became

Christians, but they could be relied on to be in general sympathy with the aims of the school.

Thirdly, Christian schools and colleges were free from any kind of supervision and control by government agencies. This meant that they could themselves work out the syllabus according to which they intended to teach, following the methods that seemed to them to be good, and making sure that the Christian character of the education given could be safeguarded against the pressure of purely educational demands. If the Scripture lesson proved to be so interesting as to be prolonged far beyond its prescribed limits and to take up the whole of the period assigned to the next lesson, there was no one to protest. Equally, the excellence of the religious element was not allowed to impair the standard demanded in the other departments.

Times, however, were changing. The government's policy of non-interference was being eroded by utilitarian arguments; the view that it was the business of government to educate its subjects was coming to be more and more widely held. The great turning-point came in 1854. On 19 July of that year Sir Charles Wood, president of the board of control, sent to India the famous despatch No. 49, which laid upon the government in India the task of 'creating a properly articulated scheme of education from the primary school to the university'. Education provided by the government must be exclusively secular; but the all-important proviso was added:

> every honest educational agency, whether religious or not, should be encouraged to the utmost, under the inspection and direction of a government department, and with the encouragement and assistance of the local officers of government.[62]

It was laid down that universities should come into existence in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, if a sufficient number of colleges could be found to cooperate. The universities would be examining bodies, on the model of the University of London, and not teaching or residential institutions. These other functions should be left to the colleges, which would be affiliated to the University for purposes of examination and the granting of degrees. In 1857 the three universities came into existence on the model prescribed.

Approaches were made to the missionary institutions with a view to their affiliation. These approaches were politely rebuffed by the Christian educators. There were obvious advantages in a common syllabus, and in the prospect held out before students of obtaining degrees. But the primary concern of the missionaries was for the educational independence and the spiritual efficiency of their work. They felt that some advantages could be purchased at too high a price. Only at a later date did the missionary bodies, to the regret of a good many in their ranks, succumb to the temptation to accept government money and the measure of control that inevitably went with it.

What the missionary educators achieved must not be exaggerated. There were others in the field, and the numbers with which they were dealing were still very small. But in three respects they left a deep impress on the future of the church in India. They made Christianity intellectually respectable in the main cultural and administrative centres of Indian life. They provided the growing church with almost all the highly educated Indian ministers who were destined increasingly to take over from the missionaries leadership in the church. They took hold of what was in danger of becoming a proletarian church, drawing almost exclusively on the poorest and least-educated groups in Indian society, and set it on the road which it has ever since followed, of establishing a respected position in the social scale, of being one of the best-educated communities in India, and of being able to draw on increasing resources in the educated professional class, the rapid increase of which was one of the most significant developments in the Indian renaissance between 1850 and 1950. Direct work among the poor and socially disregarded was not neglected; but, without the aid of the prosperous middle-class element, the Indian church could not so rapidly have become self-governing and self-supporting. This was not the primary aim of the educators, but it was an inevitable and valuable result of their labours.

15 · Protestant Expansion in India

1 GEOGRAPHY AND MISSION

In the year 1858 the Christian map of India was very different from what it had been in 1800. In the earlier year, apart from the European settlements strung out along the coast, the Christian presence in India was scattered, thin, and for the most part ineffective. By 1858 the 'Christian occupation' of India was beginning to take shape. The number of missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, had greatly increased, though it was still very small in relation to the size of the country and the many millions of its inhabitants. From small beginnings the Christian forces had spread themselves out and taken the first steps towards making their presence felt over the country as a whole.

Before the development of the modern network of roads and railways, communication in northern India was mainly by water. The great cities of the Gangetic plain were connected by the Ganges and its tributaries. Early in the century the Baptists had become aware of the opportunities that lay before them in this direction, but their work had been spasmodic rather than systematic. The Anglican CMS, both methodical and adventurous, opened up work in one city after another; other British, and later American, societies were not far behind.

A watershed in more senses than one was crossed when missionaries advanced from the Gangetic plain into the vast area watered by the Indus and the tributaries which flow down from the ranges of the Himalaya. In some areas of the Punjab the pioneers were the American Presbyterians, who founded their station at Sialkot (1855) within sight of the great mountains to the north. The CMS, adventurous as always, pressed forward to Peshawar (1854), at the extreme north-western point of British occupation, and almost on the borders of Afghanistan.

Many societies found ample occupation in filling in the gaps between the various centres of Christian activity along the coast or not far inland.

Baptists, British and American, moved southwards from Bengal into Orissa, an area which included both Hindus and mountain peoples which had never been incorporated into the Hindu system. The language of the plains was Indo-European; the mountain peoples were distinct in language, religion and social organisation.

At the southern end of Orissa, Āryan and Dravidian overlap. The wide lands of what is now Āndhra Pradesh, in many areas very fertile, were inhabited by a Dravidian people speaking Telugu, a language related to Tamil, though the two great languages are not so close as to be mutually intelligible. In 1800 there was no Protestant Christian presence among this gifted and intelligent people; by 1858 Anglicans, Lutherans and Congregationalists had established themselves in a number of centres.

On the west coast the gap between the flourishing churches in Kerala and the newer churches in Bombay was filled by the arrival of the Basel mission. This brought into the field the Christian forces of the Reformed tradition from Switzerland and southern Germany. No Christian mission was more strongly marked by the patient efficiency so characteristic of the Germanic races.

From the coastal areas of the Tamil country a number of missions made their way inland and in the end climbed the rough ways up to the central plateau. American Congregationalists settled in Mathurai (1834), once famous as the home of Robert Nobili, opened up the Palni hills, and created the famous hill-station of Kodaikānal. The Methodists were first in the field in Mysore, created by the British as a semi-independent state ruled over by Indian princes but under rather strict British control. The English Congregationalists reached out further with their station at Bellāry in the heart of the Kanarese-speaking country.

In western India Bombay was by far the strongest centre of Christian influence. Various societies were at work, the strongest among them being the Scottish Presbyterians (1823). Under Scottish guidance, Irish Presbyterians moved northwards and opened up work in Kathiāwar (1841), where the prevailing language is Gujarāti. With strange prescience the great Scottish missionary John Wilson saw that the time had come in which missionaries ought to advance into the very heart of India. The station at Nāgpur (1846), as near the centre of India as it is possible to get, looks rather lonely on the Christian map of India; but, despite its comparative inaccessibility, Wilson was right in recognising its strategic significance.

This was the period of the rapid expansion of British control in India. In almost all the centres in which the missionaries settled, they found the British armies, European and Indian, ahead of them. Bangalore was, and continued to be for a century, a notable cantonment. In a number of centres, notably Peshāwar and Nāgpur, missionaries were encouraged to take up work in response to warm invitations from committed Christians in the British administration or in military service. In a great many cases the officials regarded the missionaries as friends, and warmly approved of what they were trying to do in the educational and social fields, though with reservations as to the advisability of their evangelistic efforts. Such support from outside their own ranks smoothed the way of the missionaries; at that date the complications that could arise from the close association between government and Christian activity could hardly be foreseen.

2 HOW MISSIONARIES SET TO WORK

The Roman Catholic understanding of the nature of the missionary task differed at many points from that of the great majority of Protestant and Anglican societies; yet there were certain basic similarities which should not be overlooked; Protestants were in many cases willing to learn from Roman Catholic successes and failures.

It had come to be taken for granted that the first task that faced the missionary was the acquisition of the language spoken by those among whom he intended to work. Only in the three presidency centres – Calcutta, Madras and Bombay – was it possible to carry on extensive Christian work in English; and even those engaged in higher educational work in English in most cases felt it desirable to acquire a reasonable competence in the local language.

Only a minority of missionaries became notable experts in the languages in which they carried on their daily work. Indians have many tales to tell of the blunders made by their missionary friends. Those who failed to excel must not be too harshly blamed. The difficulty of learning a wholly unfamiliar language under unfavourable conditions is much greater than can be imagined by those who have never made the attempt. For a small number of languages – Bengali, Hindustani, Tamil – grammars written from the European point of view were available. But a language can be learned only from those who speak it as their own. Pundits were available, but few of them had a grammatical understanding of their own language, fewer had any understanding of the kind of difficulties that Europeans faced in trying to learn an Asian language, and fewest of all had the patience to make sure that their pupils learnt to pronounce sounds correctly, and still more difficult, grasped the rhythm and intonation of a language still only imperfectly known. British officials were at the same time engaged in similar studies, some of them with much better philological training than the missionaries. Some, like C. P. Brown, who had been born in India and was a perfect master of Telugu, became great scholars in the language of their adoption. But the labour was immense; it is not surprising that some gave up the struggle in despair. Only a minority ever succeeded in becoming perfectly at home with Indian friends who could not speak English.

Alongside the concern for the language was the intense desire of the missionaries that the Bible should become available in their own languages to all Indians who could read. The men of Serampore had made a noble start, but time increasingly revealed the imperfection of much of their work; a great deal of it had to be done over again.

The full extent of the difficulties involved was not immediately realised. In none of the Indian languages was there a standard prose literature which could serve as an example to the translators; a literary translation might prove unintelligible to ordinary readers, a more popular version could call out the contempt of the better educated. Naturally the help of Indian scholars was called in. Most of these, however, were Hindus or Muslims who, having no inner understanding of the texts they were dealing with, were not well qualified to suggest suitable renderings for terms which they had only in part understood. Some of the translators were far too dependent on versions of the Scriptures in European languages and could not bring their minds round to an understanding of the way in which Indians would naturally express themselves.

Too gloomy a picture should not be drawn. Some of the translators were fortunate in securing the aid of Indians who understood the Christian faith and were eager to lend their services. This was the good fortune of those engaged in the preparation of a version of the Scriptures in Telugu.

Subbarāyan, a Brāhman, had been an accountant in the Mysore army, and later in British employ. A chance meeting with a Roman Catholic believer directed his attention to the Christian faith; some time later he was baptised as a Roman Catholic and took the name Anandarāyer. He made his way to Pondichéri, and from there to Tranquebar. At that time he had never seen a Bible; but he found himself much attracted by the Lutheran way of doing things, and especially by the absence of images from the churches – the images found in Roman Catholic churches reminded him too closely of the Hindu idolatry from which he had emancipated himself when he became a Christian. Having heard of the work on which the LMS missionaries were engaged in Vishākhapatnam, he felt led to offer them his services; as he knew Tamil and Marāthi, as well as being able to write elegantly in Telugu, no offer could have been more acceptable. With his help the four Gospels were completed in 1810, and were printed at Serampore under his supervision. The New Testament was completed in 1818.

This was only the beginning of the story. On 7 January 1890 John Hay celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in India. Known as the best Telugu scholar in the ranks of the missionaries, he gave a great deal of his time to the revision of both the New Testament and the Old in Telugu. One who knew him well wrote of him that 'among the apostles of India there has risen none greater than John Hay'.[1]

The work of revision in many languages went on ceaselessly, scholars of different denominational allegiances finding little difficulty in co-operating in this all-important work. By 1858 the entire Bible was available in ten of the languages most widely spoken in India, with the New Testament available in four others.[2] None of these translations was entirely satisfactory, and all were subjected to further extensive revision in the light of increasing knowledge. The deeply disillusioned Fr J. A. Dubois was pleased to spread himself in scathing criticism of the attempt of Protestants to render the Scriptures in Kanarese – better to have no Bible at all than to have such unsuccessful attempts to translate it. But it would be unseemly to be over-critical of the well-intentioned efforts of these pioneers. In India information came in from every quarter, making clear that even these very imperfect versions had been effective in conveying a measure of Christian truth to those who were seeking it.[3]

In spite of a certain number of denominational differences and variations, Protestant missions in the period under review tended to take on a remarkably uniform appearance.

Following the example of St Paul, who set himself to bring into existence churches in all the main centres of population of the Roman empire, the missionaries almost without exception settled in the cities, believing that from those centres of wealth and education the Christian faith would radiate out to the rural areas beyond. In point of fact the situation in India was very different from that in the Roman empire. The Indian village carried on an almost self-subsistent existence of its own, with its own institutions and self-government, singularly little influenced by the larger centres of population. City populations showed themselves on the whole highly resistant to the Gospel. Where there was movement, it was for the most part from the villages into the cities; where there are today strong Christian centres in the cities, in the majority of cases it is found that most of the Christians are village-dwellers who have migrated and prospered. Tied down by expensive buildings and institutions the missionaries lost the mobility that made of the apostle Paul the great missionary that he was.

Wars, famines and disease had kept the population stable, and in some cases had reduced it. Land was easily available. In many cases, with the help of government, missionaries were able to acquire considerable estates, often on the fringe of the cities. This spacious accommodation was good for the health of the foreigners, and also made it possible for them in case of need to provide living-space for would-be Christians who had found it impossible to remain in their own homes. A visitor to Salem[4] in Tamilnādu can obtain even today a vivid impression of what a mission compound looked like in the palmy days of the growing Protestant mission.

At the start the attention of the missionaries was directed almost exclusively to the prosperous and educated classes, in the expectation that, if these were converted, they would give a lead to the population as a whole, and that where the educated had led the way the less educated would follow. Many were, indeed, diligent in bazaar preaching, usually with the help of Indian assistants; this made many aware of the presence of the foreigners and of the proclamation of an unfamiliar religion. But the direct results tended to be few. Personal discussion with individuals or with small groups was usually found to be more effective. Much patience was needed. Many were interested and came to admit the superiority of Christianity as a religious system, but the structure of Indian society and the terrible penalties inflicted on those who desired to exchange one religion for another kept many back. They remained as enquirers or as secret believers, not taking the decisive step of coming forward for baptism. Yet the records show that wherever missionaries worked for a long period, patiently and modestly and with a good knowledge of the language, some did come forward and openly confess their faith in Christ. The result was in many cases that, having lost all earthly possessions, the converts found themselves in a state of undesirable dependence on their missionary friends. An Indian church was beginning to come into being; it was not yet clear whether it had the inner resources to stand on its own feet and to grow. What had begun as an emergency solution came gradually to be accepted as sound missionary policy.

3 VARIETIES OF MISSIONARY EXPERIENCE

Within the similarities that have been outlined in the previous section, each area and each mission had some special features which distinguished it from the others. These, carefully recorded in periodicals and local histories, make at times compulsive reading. Even a summary of the varied experiences would fill several volumes. All that can be done in this chapter is to make a limited selection from various sources and areas, in an attempt to show the flexibility of missionary methods, and the variety of ways in which Indians were led to the knowledge of Christ and to faith in him.

a. Bengal: a village movement

In the extreme south of India a considerable village movement towards Christianity had taken place, and had survived under rather unfavourable circumstances.[5] All over India missionaries were buoyed up by the hope that similar movements would come into being in the rural areas, which they visited as regularly as other duties permitted. Just a year before the death of William Carey, it seemed as though a movement of this kind was about to take place in the villages of Bengal not far from Calcutta.

In 1832 a German missionary of the CMS, the Reverend J. W. Deerr, settled in Krishnagar, the headquarters of the district of Nadiya. Not long after, baptisms began to occur in considerable numbers. The work of the missionaries was probably helped by the presence in the district of a number of adherents of the sect called the Karta Bhojas, a reform movement which included both Hindus and Muslims. Of the Hindu group it was said that 'they do not believe in Hinduism, but like various other sects in India, they comply externally with many of its ceremonies for the sake of peace'. Some years passed before the members of this sect began to manifest an interest in Christianity; but in 1838 the head men of ten villages presented themselves as candidates for baptism, having reached the conclusion that what they had sought in the sect to which they had given allegiance was now being more fully offered in the Christian Gospel.

In the following year a delegation, consisting of two missionaries, a high-caste convert from Hinduism, and Archdeacon Dealtry of Calcutta, visited the area. They found that enquiries concerning the faith were going on in fifty-five villages. During the visit 140 candidates were baptised, the majority of them being from among the Muslims. In 1844 the number of Christians was found to be 3,000; in addition there were 1,000 catechumens and enquirers.

These unwonted happenings aroused great interest and perhaps exaggerated expectations. Bishop Daniel Wilson's words expressed the thoughts and hopes of many Christians at that time: 'What is all this? What is God about to do for us in India? Thousands of souls seem to be making their way up from the shadow of death to the fair light of Christ; or, as we hope, are about to be translated from the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son.'[6]

The movement continued for a time and then came to a standstill. It is not easy to account for partial failure after so promising a beginning. The usual cry of 'rice-Christians' has been raised. But, in reply to a question put to him by the archdeacon, Deerr replied that, though at the time of questioning many of the people were in distress, *they were not so when they first offered themselves for baptism.*[7] When crops had been destroyed by a terrible flood, the missionary had drawn on the meagre funds at his disposal to help Christians who had been reduced to destitution. This had deeply impressed Hindus, who were inclined to say, 'See how these Christians love one another.'

High hopes had been placed on this apparently promising movement, but to a large extent the hopes proved to be illusory. Once the initial impetus had died away, it was not regained. The church in Nadiya survived and slowly grew, but it seemed to lack that creative power for the regeneration of society which has been manifest in a number of churches in other parts of India.

b. The Gospel among the snows

For a complete contrast to activity in the steamy humidity of the plains of Bengal, we may look at a remote and courageous venture, a mission founded under the shadow of the everlasting snows of the Himalayas.

The Jesuits had long been interested in Tibet, partly because they regarded it as one of the gates through which closed China might be entered. Similar hopes, and in part for the same reason, came to birth in the minds of devout Protestants. Major Latter, a pious officer in the East India Company's army, and political agent at Rangpur on the borders of Bhutan and Sikkim, had become deeply interested in Tibet. When he heard that a CMS missionary, C. F. G. Schroeter, had been appointed to work in the region, he secured from Paris a number of books on China and Tibet, and also made a collection of Tibetan manuscripts which he later presented to Bishop's College, Calcutta. In 1819 Schroeter, with the help of the government, was hard at work on Tibetan, 'the cultivation of which was considered subservient to the public interest'; but he died in the following year, and this first enterprise was not followed up. The next approach to Tibet was to be made far away in the western Himalayas.

A number of Christian officers in the European settlement at Simla had become concerned about the welfare of the hill peoples and desired that Christian work should be undertaken among them. In 1843 the Himalayan Church Missionary Society was formed, and the services of the Reverend H. Prochnow, later superintendent of the Gossner Mission, were secured. Prochnow settled at Kotghur, forty miles from Simla. The choice was excellent. There was much coming and going of travellers. Moreover the valley had much connection with the study of Tibetan, since it was in a monastery near by that the great Hungarian scholar Csoma de Körös had settled for five years (1826–31), and 'there with the thermometer below zero for four months . . . collected and arranged 40,000 words of the language of Tibet, and nearly completed his dictionary and grammar'.[8]

It has been almost a settled policy of the Moravian brethren to seek out for their missionary work the remotest places in the world and some of the most disagreeable of inhabited regions. Frustrated in their attempts to penetrate China from the sea, they decided to explore the southern approaches and to find out whether China might be accessible through Tibet rather than from the other direction.

In 1856 two adventurous brethren reached Kotghur and were warmly welcomed by the pioneer Prochnow. He strongly supported their desire to make a more direct approach to Tibet than he had been able himself to achieve. The first step was to make a journey to Leh, the chief city of Ladakh, situated on the Indus river at a height of 11,000 feet. Ladakh, though politically attached to India, is in almost every respect Tibetan. As far as the Zoji la pass, the people are Kashmiris and Muslims; beyond, the Ladakhis, in physical appearance, in language and in religion, are Tibetan and Buddhist. Leh lies on a trade-route, and Tibetans are constantly passing through in both directions to dispose of their goods in India and to acquire what is not available to them at home. But this excellent centre proved to be unavailable. In 1856 xenophobia prevailed, and the local ruler was not prepared to permit the residence of foreigners in his territory. The missionaries therefore settled in Kyelang, a small village in the area called Lahoul, and set to work to make the acquaintance of the people, their language and their ways.

In the following year, the pioneers were joined by Henry Augustus Jaeschke, than whom few greater linguists have served the Christian mission in any part of the world. Before coming to India he was at home in such languages as Polish and Hungarian as well as having a good knowledge of Greek and at least some acquaintance with Arabic and Sanskrit. While the two laymen engaged in extensive itineration in the villages, Jaeschke settled down to perfect his knowledge of Tibetan, to prepare a grammar and dictionary, and to lay the foundations for the translation of the New Testament into that language. His achievements in this field have won universal acclaim; it is agreed by the experts that no foreigner has rendered greater services than Jaeschke to the world's knowledge of Tibetan language, philology and literature.

Jaeschke belonged to the generation of the pioneers. In 1868 he had to leave the mission owing to ill-health, but he lived long enough to learn in Germany something of the progress made by others on the foundations that he had laid.[9]

c. Where Islam prevailed and prevails

A special interest attaches to that remote outpost of the CMS to which Sir Herbert Edwardes had so enthusiastically given his support – Peshāwar.

C. G. Pfander, one of the few Christian experts in Islamic studies, was in Peshāwar from 1854 to 1858. Of him Edwardes wrote:

> Who that has ever met him can forget that burly Saxon figure, and genial open face, beaming with intellect, simplicity and benevolence? He had great natural gifts for a missionary; a large heart, a powerful mind, high courage and an indomitable good humour, and to that in a life of labour he had added great learning, practical wisdom in the conduct of missions, and knowledge of Asiatics, especially Mohammedans.[10]

Pfander was warned of the danger of preaching in public in a city where there were so many fanatical Muslims. He decided to disregard these warnings. Even in the disturbed days of the great uprising, he continued to walk through the streets with his Bible in his hand and to proclaim to all who would listen the glories of the Christian faith.[11]

Not surprisingly, converts in the Peshawar mission have never been numerous. One was Hāji Yāhya Bākir, who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca but as a result of a dream decided that he was called to follow Christ. Having heard of Pfander, he set out to seek him, and eventually ran him to earth in Peshawar. After a suitable period of probation and instruction, he was baptised (January 1856); a few days later he was found covered in blood at the foot of the garden of the mission house. He recovered from his wounds and spent the rest of his life as a kind of wandering missionary and purveyor of medicines. He turned up from time to time to renew contact with his missionary friends; but the date and place of his death are unknown.

d. Three types of Christian approach

Agra, in what is now known as Uttar Pradesh, has come before us as the home for ten years of the great Christian administrator James Thomason. In his day one of the furthest outposts of British control in India, it can provide, better perhaps than any other centre in North India, a general view of the variety and flexibility of the Christian approach to the adherents of the various forms of Indian religion.

One of the oldest centres of the CMS in that part of India, it owed its foundations not to a missionary, but to a chaplain in the service of the East India Company, Daniel Corrie, many years later to become known as the first bishop of Madras. Corrie, in every station to which he was appointed, took every legitimate step towards encouraging the preaching of the Gospel to non-Christians. What gave special interest to his work in Agra was that, when he reached that city on 18 March 1813, he was accompanied by Abdul Masih (*c*. 1765–1827), one of the first of the witnesses through whom we hear the authentic voice of Indian Christianity.[12]

Sheikh Salih was so convinced a Muslim that he had determined to have nothing whatever to do with Christians. First interested in the Gospel, almost against his will, through the preaching of Henry Martyn,[13] he had made his way to Calcutta, and after the required period of testing was baptised on Whitsunday 1811, receiving the baptismal name of Abdul Masih. Devoted as a Muslim, highly gifted as a follower of Christ, he was probably the leading Indian Christian of his day. In 1821 he was ordained by Lutheran missionaries in the service of the CMS. In 1825 he was admitted to Anglican orders by Bishop Heber, thus becoming the first Indian to reach the rank of priest in the Church of England tradition.[14]

The extensive journals of Abdul Masih, as translated by Corrie, were published in successive numbers of the *Missionary Register*. These are a document of the greatest importance, not only because of the many interesting details they reveal of the way in which an intelligent Indian evangelist set himself to make the Gospel known to his own people, but because through them, almost for the first time, English-speaking readers were able to hear the authentic accents of Indian Christianity. This is not a missionary who is speaking, but an intelligent Indian who through strict intellectual processes had come to an acceptance of the Christian faith.

Corrie's own accounts of Christian witness in Agra are full of interesting details. The opinions of the local community as to the nature of the Christian religion are amusingly revealed in a letter of 26 December 1815:

> Today after Divine Service in the Fort, the Lord's Supper was administered in the city to the Native congregation . . . A report having gone abroad that, on a former occasion of administering the Lord's Supper, a piece of beef had been given to the Hindoo Converts and a piece of pork to the Muslim Converts, it was judged expedient to allow all who chose to remain during the celebration. A great number of both Mahometans and Hindoos were spectators, and behaved very orderly.

One of the most interesting features in these accounts is the constant evidence that Abdul Masih, though by Muslim standards a renegade, was so far able to win the respect of both Hindus and Muslims that he could approach all kinds of people with the message of the Gospel. The records also show that both Corrie and Abdul Masih, following the usual practice of missionaries in those days, approached for the most part those of superior station, while not excluding those of inferior caste, believing that as those of higher status were won for Christ the Gospel would from them percolate through to those who stood lower according to the Indian reckoning of social status.

The number of baptisms recorded during this period is surprising. Before leaving Agra on 18 August 1814, Corrie wrote that 'during the preceding sixteen months, seventy-one natives have received baptism, of whom fifty are adults, about half of them Mahometans, the other half Hindoos'. The majority, though not all, had remained faithful to their profession.[15] Unfortunately, Corrie does not give full details as to the manner in which Christians managed to maintain themselves within non-Christian society; there is no suggestion that they became economically dependent on the mission.

Abdul Masih, in the early days of his Christian profession, had had to endure a good deal of reproach, though not of actual persecution, at the hands of those whose faith he had deserted. His fiery temperament having been much subdued by the Gospel, he had endured all this with such meekness and courtesy that by degrees he had won the respect and consideration of all. Near the end of his life (1825), he reports that he has received a friendly invitation from a Muslim in a good position in the service of the Company to visit his home:

> In the evening after worship I went to his house; they had prepared a separate apartment, where several persons learned in religion and wealthy were collected, all of whom received me with respect; and we continued to converse on religious subjects in a very friendly manner until midnight.[16]

Abdul Masih was held in great respect by all who knew him, but it was felt that he was most effective when working in close co-operation with a missionary friend.

In 1838 the Christian community in Agra was faced by a challenge to Christian service of a very different kind. A terrible famine had devastated the land. Money was raised for the care of destitute orphans, and two hundred boys and fifty girls were committed to the care of the CMS. Next to Christian instruction, the first care of the missionaries was to see to it that these young people were trained to be independent and to earn their own living. The measures taken were admirable. In 1846 it was reported that, of the boys still in the orphanage, thirteen were engaged as printers, five as compositors, three as bookbinders, eleven as carpet-makers, five as carpenters, eight as blacksmiths, five as tailors.[17] It was assumed that in many cases orphans would marry orphans and settle in the Christian village, where they would grow up 'separated from the pernicious influences of heathen example . . . their tender minds guarded from the easy entrance of elements of superstition, and false notions of moral truth'.[18]

The missionaries were mistaken. Their chosen Eden was sterile. Having no roots in society, it remained an exotic. Those who had grown up in its segregated atmosphere had no easy access to the people around them and could not be expected to take much interest in the spread of the Gospel beyond their own borders. Nor could such a village be counted on to produce stalwart and sturdy Christian characters. What appeared at the start as favourable conditions in the end proved to constitute a hindrance to the natural growth of a genuinely Indian church.[19]

The situation in Agra was changed by the arrival in February 1851 of one of the ablest of the missionaries who served in India in the nineteenth century. Thomas Valpy French (1825–89) had been at Rugby School under the famous Dr Arnold and, after the usual course of studies carried out with great brilliance at the University of Oxford, had become a fellow of University College. Here he could have looked forward to a distinguished and comfortable career in the academic world; it was no easy exchange to abandon all this in favour of the task of pioneer education in Agra. With vigorous, and at times almost intemperate, resolution, French set himself to learn the intricacies of his new task and also to make himself master of the local languages.

He already had a good knowledge of English and French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew; to these he added Hindi and Urdu and a good deal of Persian and Arabic. He earned the title by which he was known, the *haft-zaban padri*, 'the priest of seven tongues'. All this he mastered without great effort; perhaps he was inclined to expect a little too much of younger colleagues:

> You must of course commence with Urdu or Hindustani . . . You had better give some six or eight hours to that, and also spend two or three hours at Punjabi, to be able to talk to villagers. You should also try and give two or three hours to the study of Persian, which you will find invaluable in the schools, and all your spare time to Arabic, so as to be able to read the Quran.[20]

French does not seem to have taken into calculation the amount of time that the victim of his good advice might be expected to spend in sleep.

As a scholar, French was naturally concerned for the presentation of the Gospel to Indian scholars on a high level of academic confrontation. For this task he found the ideal colleague in C. G. Pfander (1803–65). Pfander had already spent eleven years in missionary service in southern Russia and Iran, and while there had written his famous work *Mizan-ul-Haqq*, 'The Balance of Truth',[21] a comparison of Christian with Muslim claims, which the Muslim reader has always found it difficult to answer.

Pfander had often been engaged in controversy with Muslim leaders in Agra. As long as the debate followed the usual lines of Islamic scholasticism, Pfander, with his wide acquaintance with Persian and Arabic writings, was well able to hold his own in discussion with them. In 1854 they were successful in shifting the area of debate. India had for years been flooded with rationalistic and anti-Christian writings. Many educated Muslims had become acquainted with the writings of Tom Payne and of such writers as D. F. Strauss, who in his *Life of Christ* had seemed to them successfully to undermine the Christian claims for the authority of the Bible. A number of them felt that the time had come to take the initiative in presenting a challenge to the Christian Gospel as the missionaries were in the habit of presenting it. So an able young *moulvie*, Rahmat Allah, of Delhi, was engaged to put all these anti-Christian arguments together in written form. This scholar wrote two books, the *Azalat-al-Auham*, 'The Destroyer of Imagination', and the *Ibtal-i-Tathlith*, 'Refutation of the Trinity'. Early in 1854 he challenged Pfander to a public discussion. Though little inclined for controversy of this kind, Pfander felt that he must accept the challenge; French agreed to act as his supporter.

French had a high opinion of Pfander. Much later he wrote of him (1889): 'The late Dr Pfander, though not equal to the late Henry Martyn in acuteness and subtlety, far out-topped all the missionaries of his day as the Christian champion against Islam ... It was no small privilege I had in being the disciple of Pfander in my youth, a worthy successor of the heroic Martyn.'[22]

The confrontation took place on two successive days. It proved to be a case of 'ignorant armies clash by night', and there was no real meeting of minds; the terms of debate had not been defined with sufficient accuracy. Pfander held a view of the inspiration of the Christian Scriptures not altogether dissimilar from the view of the Qur'ān held by Muslim scholars. But the new opponent was prepared to question precisely this view of the Bible, and brought forward arguments which Pfander was not well qualified to meet. The *moulvie* was much concerned to uphold the view, held by many Muslims, that the Christian scriptures have been extensively corrupted by Christians. In 1854 the science of the textual criticism of the New Testament was still in its infancy, but French had no difficulty in showing that the text of the New Testament as it existed in the days of the Prophet Muhammad was within very narrow limits exactly the text which he could bring forward in Greek in 1854. Failing to produce evidence, the *moulvie* fell back on mere affirmation. Pfander demanded that he should produce a copy of the alleged uncorrupted Scripture on which he relied. When, naturally enough, the *moulvie* was unable to do so, since no such copies exist, Pfander, perhaps unwisely, called off the discussion.

Both sides naturally claimed victory in the debate; an impartial verdict can hardly be reached. As Pfander foresaw, the encounter tended rather to inflame differences than to promote understanding. Yet one of the assistant champions on the Muslim side, Safdar Alī, later became a devout and consistent Christian; and it seems likely that these debates sowed in the mind of Imad-ud-dīn those doubts about the validity of the Muslim faith which led to his baptism a good many years later.[23]

e. The problem of conversion

Much of the time of missionaries in the cities was spent in long personal talks with small groups of interested people or with individuals. By no means, however, were all of these genuinely interested enquirers after the truth. Missionaries had to fight against the temptation to become cynical as they tried to sort out the wheat from the tares, and to distinguish between a genuine and a simulated interest. As British power and authority grew, even the missionaries who were not of British origin found themselves credited with far more influence in government circles than they possessed or than they would have cared to use had they possessed it. And, where they compared their comparative indigence with the wealth of their more prosperous Indian neighbours, they could not but ponder ruefully the enormous sums of money of which it was supposed by many that they were in control, and of the part that material interests played in the minds of many of those who came forward to present themselves as would-be converts. Yet genuine enquirers did come in, the majority of them poor and not too well educated, but a not inconsiderable number belonging to the more affluent sections of society and proving the genuineness of their conversion by their willingness to make sacrifices of position and possessions and by many years of devoted service in the mission or in other avocations in the world.

Until 1858 Delhi was the centre and capital of the Mughul dynasty, very far fallen from the days of its great power, yet still a focus of attraction for millions of Muslims. Benares was for Hindus one of the holiest of cities and a centre of pilgrimage for uncounted devotees. Yet each of these fortresses of the non-Christian faiths was destined to yield up, in response to the long and patient witness of the missionaries, a number of converts of exceptional ability and distinction.

The Anglican representative in Delhi was a chaplain who combined conscientious devotion to his official duties with an intense concern for the evangelisation of the non-Christian world. Midgely John Jennings was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had come to India in 1832 as one of the Company's chaplains. In 1852 he was appointed to serve in Delhi. In 1857 he wrote to his wife that he had come to Delhi 'with a single object in view, to get missionaries for the city'. He had not been long settled when a most unusual event revealed to him the great possibilities that lay ahead of the mission.

Rām Chandra was born in 1821 at Panīpat, in a family of respectable means. But when he was ten years old his father died, leaving an impoverished widow with six sons. Rām Chandra was fortunate enough to receive a scholarship to the Government's English school in Delhi, and so was able to continue his education up to college standard. In 1844 he was appointed as a teacher in the school, which in 1841 had been reorganised as a college. In 1850 he astonished the learned world by the publication of his treatise *The Problem of Maxima and Minima Solved by Algebra.*[24]

For years Rām Chandra had held the opinion that 'not only Christianity, but also Mohammedanism, and all bookish religions [are] absurd and false'. An almost accidental attendance at a Christian service in Delhi gave him a different idea of the religion and inspired in him a desire to read the Bible for himself. Very gradually conviction dawned, and he 'was persuaded that what is required for man's salvation was in Christianity and nowhere else'. But the final step of baptism, involving the loss of caste and of all family connections, was difficult to take: 'I wished to believe that baptism and public profession were not necessary to becoming a Christian.' More than a year was to pass before he reached the conviction that faith and baptism are obverse and reverse of a coin. On 11 May 1852, together with the sub-assistant surgeon Chimman Lāl, he presented himself to Jennings for baptism.[25]

To the credit of the Church of England it must be recorded that it never yielded to the mania of hatred and ill will by which the minds of so many were obsessed during the dark days of the great uprising. Already in December 1857, before the flames had died down, the SPG had declared its intention:

1. To double the number of European missionaries in Delhi, and to promote the education, training and ordination of a native ministry.
2. To establish missions of a superior kind in the principal cities, with a view to the conversion of the higher and more educated class of natives.

By this time Thomas Skelton, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, who became principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, in 1863, was already on his way to Delhi. In Calcutta he found Sarfaraz ᶜAlī, a pupil of Rām Chandra and an earnest enquirer into the Christian way. A little later he encountered Tāra Chand, who had come under the influence of T. V. French in Agra, and was now ready for baptism. Of him at a later time the bishop of Calcutta was to remark that he united 'to general knowledge and a special mathematical ability, a really remarkable knowledge of St Paul's Epistles, far better than I have seen in many candidates for orders, whom I have examined, whether at home or in India'.[26]

Benares presented an interesting variation on the usual development of missionary enterprise. Jay Narain, a wealthy Hindu, had become friendly with the admirable Jonathan Duncan (1756–1811),[27] and also with a merchant named Wheatly, from whom he had received a New Testament. It was on the advice of Wheatly that he decided to 'consider the benefit of my countrymen, and with this view to found a school for education in English, Bengali, Persian and Hindi'. The school was opened in 1818. Some years later, after consultation with Corrie, he decided upon making 'the Calcutta Committee [of the CMS] the trustees of my school, and assigning to them the property which I had appropriated for the endowment of it'.[28] Jay Narain died in 1822, but his heirs loyally carried out his intentions. Thus in the very heart of Hinduism there came into being a school in which Christian instruction was given without any restriction. More than a century later the school was carrying out, to a high level of academic excellence, the intentions of its founder.

Two long-term missionaries in Benares, William Smith (1832–73) and C. P. Leupolt (1833–73), maintained a whole variety of activities outside the field of education.

In 1844, Smith was visited by a young Brāhman scholar, Nīlakaṇṭha Goreh, at that time about nineteen years old, who, as he later admitted, had come to visit the missionary in the hope of disabusing him of his Christian presuppositions and showing him the superiority of the wisdom of India. Gradually, and against his will, Goreh found his dissatisfaction with the Hindu system, and especially with its Purānic geography and astronomy, steadily increasing, and the attraction of the Christian Gospel growing stronger. Never was an enquirer less open to any emotional appeal. Goreh was of a sceptical disposition, which he retained to the end of his life, and was determined to consider every objection that could be raised to the Christian system before giving in to its demands. At last he was ready. Gradually the news leaked out that, not in Benares but in Jaunpur, on 14 March 1848, this doughty opponent of the Christian faith had been received by baptism into the Christian church. Nīlakaṇṭha Goreh has already appeared in these pages in another connection; he will reappear from time to time as the Reverend Nehemiah Goreh, as earnest in his attempts to convince Hindus of the truth of Christianity as he had been in earlier days to convince Christians of the superior merits of Hinduism as a system of truth and knowledge.[29]

f. From missionary to Indian pastor

Scottish missionaries in western India were never very numerous, but they made up in distinction for what they lacked in numerical strength. The Scottish universities had sent outstanding missionaries to Calcutta; to Bombay also they sent some of their most gifted students.

Of James Nesbet, 'a shy and retiring man',[30] an Indian convert remarked that 'I myself a Brahman do not remember a single word that he mispronounced. It was just the other day the pundit of our institution told me that, if Mr Nesbit spoke Marāthi from within a screen, even Brahmans from without would not be able to detect that a foreigner was speaking.' John Wilson was so expert both in the Marāthī language and in the intricacies of Hinduism that he was able to engage Hindu scholars in public debate.

Perhaps the greatest of all the contributions of these Scottish scholars was their determination that Indian ordained ministers, if of satisfactory educational qualifications, must be treated as equals of the missionaries, and must be trusted with positions of independent authority. This all-important matter may be illustrated by one early example, which set the pattern for many others.

Narāyan Seshādri, born in the *nizām*'s dominions, had moved north in 1833 and had secured admission to the Scottish mission school in Poona, from which he later moved to the school in Bombay. When the whole city was in an uproar by reason of a number of conversions, it was suggested to Seshādri that it might be wiser for him to withdraw from the school. He repudiated the suggestion that there was any danger of his becoming a Christian: 'I am determined to live and die a Hindu.' So, like many others, Seshādri became a believer almost against his will. His baptism on 13 September 1843 was the occasion of a considerable anti-Christian demonstration; every Brāhman pupil was withdrawn from the school, and the vernacular schools for boys and for girls almost ceased to exist.

One notable feature of this conversion was that Seshādri was able without long delay to win his way back into fellowship with the high-caste Hindu community. When he returned to Bombay as a teacher in his old school, Hindu friends came to visit him in his room, scorning the danger of pollution through contact with one who through baptism had made himself an outcaste. Before long he was recognised as one of the leading members of the now slowly growing Christian community in Bombay. Of him Robert Nesbit wrote: 'It was touching to think that we could not recall to mind a blot of backsliding in any part of his course.'[31]

On 23 September 1851 Seshādri was licensed as a Presbyterian minister; on 11 October 1854 he was ordained to the full status of a missionary. Recognition of this status was given when he was placed in charge of the work at Indapur and Jalna, more than 200 miles to the north-east of Bombay. Some rather desultory work had been carried out at Jalna in 1835, but this had gradually been allowed to die away. Seshādri's appointment was made in response to the feeling on the part of some among the missionaries that too much attention had been paid to developing the work in the cities and that there were notable opportunities in the villages which were being neglected. So, when Seshādri was sent inland in 1862, he was in reality going to new work, for which he had to accept full responsibility. This was a position which he held until his death in 1891. He believed in a Gospel for the whole man, and included in the scope of the mission medical care, social and industrial uplift, and instruction in useful crafts and trades.

Seshādri was not working under the direction or control of any foreign missionary. He was the director, indeed it might almost be said the dictator, of the whole work. He was dealing for the most part with converts from the poorer classes with little educational background – during his tenure of office the church over which he presided grew from 2 to 1,062 communicants – and it was felt by some of his colleagues that his authoritarian methods of work were carried a little too far. An admiring colleague wrote that 'an abundant kindness of heart combined with a lack of business habits produced in matters of discipline and in questions of property a crop of difficulties which his successors have had to reap'. But it does not appear that the Scottish missionaries ever felt that they had reason to regret the experiment of trusting an Indian colleague with full responsibility for so important a part of the work of the church.[32]

We have now reached the period in which the Indian church was becoming fully self-conscious and vocal, and in which the Western sources can be supplemented from many papers and autobiographies written by Indian Christians themselves.

Bāba Padmanji was baptised in the year in which Narāyan Seshādri was ordained to the ministry. He was born in a high-caste but not Brāhman family in Belgaum in the year 1831. In 1887 he wrote in Marāthī a work entitled *Once Hindu, now Christian* (translated into English by Dr J. Murray Mitchell). This is a sensitive autobiography, showing the slow and gradual steps by which an intelligent Hindu boy was led to see that he could no longer live in the past but must move forward into a future which for a long time he was by no means willing to embrace. At length Bāba Padmanji decided that he must follow the light that he had seen, and, as already noted, he was baptised in August 1854. In the first few months after this event, the new convert wrote in Marāthī, at the request of his father, an account of his reasons for adopting the Christian faith. This, 'A comparison of Hinduism and Christianity', was the first of a series of books and tracts and essays, which include no fewer than seventy-five items.[33] Not being a Brāhman, Bāba Padmanji was able to remain in closer contact with his family than was possible for many other converts. He was at his father's death-bed in 1874: 'He allowed me to pray while he was passing away, and showed by outward signs that he departed in faith.'[34]

g. Eccentricity in the service of the mission

In 1834 the Basel Missionary Society, drawing its resources from Switzerland and southern Germany, entered the districts of British Malabar and North and South Kanara, between the territory of the Thomas Christians and the Marāthī-speaking area of which Bombay was the metropolis.

The missionaries who entered the service of this mission were for the most part pietists – individualists to a man, strong-willed and convinced of the rightness of their opinions. Such Christians never find it easy to work together. A number of them had come under the influence of Anthony Norris Groves of the Plymouth Brethren, who had urged the mission to send out 'free missionaries', conforming to his concept of what missionaries ought to be. But gradually the mission gained in cohesion, and in course of time, under strong leadership at the centre in Basel, became one of the best organised and effective pieces of Christian service in India. What distinguished it from other missions was the long-continued and intense effort to enable converts to earn their own living, if conversion had led to the disruption of caste and family ties.

As soon as converts began to come in, this problem had to be faced. The first attempt centred on the development of agriculture. Land was acquired, and the attempt was made to create a class of industrious peasants. But here as elsewhere the experiment was not successful. The missionaries were the landlords and the converts were the tenants. Tensions grew up between the interests of one group and those of the other. In the end these became so wearisome, and absorbed so much time and energy, that the experiment was given up. Other remedies had to be tried.

In 1851 a professional printer, George Plebst, was brought out from Württemberg to create a printing press and book-bindery. From the start the venture was successful; before many years had passed, the Basel mission press was known throughout South India as one of the best and most efficient presses in the area. But this was an enterprise which could give employment to only a limited number of hands. It was clear that further experiments were needed.

In the same year, 1851, John Haller, a master-weaver, was sent to take charge of what up to that time had been the rather amateurish beginnings of a textile industry. Five years after his arrival, Basel won second prize for weaving at an industrial fair held in Madras. Great attention was paid to the use of local materials and to the development of a genuinely Indian market for what was produced. The main purpose of the enterprise was to provide an honourable means of livelihood for Christians; but non-Christians could also be taken on as workers, if they were willing to accept the special disciplines imposed on what was intended to be a Christian enterprise.

The success of the Basel mission in a field in which so many other missions had failed was due in the main to the use of professional skills, but also to the separation of industrial concerns from the other activities of the mission. The gifted mission-inspector Josenhans saw that the amateurish methods of the early days could not command success. On his insistence a separate commission for industry was formed, with a view not merely to providing subsistence for converts, but also to giving a demonstration of Christian diligence, integrity and solidity. This was followed at a later date by the establishment of the Basel mission trading company. It has to be admitted that in this arrangement there were from the beginning the seeds of tension. The workers were the employees of the mission, and at the same time, if they were Christians, its parishioners. The combination of the two relationships has never been easy; it is greatly to the credit of both parties that a reasonably satisfactory solution of the problem was achieved and maintained for fifty years.

The best known of the Basel missionaries in the early period was one whom eccentricity led into strange paths; in consequence he was extravagantly praised by some, and by others attacked with a less than Christian venom.

Samuel Hebich (1803–68) was a man who never found it easy to work with others. An ardent and impetuous evangelist, he was almost a caricature of what the West imagines a missionary to be. He had little sympathy with the forms of non-Christian religion by which he was surrounded. Too impatient to learn an Indian language well, he was throughout dependent on interpreters. It must have been a relief to his colleagues when he moved to Cannanore, where one English and two Indian regiments of the Company's army were located. It was not long before Hebich turned his attention to the officers and non-commissioned officers of these regiments, and it was among them that he won his most notable success. Although it was calculated that his vocabulary in English never exceeded 550 words, he was amazingly effective in making his rather simple understanding of the Gospel intelligible to those who were willing to listen to him. Few found themselves able to resist the direct and at times almost brutal methods employed by Hebich. Such was his influence that one of the British regiments came to be known as Hebich's Own, a distinction usually reserved for members of the royal family. One of the officers who came to living faith in Christ at this time was Lieutenant R. S. Dobbie, whose grandson, General Sir William Dobbie (1874–1964), won fame as governor of Malta during the Second World War; the Christian tradition has been carried forward into the fifth generation of this family.

h. Outreach in unknown fields

Most of the enterprises dealt with so far in this chapter were built up in the main centres of population, among peoples who could be described in general terms as Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs. But India is a land of many races, religions and languages. In almost every part of India there were to be found peoples whose languages did not fit into the categories arrived at earlier by the philologist, peoples whose customs and traditions were very different from those of their neighbours in the plains and who up to this point had resisted all attempts to draw them into the all-embracing net of the Hindu caste system.

Missionaries, like servants of the government, had from time to time been brought into contact with representatives of these races. But, concerned as they were for the most part with the adherents of the main religions, and especially with the educated class from which it was hoped that the leaders of the Indian church would be produced, missionaries were not inclined to regard these aborigines as an immediate field for evangelistic work. The immense extension of the work among them which was to take place, together with the pioneer work of missionaries in many unwritten languages and their rather amateurish attempts at exploration in the unknown world of anthropology, belong for the most part to a later period in the history of the Indian churches. In this chapter attention will be drawn to three areas in which, almost without preparation, missionaries were led to engage in the proclamation of the Gospel to these simpler peoples.

i. The Welsh mission in the Khāsi hills. In 1840 the first missionaries of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church arrived in India. While they were looking round for a sphere of work, their attention was drawn to the Khāsi and Jaintia hills, an area slightly less in size than Wales, in what is now the province of Assam. At Shillong the hills rise to a height of 6,449 feet, which the historian of the mission sadly compares with the 3,560 feet to which Snowdon, the highest mountain in his country, rises. The greater part of the countryside consists of undulating downs.[35]

No one knows where the Khāsis came from, or how they got to be where they now are. One view is that they made their way in from China, but others support the claims of Burma. Their language is classed by the experts as belonging to the Mon-Khmer family; but, there being no other language of this group anywhere near, language gives no clue to the origin or affiliation of the Khāsis. At the time at which the mission arrived, part of the hills had come under British control; wider areas remained under the dominion of local rulers.

The religion of the Khāsis was on the level of what used to be called animism – belief in the existence of a number of unseen powers, only a small number of which were beneficent, the others needing to be frequently propitiated by blood-sacrifices. Like all peoples on that level of culture, the Khāsis had a number of ingenious and fascinating folk-tales. One particularly charming story tells how God, in his kindness to men, sent through a cow as messenger a number of instructions as to how they were to behave. Unfortunately the cow went to sleep, and when she woke up found that she had entirely forgotten the lesson that she was to convey. The crow, passing by, assured her that he had been listening to the conversation and that, as he had the lesson by heart, he would pass it on to her. What God had said was that the Khāsis were to wash twice a day, and only to eat twice a day. The crow's version of this was that the Khāsis were to eat three times a day, and to wash themselves only once a month. It is said that the Khāsis were scrupulous in the observance of the second of these commandments.[36]

The first missionaries of the Welsh society, Thomas Jones and his wife, reached Cherrapunji, which has the distinction of having the highest rainfall of any place upon earth, on 22 June 1841, and were warmly welcomed by the few Europeans resident in the station. The first task, naturally, was that of acquiring the language; in this Jones had the help of two young men who had had contact with a lay missionary from Serampore and had some acquaintance with English. But, even when some progress had been made in the learning of the language, the difficulty of conveying any Christian knowledge to the Khāsis was such that Jones concluded that the next step must be the introduction of elementary education, gradually to train up teachers, and so to teach both adults and young people to read, as an indispensable accompaniment of Christian teaching.

At this point Jones made the momentous decision to make use of the Roman script rather than the Devanāgari script of Hindi, or the modification of it used for Bengali. The science of phonetics was at that date in its infancy, and the transcription of Khāsi was a good deal less than satisfactory; but it was found that the pupils experienced far less difficulty in mastering the Roman script than they had had earlier on in attempting to read either of the local Indian scripts. The precedent set in Khāsi has been followed in reducing to writing the speech of many of the peoples first encountered in the pre-literate stage of their being.

Progress was slow. Some of the pupils showed interest, but no more, in the Christian teaching that they were receiving. The first sign of a radical change came when five boys decided to cut their hair. This required immense courage, since the Khāsis believed that, if the bloodthirsty spirit U Tlem obtained possession of a knot of a man's hair, the man and his whole family were bound to perish by a terrible death. Everyone expected the boys to die. When they continued to go about their business, apparently in perfect health, perturbation was considerable.

In the fifth year of the mission, four Khāsis, among them a man and his wife, presented themselves as candidates for baptism. The missionaries wisely kept them waiting for nine months to test their resolution. The baptism took place. Then, as for many years after, the new Christians had to face the fiercest opposition from their families and from the community as a whole, being regarded as traitors bent on the disintegration of the close-knit fabric of Khāsi society.

It is hardly right to use the word 'persecution' of this reaction. Among the Khāsis, as among many peoples on the same level of culture, at certain ceremonies the presence of the entire family was essential; the absence of a single member might render the whole ceremony of no avail. The Khāsis naturally regarded themselves as fully justified in taking all possible steps to prevent the disruption of the community. Professions by Christians of continuing loyalty to the welfare of the community were not easily understood.

In 1854 the mission received unexpected encouragement through government approval of its educational work. The council in Calcutta took the view that 'the spread of education among the Khasis and other hill tribes in those parts could be most effectively secured by extending help to the Missionary

Institution'. A small amount of money was allocated to this cause, with the note that 'the Governor had no objection to the use of Missionary books in the schools thus assisted'.[37] This appears to have been the first occasion on which government money was made available to extend education carried on by a missionary body. No objection seems to have been raised in any quarter to the recommendation of the council.

The number of Christians continued to grow slowly. This was bound to be the case as long as it was felt by the community as a whole that those who became Christians had separated themselves from a society in which all the members were organically connected one with another. Figures for the year 1857 show that the number of the baptised was 174, with 24 candidates for baptism. Rapid growth followed considerably later. In 1891 communicant members numbered 2,147 and the baptised 6,162. By 1901 this had risen to 6,180 communicants, with 17,800 in the churches. This rapid growth can be accounted for only if Christians had come to be accepted as a distinct and permanent element of the Khāsi world, but still as within the limits of Khāsi society and with no desire to be separated from it.

ii. The Gossner mission among the Kols. The essentially German character of all the German missions in India was established by the Roman Catholic priest turned Protestant, John Evangelist Gossner (1773–1858). Gossner's piety was Lutheran with a strong dash of Moravian pietism. His manner and outlook were patriarchal; he was the patriarch as well as the founder of the mission.

Gossner's first attempt at missionary work was disastrous. In 1841 he sent out a party of six to work among the Gonds, a numerous aboriginal people in Central India. In the first year four of the six were carried off by cholera. The remaining two, with the full approval of Gossner, were absorbed into the newly founded mission of the Free Church of Scotland in Nāgpur.

The second attempt was to prove more fruitful. On 14 December 1844 four young missionaries, only one of whom had studied theology, arrived in Calcutta. No destination had been assigned to them; but, other possibilities having been excluded by circumstances, they found what seemed to them the right answer: 'It is decided we go to the Kols, the poor neglected mountain-dwellers, 40 to 50 German miles from Calcutta.' Not all their friends approved of the idea of starting a mission among such people; they shared the common opinion that it would be better to go to the higher ranks of society, and to more advanced peoples.

There were, however, British officers in the service of the government at work in what is now Bihar who had heard of the presence of German missionaries in Calcutta; contact was made with the admirable Dr Häberlein of the CMS, who warmly welcomed the plan and constituted himself the friend and guide of the young Germans in the first halting steps in the direction of the place in which they were to work. On 15 October 1845, they packed their goods and chattels in bullock-carts, departed from Bankura and, eighteen days later, arrived in Ranchi, the headquarters of the area known as Chota Nagpur, destined to be the Christian centre of the whole district.

The work proved to be from the start extremely difficult. The Kols were illiterate, and, though they seem to have had some idea of a supreme God, they knew nothing of classical Hinduism. They were cruelly oppressed by the Hindu and Muslim landowners who had settled among them, and this made them somewhat impervious to any outside influence. The multiplicity of languages was daunting. Hindi was the official language of the area and was used by the missionaries in their early preaching. But it soon became clear that the minds of the people could not really be reached until they were approached in the languages which they spoke at home. The two main groups, the Mundas and the Orāons, had languages of their own differing from one another in structure and type of expression; these had to be mastered, studied and written down, before permanent progress could be made or expected.[38]

For five years nothing seemed to happen. The missionaries became so much discouraged that they seriously considered moving to some other field where they could work with greater hopes of success. But the answer they received from Berlin was 'Go on quietly praying and preaching, and we here will pray more than we have been doing.'

Then suddenly everything changed. Four Orāons, less impoverished and better educated than most of their kind, came to seek out the missionaries. Not having found satisfaction in the traditional beliefs of the Kols, they had joined the sect of the Kabīrpanthīs. There too they failed to find peace of mind, and so they turned to the missionaries. After instruction, they were prepared to admit their need of salvation and to confess their faith in Jesus. But they said repeatedly, 'We believe in Jesus, but we wish to see him.' This seemed to present an insuperable obstacle to further progress. Then one day they asked for permission to attend the English service in Rānchi. This occasioned some surprise, as they did not know English, but permission was readily granted. Then the mystery was cleared up. The enquirers had believed that the missionaries were keeping back from them, because they were black, the actual vision of Jesus, which was granted only to the white people. When in the English service they experienced nothing but singing and praying and preaching, they realised that no distinction was being made, and that the white people also had to be content with only the spiritual vision of Jesus. They were then ready to be baptised. This took place on 9 June 1850, a day which has always been commemorated as the birthday of the Gossner Church in Chota Nāgpur.

From that time on progress was very rapid. By 1856 the congregation numbered 500, the great majority of these having been brought in by the Kols themselves; the first indigenous catechist had been installed. On 18 November of that year the foundation was laid for a church to seat 800; when, at Christmastide 1858, it was opened for worship, it proved already too small for those who wished to attend. This rapid growth did not mean, however, that baptism was given in haste: candidates were usually kept waiting for years rather than for months, and only those were baptised who had given evidence of a change of heart.

Candidates for baptism are rarely actuated solely by religious motives; the presence of other ideas and aims has generally to be allowed for. The parlous economic situation of the Kols has already been mentioned: they were no match for the Hindus who were steadily infiltrating their area. From their point of view the government had done far less than it should have done to protect their interests – a view with which the missionaries were probably in agreement. The Kols made no secret of the fact that they desired to have the help of the missionaries in securing deliverance from the unjust oppression from which they suffered and in recovering the lands which had been illegally taken from them. These less than directly spiritual concerns played a great part in the subsequent history of Christianity among the Kols; but this is not to say that these converts were simply 'rice-Christians'. The measured words, from a later period of the history, of a British official specially well qualified to judge of the realities of the situation, state accurately both sides of the case:

> Keenly attached to their land and having few interests outside it, they believe that the missionary will stand by them in their agrarian disputes and act as their adviser. It must not be imagined that the missionaries hold out such efforts as an inducement to the aborigines to enrol themselves in the Christian ranks, but the knowledge that the missionaries do not regard their duties as confined to their care of souls, but also see to the welfare of their flocks, has undoubtedly led to many conversions.[39]

iii. The Blue Mountains and the Gospel. The Nilgiri hills in South India rise to a height of more than 8,000 feet, and from 1815 onwards were developed as a health resort for tired Europeans. When in 1846 the Basel mission rather unwillingly agreed to undertake work among the tribal people of this area, the initiative came not from the church, but from a distinguished member of the civil service under the British government.

George Casamajor had come to India in 1810 and had held a series of important judicial posts under the government of Madras. An earnest Christian, he had decided that the work of his retirement should be Christian witness among the Badagas, at that time the most numerous of the tribes who inhabit the hills. He bought at Ketti a large house, which had been built as a private residence by an even more eminent servant of the government, and during the last three years of his life he did much for the benefit of the Badaga people. It was his desire that the Basel mission should take over the work and provide for continuity after his death.

It has already been noted that, among all these minor races of India, society is held together in an intensely communal form of life, regulated by a complex of rites, customs and habits which are extremely resistant to change and from which it is very difficult for the individual to separate himself. If this is true of all such peoples, it is specially true of the Badagas. Most Indian villagers live in separate houses, or in compounds where three or four related families live together. Most Badaga villages are built in the form of serried lines of houses, which seem almost a symbol of a steadfast refusal to change and of a firm resolution to stand in the old ways. The life and work of the Badagas were so strictly under the control of the elders that personal decision was rare and individual action almost unthinkable. It was certain that missionaries sent to this area would be faced by a hard task in the attempt to understand the mind and thoughts of these people and eventually to change them.

Within three years the mission was staffed by three particularly well-qualified workers; one of them, Gottfried Weigle, distinguished himself not only in evangelistic work, but also by vaccinating 700 Badagas within the space of two months.

Casamajor died in May 1849. It was found that he had left a large part of his fortune to the mission, on the understanding that the income should be used only for the development of Christian work among the Badagas. No other purchaser having been found for the splendid house that he had acquired at Ketti, it was decided to purchase it to serve as headquarters for the mission. From this time on work was developed more systematically; preaching in the villages was carried on so effectively that it was reckoned that within ten years of the foundation of the mission almost all the Badagas had heard the Gospel proclaimed.

But results were slow in coming. In 1857, for the first time, a Badaga was found ready to confess faith in Christ and ask for baptism. But converts were few in number, and, though in the course of years a considerable congregation grew up in Ketti, there has never been anything like an extensive movement into the church on the part of this self-contained and well-integrated people.[40]

i. Zeal untempered by prudence.

Missionaries on the whole were extremely careful to avoid anything that could cause offence to the non-Christians by whom they were surrounded. From time to time the language they used was unguarded, though it is clear from the records that recent converts to Christianity were more inclined than the foreigners to indulge in strong denunciation of what they had now come to regard as superstitition and slavery. But, however strongly they might disapprove of idolatry – and on this there was little difference of opinion as between foreigners and Indian Christians – most missionaries were careful to observe respect for the outward manifestations of religion, whether Hindu or Muslim, and to avoid anything which could present any appearance of sacrilege.

There were, however, a few exceptions to this rule, and for the sake of completeness one of these ought to be recorded.

In more than a century of mission work none of the Protestant forces had established itself in Mathurai, the second largest city in South India, famous as a centre of Tamil culture, famous also as the home for more than two centuries of the Jesuit mission. The American Congregationalists were the first to look with favour on this great city, and to make plans for a mission of which the city of Mathurai would serve as the centre. The first party of missionaries arrived on 3 August 1834. One of the group was Levi Spaulding, who had given fifteen years of service to the Jaffna mission in Ceylon. He came to Mathurai to introduce the inexperienced missionaries to their new home; but after a few weeks he returned to Ceylon, and the pioneers were left to make their own way as best they could.

Early in its history the mission suffered a severe setback through an act of extraordinary imprudence on the part of one of the young Americans, J. J. Lawrence. Seeing a group of villagers prostrating themselves before roughly made images of terracotta, the missionary pointed the worshippers away from these lifeless images to the one true and living God. 'If I strike these images with my stick, what will happen? Will these images have any power to protect themselves, much less to injure you and your children?' Action followed upon speech, and some of the images were broken. The onlookers were seized with a mixture of fear and fury. The news spread through the city like wildfire. The offender was brought by the Brāhmans before the city magistrate, and an immense sum of money was demanded as compensation. The English officials intervened and succeeded in pacifying the inhabitants; a fine of no more than Rs. 50 was imposed as compensation for the damage done. But for two months no missionary work could be carried out, and it seemed hardly likely that confidence could be restored.

In point of fact, the harm done to the Christian cause was less than might have been expected. The imprudent missionary was transferred to another centre; the more considerate remained to win back the confidence and respect of the populace and to make the Mathurai mission a respected centre of teaching and of friendly contact between Indians and Americans.

In a very different field this mission rendered a great service to the missionary cause and to the white inhabitants by developing Kodaikānal, 7,000 feet up in the Palni hills, as a place of rest and refreshment. This place of quiet beauty made it possible for missionaries of many different allegiances to meet under conditions which made for friendship, and perhaps did more than official meetings to prepare the way for what was later to be known as the ecumenical spirit. Whereas British missionaries were still inclined to send their quite young children to England to be brought up by relatives and friends, the Americans believed that it should be possible to hold families together by creating good schools in the hills in India, so that children could spend two of the cool months in the plains with their parents and the parents could rejoin their children in the hills for two of the hot months. This plan was so successful that many of the children and grandchildren of the pioneers, after completing their education in America, came back to give lifelong service to the country in which they had grown up and which in many cases they had come to love.

4 A SURVEY AND AN ESTIMATE

By 1858 the Protestant 'occupation' of India had spread out in many directions, and at least in outline might have been said to be complete. There had been no coherent or scientific planning. Missions entered in as the spirit moved them. But the new arrivals in many cases took advice; one mission helped another; the spirit was that of co-operation rather than of rivalry, and so gradually something like a pattern began to emerge.

All the missions, whether British in origin or not, found themselves driven to seek the help of the local British authorities, civil and military. Since the act of 1833, formal permission to reside was no longer necessary, except in the territories of semi-independent rulers. But in such matters as the purchase of land, and in mastering the intricacies of Indian administration, the help of the authorities was indispensable. The records ring with the gratified surprise of the missionaries at the readiness with which this help was given and even volunteered. The number of committed Christians, both in the armed forces and on the civil side, was now considerable; with Christian conviction came a deep sense of responsibility for the well-being of the peoples over whom they had been called to exercise authority. Even where there was no deep religious conviction, the servants of the crown found in the work of the missionaries – especially in the fields of education, medical and social service – much that they could admire and much that fitted in with their own ideas of what needed to be done to help the Indian peoples. Even those who were inclined to regard the attempt to convert the 'heathen' as nonsensical in many cases came to recognise the sincerity and the integrity of the majority of the missionaries with whom they had to do.

In spite of denominational differences, and certain variations in practice, the records of the missionaries in every part of India show a certain sameness.

As soon as the initial difficulties had been mastered, the missionaries set to work to approach the people with the Gospel. The records are full of detailed accounts of endless discussions in street and shop, in field and wood, in fact wherever people showed themselves approachable. Sometimes the message was couched in negative terms, with undue stress on the folly and vanity of idol-worship. But the emphasis was in most cases on the fact that God had provided in Jesus Christ that remedy for sin, and that peace of mind, which many Hindus had sought, and in some cases had failed to find, in the religious systems in which they had been brought up. In the period now under survey there are comparatively few records from the Indian side. But, as appears from some recorded cases, when converts were asked what had led them to forsake an old religion and to seek a new, the answer would be 'to find the forgiveness of my sins'.

Each mission was faced with a long period in which nothing seemed to happen, when the witnesses wondered what had gone wrong and why their earnest efforts to make the Gospel known seemed to have had no effect at all. Might it not be more sensible to move elsewhere? The records suggest that in no case was the period of waiting less than six years; it was more likely to last for ten years or more, and in most cases twenty years would elapse before anything like a church came into being. Yet there were conversions, in a number of cases tested by the willingness of the would-be believer to endure hardship and even persecution. In these years every main religious group in India – the Brāhmans, the other high castes among the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis – yielded a number of converts to the Christian church. Many who had shown interest held back when faced with the question of baptism and with the certainty of obloquy and ostracism if the fatal step was taken. Some certainly maintained their inner faith in Christ, without ever submitting to this outward expression of it. The most earnest among them seem to have come independently to the conclusion that what they were inwardly they must also become outwardly, and themselves asked for baptism.

At times the missionaries in their eagerness exerted an undesirable measure of pressure on the minds of enquirers; usually it was the other way about – the enquirer desiring baptism, the missionaries urging caution and wishing to assure themselves of sincerity and conviction, and also of capacity for endurance, on the part of one who desired to confess faith in Christ. It is not by accident that reference in this paragraph is made almost exclusively to men; the possibility of women being baptised independently of husbands and family had as yet hardly arisen.

It was almost impossible for a high-caste convert to remain in his family, though some were able gradually to recover the respect and goodwill of their relations. It helped very much if converts were known to observe the traditions of their community in such matters as eating and drinking – the vegetarian was more likely to be tolerated than the one who had taken to the eating of meat. Those of lower rank found it difficult to live in their villages, exposed as they were to constant harassment, the denial of social equality, and even persecution. The missionaries tended to make a virtue out of necessity, and to believe that the formation of Christian villages would serve two purposes – the provision of safety for the believers, and the development of a more intensive Christian life than would be possible in a city or village in which the majority of the inhabitants were still Hindus. So when the Anglo-Indian merchant Sawyer in Pālayankoṭṭai offered a considerable area of land for Christian settlement, it seemed the most natural thing in the world to accept the offer and to settle Christians in the village which came to be known as Sawyerpuram, the name which it still bears.

It has often been stated that, in reporting on their work, missionaries exaggerated their successes and minimised their failures. If only printed reports are studied, there may seem to be grounds for this criticism. No such grounds will be found in their private letters, their journals and the confidential reports to the societies which supported them. In such documents the whole panorama is inexorably set out: the promising enquirer who after a time disappeared, the candidates for baptism who were spirited away by their relations, those who after baptism apostatised, those who, yielding to surrounding temptations, brought dishonour on the cause which they had embraced, those who did run well but failed to stay the course. When, as did occasionally occur, missionaries themselves were the delinquents, judgement was quick to begin at the house of God. Action which might be no worse than questionable could lead to sharp retribution. When a missionary of the LMS in Travancore, at somewhat advanced age married an Indian girl much younger than himself, local opinion, both missionary and Indian, required that he withdraw from active service in the mission.

Did half a century of Protestant missionary work create something like a ferment in the Indian mind and in Indian society? When such a question is asked account must be taken of the minute scale on which the work was actually carried on.

In 1858 the number of Protestant missionaries in India was 360. The majority of these were married, and many of the wives were active in Christian service. The number of foreigners engaged in the work may therefore be assessed at 600. Indian helpers numbered about four times as many foreigners. If this reckoning is correct, the total number of full-time Protestant witnesses for Christ, in a country of which the population may have been about 180 million, can hardly have exceeded 3,000.[41]

Though the cities and larger towns may be regarded as having been fairly well supplied with missionaries, ninety per cent of the population at that time lived in the 700,000 villages of India. The vast majority of these villagers had never met a Christian and, unless they were Muslims who had learnt something of Jesus from the Qurʾān, had never so much as heard his name.

Indian Christians were still a numerically insignificant body. The first official census in India was not held until 1871; for earlier periods accurate statistics are not available, and a certain amount of guesswork enters into all calculations. Some attempt at assessment can, however, be made.

The great majority of Indian Christians were Roman Catholics. By 1858 the Roman Catholic missions had done much to recover lost ground and to reach out into new areas. Three-quarters of a million would be a generous estimate of their numbers. To these must be added about 60,000 of the independent Thomas Christians.

Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the majority of them Anglicans but with a considerable Roman Catholic minority, may have numbered in all about 200,000.

In most of the Protestant missions accurate statistics were kept, and from 1851 on these were carefully recorded in the Decennial Missionary Tables. It appears from the record for the year 1851 that at that time there were no more than 91,092 registered Protestant (including Anglican) Christians in India, 14,661 being communicants. There were no more than 21 ordained Indian ministers. If we allow for proportionate increase, it was likely that in 1858 there were 120,000 baptised members and 20,000 communicants. The greatest increase was in the number of ordained ministers. In 1858 these numbered at least 80 (the reason for this notable increase is given elsewhere in this work); by 1861 the number had further increased to 97.

Distribution of Christians was very uneven. There were large areas in which, so far as is known, there were no Indian Christians at all. The great majority were to be found in the south – in Tamilnādu and Kerala, and in the Portuguese dominions. Three-quarters of all Protestant Indian Christians were to be found in these areas; there alone were to be found stable and well-organised congregations, capable to some extent of standing on their own feet and of managing their own affairs. Elsewhere the great increase in numbers came about only in the period subsequent to 1858.[42]

All this gives only one side of the picture. The echoes of the Gospel carried much further than might be inferred from the small number of those engaged in the work. The military grapevine had carried far and wide throughout North and Central India the false rumour that it was the aim of government to turn everyone into a Christian, thus proclaiming to everyone who had not heard of it that there was something called the Christian religion. Christian witnesses itinerated widely in the villages and distributed books and pamphlets among those who could read. The rapid spread of the English language, and the growth in the number of Christian schools, meant that an increasing number of young people acquired at least a rudimentary idea of the Gospel. In the three great presidency cities religious discussion was active and vigorous. There were enough intelligent Indian Christians to make it clear that the Christian church would be a significant element in the formation of that new India which was to come into being in the century that followed on the queen's proclamation of 1858.

16 · Indian Society and the Christian Message

1 A NEW PHASE IN CONTACTS

For much of his time the historian of Christianity in India is condemned to present a one-sided picture of what happened. For the most part the recipients, or victims, of Christian propaganda were mute; or, if they spoke, no record has been preserved of what they said.

With the nineteenth century all is changed. All parties become more voluble, and the printing-press makes it possible to lend a certain coherence and continuity to what previously had been inchoate and transitory. We have detailed accounts from the missionaries of their methods of communicating the Gospel. We have thoughtful accounts from converts of the steps by which they were led to faith in Christ. We have from non-believers assessments of the Christian message, sometimes astonishing in their shrewdness and controversial aptness. We have objections to and repudiation of the Christian challenge varying between shrill vilification and angry misrepresentation, calm exposition of the merits of the non-Christian religions and temperate evaluation of what the non-Christian mind had identified as valuable in the Christian message.

During the first third of the nineteenth century, all groups in Bengal without exception, from Rāmmohun Roy to the young followers of Derozio, were strongly attached to the British connection. Nationalism had not yet acquired the connotation of anti-European and anti-British reaction which was to characterise it in later times. In these early days Western thought and British power were synonymous with liberation and progress – liberation from the obscurantism which was felt to mar the conservative forces of Hinduism, and progress towards enlightenment and the absorption of new knowledge.[1]

Bengal was the area in which the culture shock was most acutely felt and in which, in consequence, the tensions between East and West came to most vivid and explicit expression. Calcutta was the storm centre. In what was rapidly becoming one of the great capitals of the world, every aspect of life – cultural, social and educational – was discussed; it was impossible that religious ideas should be excluded from the storm. In this modern

Byzantium, controversy could reach the intensity and acrimony of the contests between the Greens and the Blues in the older Byzantium.

The situation was too complicated to be summarised in one convenient formula. Reactions to Christian propaganda varied between the extremes of total rejection and eager acceptance, with many halting-places in between the two.

2 VARYING ATTITUDES

Many Indians had no contact with the Christian way, and desired to have no contact with it. This was specially true of the women, who in every society tend to be the guardians of the ancient traditions and champions of the hallowed ways. At that time child marriage was the rule on every level of Indian society. The education of girls was almost unknown. This has led many observers to underestimate the influence of women in Indian society. No one who has had the privilege of encountering the extraordinary grace and dignity of the Indian grandmother is likely to fall into that error. Technically all the decisions are made by men: but not many men are likely to act in defiance of the established opinions, or prejudices, of their womenfolk. In matters of religion, the vote of the women is likely to be cast against change in any form.[2]

This solid conservatism was likely to lead to tensions in families where the men had gone some distance towards a more liberal understanding of the family and its claims. This is movingly set out in the autobiography of Devendranāth Tagore.[3] Devendranāth, under liberal influences, had renounced idolatry. When his father died in 1846, a burning question arose as to the nature of the funeral ceremonies to be performed for him:

> I said to my second brother Girindranath, 'as we are Brâhmas now, we cannot perform the Shraddha by bringing in the *Shāligram*. If we do that, what is the good of having become Brâhmas, and why should we have taken vows?' He answered softly and with bent head, 'Then everybody will forsake us, everyone will go against us . . .'
> 'In spite of all that, we cannot possibly countenance idolatry' I said . . . This was the first instance of a Shraddha being performed without idolatry in accordance with the rites of *Brâhma Dharma*. Friends and relatives forsook me, but God drew me nearer to Himself. I gained satisfaction of spirit in the triumph of Dharma. And that was all I wanted.

At the other extreme some flung themselves with eagerness into acceptance of the new ways and of the message that came from the West. But here too discrimination is necessary. Some of the emancipated went all the way and accepted allegiance to Jesus Christ in the church as the natural goal and end of the liberation of the human spirit that they had experienced. The life-stories and the experiences of some among these converts have come before us in a number of contexts. Others, while remaining outwardly in the Hindu fold and making no radical break with the past, adopted many of the externals of the Western way of life. Among the most prominent of these was Prince Dwarkanāth Tagore,[4] who had been in England and had there been well received in society. He was in the habit of inviting his Western, or Westernised, friends to sumptuous banquets in his palatial house. On one occasion the governor-general, Lord Auckland, and his sister were somewhat taken aback at being welcomed by elephants on the lawns and by ice-cream in the pavilions of the princely palace. Dvārikā nātha Thakkura, as he should more properly be called, continued to be a friend and supporter of Rāmmohun Roy; but what, if any, religious convictions he retained it is difficult to say.[5]

A third group, mostly made up of former pupils of Derozio at the Hindu College, had abandoned their traditional religion, but had adopted instead the scepticism of the West rather than an alternative form of faith. These endured the fate which commonly befalls the homeless, who having abandoned one home have not yet found another. Some of them later found their way into the Christian church.

3 THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA

There was yet a fourth group of thinkers who, while not making any radical breach with Hinduism, yet rejected many of its externals and believed that a great deal of Christian teaching could be grafted on to the old stock of Hinduism and could bring new vitality and viability to what had evidently decayed. By far the most important of these was Rājā Rāmmohun Roy (1772–1833).[6]

Rāmmohun Roy was born in a Brāhman family in Bengal in the year 1772. At home he learnt Bengali and some Persian, and when he was about twelve years old was sent by his father to Patna, at that time a centre of Muslim culture, to learn Arabic. There he studied the Qur'ān and became familiar with the mystical tradition of the Sūfīs. This period of contact with Islam left on his mind deep impressions which lasted all his life and are seen in the combination of almost mystical religious experience and hard rationalistic thinking which can be traced in all periods of his career. At some time during his youth he learnt Sanskrit, and gave evidence of considerable proficiency in that language.[7] It was probably during the period of Muslim influence that he became convinced that the Hindu religion had become profoundly corrupted and could be vivified only by the adoption of a rigid monotheism and by the total exclusion of idolatry. At this time the *Upaniṣads* presented themselves to him as the supreme authority for religious faith; but he does not seem at any stage of his career to have accepted the idea of the verbal inerrancy of any religious scripture.[8]

For a number of years Rāmmohun Roy was in the service of the East India Company, and held a position of some eminence. His superior, John Digby, befriended him, encouraged him in his studies, and in particular helped him towards that perfect mastery of the English language of which he gave such remarkable evidence during the last twenty years of his life. He may at the same time have acquired the intimate knowledge of the Christian Scriptures which he later displayed; it is said that he learnt Greek and Hebrew in order to read these Scriptures in the original languages.

In 1814 Roy, being now a man of wealth and leisure, returned to Calcutta and settled down to the real work of his life. The later reformer Mahādev Govind Ranade said of him, 'Rāmmohun Roy was at once a social reformer, the founder of a great religious movement, and a great politician.'[9]

In 1815 Roy founded a small society called the Ātmiya Sabhā, which met once a week for the reading of texts from the Hindu scriptures and the singing of theistic hymns. This led to a public debate with a learned pundit, Subramaniah Sāstri, a defender of the orthodox Hindu position, in which the reformer had very much the better of the argument. At the same time he was carrying on his campaign for the abolition of *satī*, for the achievement of which Hindu writers ascribe to him the major share of glory. Not surprisingly his enemies accused him of being an apostate from the Hindu faith. By his own account he met with the strongest opposition from Hindu leaders and was deserted by his own nearest relations: 'In that critical situation the only comfort that I had was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, especially those of Scotland and England.'[10]

A notable turning-point in the life of the reformer came in 1820, when he published in Bengali and English a book with the title *The Precepts of Jesus: the Road to Peace and Happiness.* This little work consists almost entirely of extracts from the Gospels, much from Matthew and Luke, less from Mark, and much less from John. The historical sections are omitted as not being readily intelligible to Hindus; miracles are not brought in, since Hinduism has better miracles of its own; the crucifixion and resurrection are excluded as giving rise to just the kind of controversies which the reformer was anxious to avoid. A Hindu writer has well said that 'then slowly, but surely, Jesus grew into Rāmmohun and Rāmmohun grew into him . . . there was no more of that cold calculating rationalism that had characterised his early writings . . . whenever in his writings he is face to face with Christ, Rāmmohun melts in love and homage'.[11]

Of his aim in this publication Rāmmohun himself writes:

> This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally submitted all living

creatures, without distinction of caste, rank or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature, and is so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human races in the discharge of their various duties to themselves, and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in its present form.

It might well have been hoped that the Christian community in Calcutta would have welcomed with enthusiasm this unexpected help from a man who still professed the Hindu faith. Unfortunately the author found himself almost at once involved in a prolonged dispute with the missionary world. The first blast of the trumpet came from the Reverend Deocar Schmidt, an orthodox Lutheran in the service of the CMS, and one rather too readily inclined to controversy. In the columns of *The Friend of India* he opined that the book might 'greatly injure the cause of truth'. Joshua Marshman, not to be left behind in the fray, described Rāmmohun as 'an intelligent heathen whose mind is not as yet completely opened to the *grand design* of the Saviour's being incarnate'.[12]

Rāmmohun Roy was deeply offended by the use of the term 'heathen', which Marshman had not intended in any opprobrious sense. He at once replied in *An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus, by a Friend to Truth*. In the following year he published a *Second Appeal*. In December 1821 Marshman again took up the cudgels with 128 pages in *The Friend of India*. In January 1823 Roy produced *The Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus*, a work of 256 pages.[13] The erudition displayed by both of the contestants is considerable, though the untidy mind of Marshman did not fit him well to be a controversialist. But the controversy makes dreadfully tedious reading, and neither convinced the other.

The plain fact of the matter is that the men of Serampore were strategically right but tactically wrong. Rāmmohun Roy was mistaken in thinking that the precepts of Jesus can be separated from everything else in the Gospels; he was offering a moral code and not a gospel of redemption. But most readers will sympathise with the regret expressed by Manilal Parekh, that this sincere attempt by a Hindu to understand Jesus did not meet with a warmer welcome from those who claimed to be the representatives of Christianity.[14]

Roy expressed the opinion that the conversion of higher-caste Hindus to the Trinitarian faith would be morally impossible, but that they might be led to accept the Unitarian version of Christianity if it was presented to them in an intelligible manner.[15]

Roy was wrong on both counts. Within a few years Hindus of the highest caste, educated and with abilities comparable to those of Roy himself, were finding in the doctrine of the Trinity the answer to their deepest questionings. The Unitarian cause, on the other hand, had faded away to nothing, so much so that in 1828 the Calcutta committee had to record that it can see no 'fit mode in which Mr Adam can employ himself as a Unitarian missionary'.[16]

Rāmmohun Roy was a Hindu and never pretended to be anything else. He is the man whose vocation it is to bring Hindus back to a true understanding of the glory of their faith by elimination of everything that is inconsistent with that glory:

> the man who lays your scriptures and their comments . . . before you, and solicits you to examine their purport, *without neglecting the proper and moderate use of reason*; and to attend strictly to their direction by the rational performance of your duty to your sole Creator, and to your fellow-creatures, and also to pay respect to those who think and act righteously.[17]

From November 1828 Rāmmohun Roy and a number of his friends had been meeting on Saturdays for a form of worship. On 23 January 1829 the Brāhmo Samāj[18] came into formal existence with the opening of its first place of regular worship. The Trust Deed, signed by seven friends, contains a noble statement of the aims of the society:[19]

> a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly sober religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe . . . to the promotion of charity morality piety benevolence virtue and the strengthening the bonds of union Between men of all religious persuasions and creeds.

The theism of the Brāhmo Samāj was rooted in Hinduism. But other influences had been at work, not least the Christian services which Roy had been in the habit of attending in Calcutta. Regular congregational worship is unknown in Hinduism. Worship, as practised by the Brāhmo Samāj, included readings from the Hindu scriptures, a sermon or exposition of what had been read and the singing of hymns, many of which had been written by Rāmmohun Roy himself. All these things constituted a radical departure from Hindu tradition and practice, and are evidence of a radiation of Christian concepts far beyond the limits of the Christian church.[20] It cannot be said that the Brāhmo Samāj was Christian, but equally certainly it was not anti-Christian; its aim was to unite all men of goodwill in the search for, and the adoration of, the Supreme Principle of all Being.

The society's membership was never large, but its coming into being was an event of great significance in the religious history of India. It offered to the educated public of Bengal a religion which was national,[21] rational, free from superstition, exalted in its ethical demands, and well calculated to raise the minds of men to the contemplation of the sublime. It could claim to offer the best in Christianity without the drawback of alien associations and customs that are objectionable to the Hindu mind. The weakness of the Samāj was the severely intellectual character of its worship; there was little recognition of the emotional needs of the worshippers.[22]

4 AFTER RĀMMOHUN ROY

The Samāj might have died out altogether had it not been revived by a second founder who was almost as remarkable a character as Rāmmohun Roy himself. Devendranāth Tagore was the son of the wealthy Dwarkanāth Tagore. His long life (1817–1905) covered the rise and fall of many things in India. More of a Hindu than Rāmmohun Roy, he stood near to him on one side of his being, but on another nearer to those who felt it right to take up a stance of definite and outspoken hostility to the Christian faith.

After many years of association with the Samāj Devendranāth writes that the 'Brahmo Samāj must be protected from three dangers. The first is Idolatry, the second is Christianity, and the third is Vedāntism.'[23]

A brief note on these three dangers will make clear the position taken up by Devendranāth after he had entered the fellowship of the Samāj.

Of idolatry not much needs to be said. 'The idolators ascribe humanity to Brahma'; this involves self-contradiction, since Brāhma cannot be subject to the limitations of a visible form.

Christianity is objected to as being involved in a doctrine of *avatāra*, which Devendranāth firmly rejects:

> Whatever is good in their [viz. great religious teachers'] teaching and their example we cordially accept, but we do not believe them in any respect to be different from other men, or to belong to a special class. To proclaim their names along with the name of God, or to establish the necessity of paying homage to them, along with that of paying homage to God, we do not by any means consider to be consonant with *Dharma*.[24]

The comment on Vedānta is the most interesting of the three:

> Shankaracharya seeks to prove therein that Brâhma and all created things are one and the same. What we want is to worship God. If the worshipper and the object of worship become one, then how can there be any worship? . . . We were opposed to monism just in the same way as we were opposed to idolatry.[25]

This intense concern for worship distinguishes the approach of Devendranāth from that of Rāmmohun Roy. To the form of worship introduced into the life of the Samāj in 1845 Devendranāth added a prayer which he had composed himself, and which could hardly have been written by the first founder:

> O Supreme Spirit, deliver us from sins committed through delusion, and guard us from evil desires, that we may strive to walk in Thy appointed path of righteousness. Inspire us to meditate constantly and lovingly upon Thy immeasurable glory and supreme goodness, so that in the fulness of time our desires may be crowned by the heavenly bliss of everlasting communion with Thee.[26]

One further step had to be taken – determination of the foundation on which the Samāj rested. This had become a matter of extreme urgency as a result of controversy with the missionaries in which the Samāj had become engaged.

One Christian periodical affirmed that the doctrines of the Samāj were a kind of neo-Platonism – a new compound arising from the incorporation of many Western ideas with fragments of oriental thought – to be designated neo-Vedantism to distinguish it from the old.[27] Another stated that 'what it finds not in purely native sources . . . it borrows without acknowledgment from Christianity, adopting quite the language of European ethico-religious writers, a language hitherto entirely unknown in Hindu literature'.[28] The trouble was that the missionaries had a much more exact knowledge of the *Veda* than the young Bengalis – it is the confession of Devendranāth himself that 'we could learn nothing of the extensive Vedic literature. The Vedas had become virtually extinct in Bengal.' As a result the replies of the Samāj were thin, evasive and unconvincing. It had been asserted again and again that the *Veda* alone was the source of the doctrines taught by the Samāj; but could this position any longer be maintained? It became a matter of urgency to determine what exactly the *Veda* did contain and teach.

In the years 1844 and 1845 four students were sent to Varanāsi (Benares), each charged with the task of mastering one of the four *Vedas*. It soon came to light that the *Veda* contains a vast mass of varied and at times inconsistent material. What measure of authority, then, could be accorded by conscientious reformers to these ancient documents? It had been generally agreed that the *Veda* was verbally inspired and infallible. Muslims believe that the Qur'ān is verbally inspired. At that time almost all Christians held the doctrine of the verbal infallibility of the Bible. Should Brāhmos believe less about these most ancient of scriptures, so often declared to be the one true source of revelation for all Hindus?

One of the most courageous of the actions of the Samāj, guided by Devendranāth, was rejection of the belief in the infallibility of the *Veda*:

> At a general meeting of the Brâhmas it was agreed that the Vedas, Upaniṣads and other ancient writings were not to be accepted as infallible guides, that Reason and Conscience were to be the supreme authority, and the teachings of the Scriptures were to be accepted only in so far as they harmonised with the light within us.[29]

It was hoped that the *Upaniṣads*, in which the deepest teachings of the Vedānta were given, would serve as the true and certain foundation. But this hope too was frustrated. The *Upaniṣads* also were found to contain a great deal of miscellaneous material, not all of which could be reconciled with the views which the Samāj wished to maintain and to propagate. 'How strange!' wrote Devendranāth sadly. 'I did not know of this thorny tangle of the Upaniṣads.' He goes on:

> When we found that [they] too abounded in contrary and confusing ideas, we lost faith in them too . . . What will then be its foundation? We came to the conclusion, therefore, that 'the pure heart enlightened by self-realised knowledge' is the only basis of it . . . Those portions of the Upaniṣads which are comfortable to such heart are acceptable to us; the rest we cannot accept.[30]

The Samāj was now revealed as a rational deism with a certain amount of Hindu colouring. To some of the members this was quite acceptable. Devendranāth, however, was not prepared to go as far as this in the abandonment of the Hindu tradition. The true answer should be a written work, into which all the Vedic truth that is compatible with reason should be distilled. The result was the *Brahma Dharma Grantha*, which was published in 1850 and was intended to be a kind of Bible for Brāhmos.

Clearly Devendranāth owed a great deal to Rāmmohun Roy; but, far from being a faint echo of the first founder, he thought out his own thoughts, pursued and found his own way. In no point is the divergence between the two clearer than in their respective attitudes to Jesus Christ and to the Christian faith. On this the evidence given by Devendranāth's son is conclusive:

> It is singular that the one field of religious inspiration which was foreign to him was the Hebrew Scriptures. He was never known to quote the Bible, nor do we find any allusion to Christ or His teachings in his sermons. His religion was Indian in origin and expression, it was Indian in ideas and spirit.[31]

This being so, it is not surprising that Devendranāth was deeply shocked when Hindus of good caste decided to become Christians[32] and at times found himself in alliance with those Hindus who took up an attitude of determined hostility to the missionaries and their cause. The case of which he himself gives an account is that of Umeshchandra Sirkar, a fourteen-year-old boy who in May 1845 took refuge with his wife in the home of Dr Duff, with the intention of adopting the Christian faith. At once Devendranāth was roused to action. He caused a vigorous article to appear in his paper *Tattwabodhini Patrikā*:

> How much longer are we going to remain overpowered by the sleep of inaction? Behold, our religion is being altogether destroyed, our country is on the road to ruin,

> and our very Hindu name is about to be wiped out for ever. Therefore . . . keep your boys aloof from all contact with missionaries. Give up sending your sons to their schools, and take immediate steps to enable them to cultivate their minds with due vigour.[33]

He went all round Calcutta, calling in person at the homes of leading Hindus, urging them to take action for the creation of a Hindu school as the best means of saving Hindu boys from the snares of the missionaries. A large meeting was held, attended by nearly 1,000 persons, and on that one occasion Rs. 40,000 were promised (but not in every case paid) for the purpose in view. A school was founded. Devendranāth remarks rather placidly that 'thereafter the tide of Christian conversions was stemmed, and the cause of the missionaries received a serious blow'.[34]

5 CONTROVERSY ON A HIGH LEVEL

In the year 1839 the Christian–Hindu dialogue entered on a new and most interesting phase.

John Muir (1810–82), a devout though not always orthodox Scottish Presbyterian, was in the employ of the British government in Bengal. During the early years of his service in India he acquired the extensive and accurate knowledge of the Sanskrit language which was later to win for him lasting fame through the publication of his five volumes of *Sanskrit Texts* (1858–70). His studies had led him to the conviction that the Christian approach to educated Hindus must be carried on in Sanskrit, and that a reasoned presentation of the Christian faith in that language was much needed.

Like many others among the Scottish missionaries, Muir had been much impressed by the work of William Paley. His approach to religious discussion was eirenical; this is well expressed in the title of one of his later works – 'An Essay in Conciliation in Matters of Religion; the proper adaptation of instruction to the character of the people taught' (1849). But he held it right to follow his master, Paley, in reasonableness of approach, lucidity of style and cogency of argument. If a religion is to be acceptable as true, it must be marked, according to Muir, by three characteristics – its founder should manifest the power to work miracles (this is directly from Paley); since God is holy, its inspired scripture must be marked by holiness; the revelation must commend itself by universal relevance. Muir believes that all these characteristics are to be found in the Christian faith and, if carefully considered, should be found to give convincing evidence of its truth.

Fortified by these convictions, in 1839 Muir set forth, in 189 stanzas of elegant though not fully classical Sanskrit verse, a work with the title *Mataparīksha*, 'The Investigation of Religions'. He himself may have been surprised at the extent of the interest awakened by this new and scholarly approach to the Hindu world. His little book called forth no fewer than three answers, also in the Sanskrit language.[35]

The first, and almost certainly pseudonymous answer, is marked by a broad and tolerant spirit; though fully convinced of the truth of Hinduism, the writer holds out the hope that 'there may be salvation even for the adherents of the non-Christian religions'.

The second answer, 'An Answer to a Sketch of the Argument for Christianity and against Hinduism' (1840) is of a very different character: 'only a man', asserts this author, 'who has never deliberated upon his religion, and has not looked upon the defects in Christianity, would ever become a Christian'. This work, immediately and deservedly, called forth a reply from the Brāhman convert Krishna Mohan Banerjea, who, being himself a convert from Hinduism to Christianity, was well qualified to deal with what has been not unfairly described as 'the nadir of Hindu apologetics'.

By far the ablest of three rejoinders was a considerably longer work, written by a gifted young pundit of Benares, Nīlakaṇṭha Goreh – 'A Verdict of the Truth of the Sastras'. This writer gives clear evidence of capacity for lucid thought and for the marshalling of carefully considered arguments. Like the other defenders of Hinduism, he takes his stand on the eternity and perfection of the *Vedas*; but he makes the demand that these must be approached not in the spirit of mere rational evaluation, but with *śrāddha*, that is to say with intuitive faith.

The sequel to this brief period of intensive controversy is strange and paradoxical.

Muir, after his return to Scotland, became involved in a deep study of critical and rationalistic approaches to the Bible and to the Christian revelation, and came to regard the Christian position which he had set out in his earlier Sanskrit work as far too narrow and dogmatic.

Nīlakaṇṭha Goreh moved in precisely the opposite direction. His restless and critical spirit had been directed to an ever more intensive study of the Christian Scriptures; though gradually convinced in general of the truth of the Christian revelation, he demanded the solution of all the doubts and hesitations which stood in the way of his unconditional acceptance of the Christian demands. By degrees his doubts were settled. In 1848 Hindu society in Benares was dismayed to learn that on 1 March of that year the doughty champion and defender of Hinduism had been admitted by baptism to the fellowship of the Christian church. But for the Reverend Nehemiah Goreh, as he became, the Christian faith proved to be no quiet backwater, but, rather, a stormy sea, in which new doubts and perplexities were constantly liable to appear. In the devout Christian minister much of the questing spirit of the scholastic devotee of the ancient Sāstras seems to have survived.

6 THE ORTHODOX REACTION

This may be an appropriate point at which to turn from the more liberal Hindus to the orthodox, who made no secret of their total and irreconcilable hostility to the missionary cause and to the very idea of the movement of an individual from one religious community to another.

The enlightened Christian holds that personal freedom of choice on the basis of conviction should be within the reach of anyone who sincerely wishes to pass from one form of religious faith to another. Hinduism knows no such tolerance. A man becomes a Hindu by birth; there is no other way by which he can become a Hindu. Any Hindu who becomes a Muslim or Christian is therefore at once expelled from his caste. Even if his relations would like to keep him in their home, they can hardly do so, since they would then share in his defilement. On the lower levels of society it was sometimes possible for converts to remain at home; among the higher castes this could hardly be considered a possibility. The missionaries did not feel that they could desist from their aim of making all men one in Christ; they hoped that the opposition they aroused would grow less with the spread of enlightenment. The Hindu view, however, was very different. To them it appeared that the missionaries were prepared to use any methods, legitimate or illegitimate, to lure Hindus away from their allegiance; why should it be judged wrong if Hindus also used every method, legitimate or illegitimate, to frustrate them in their aims?

The feeling that Hinduism was in danger was naturally called into being by the great series of reforms, of which the abolition of *satī* was the most notable. One of the consequences of this action of government was that the leading Hindus of Calcutta formed themselves into the Dharma Sabhā, to resist the abolition of *satī* and any other actions by which they felt that the rights of Hindus were being violated. This was a perfectly reasonable thing for them to do, and appeal to higher authorities in all cases is fully recognised as legitimate under British law. The actions of the Dharma Sabhā were perfectly correct and legal.[36]

One of the activities of the Dharma Sabhā was steady opposition to the so called *Lex Loci* of 1850, which safeguarded the rights of a convert to inheritance and property.[37] This opposition was maintained for five years without a break. The Sabhā did not hesitate to accuse the government of having abandoned its policy of neutrality and of having shown undue favour to the missionaries:

> It is now nearly sixty years since the missionaries first arrived in this country to teach Christianity to the Natives. During this time they have adopted various plans for affecting the above object – but owing to their having received no aid from our rulers, they have not hitherto succeeded as they desired. From the Draft of the proposed Act it would now seem that our Government, influenced by partiality to their own religion, have at last begun openly to assist the missionaries in their work.[38]

The Hindus carried their protests, as they were entitled to do, as far as the House of Commons, but without success; the act remained in force.

The attempt of the Dharma Sabhā, with others, to start a school in rivalry to the mission institutions has already been mentioned. This also was an enterprise to which no objection could be taken. But the missionaries were justified in their belief that 'the high character of the education afforded in the Missionary schools, the perseverance, ability and devotedness of the teachers, and the fact that they are free of cost . . . would ensure that no lasting harm would be done to the Christian schools'.[39]

The conversion of young people of good standing to the Christian faith continued to perplex Hindu society. Hindus had the utmost difficulty in believing that anyone could genuinely be converted from the religion in which he had been born to any other. They could not but suppose that the missionaries had used underhand methods of one kind or another to secure the appearance of conversion. Bribery could hardly come into it, since the missionaries were not in a position to offer anything that could compensate for all that the converts would lose by the acceptance of baptism. There might, however, be subtler methods of conversion. There could be excessive indoctrination of tender minds; there could be the emotional appeal of kindness and generosity. Such perplexity underlay the press and pamphlet warfare which was carried on for thirty years.[40]

It was unfortunate that the chief controversialist on the Christian side was William Morton of the LMS.[41] No doubt the attacks made on the missionaries in the Bengal press were intemperate and in part at least untrue; but the Christian cause is not helped by retaliation in kind. Whatever the provocation, it was unwise to refer to the stupid Chandrika, the babbling inane Purnochandrodary and the rabid Prabhakar.[42] Morton left India in 1845; the tone of Christian controversy improved very much after his departure.

The missionaries had to fight on two fronts against two types of assault. Attacks were made on the character and proceedings of the missionaries, and also on the basic truths of Christianity. In the second category the students of 'young Bengal' were noisier and probably more effective than the journalists.

We have it on good authority that '[Tom] Paine's works were at this time devoured by young Bengalees who were in raptures at the possession of this armoury of arguments against Christianity.'[43] These writings seem to have been the chief source of a series of tracts, which appeared weekly at the price of one anna under the title *A Rational Analysis of the Gospel*. In response to this challenge the missionaries set to work to produce a series of *Anti-Infidel Tracts*. Twelve of these appeared between November 1825 and January 1826. As often happens, there seems to have been no real meeting of mind; the missionaries exaggerated the effectiveness of what they had done, and Hindu critics averred that the *Tracts* had not honestly dealt with the arguments put forward in the *Rational Analysis*. At least an attempt had been made to raise the intellectual level of the discussions.

An interesting illustration of the more temperate approach adopted by the missionaries at the mid-century is the preparation of a *Letter to the Learned Pundits of Bengal* (1853), which was widely circulated in Bengali. The *Letter* dealt in the main with two points – the widespread idea that Christianity was a religion only for Europeans, and the equally erroneous idea that it was a religion only for the ignorant. No evidence seems to exist as to any influence of the *Letter* on the minds of the recipients; the affectionate tone in which it was written cannot but have helped to dissipate misunderstandings and to improve relationships.

Orthodox Hindus and revolutionary students had alike done their best, and yet young Bengalis went on being converted. What was to be done about the converts?

There was first a theological question to be answered. If a Hindu had abjured his religion and become apostate, was there any way by which he could be restored to his Hindu status? The general answer of orthodox Hinduism was that no return was possible. Some authorities had prescribed forms of atonement for breaches of caste regulations, but these were so prolonged and so degrading that it was unlikely that anyone would undertake them; and in any case these rules did not envisage the possibility that any Hindu would actually abandon his own faith and embrace another. The number of conversions to Christianity now made it necessary for the most orthodox Hindus to consider the possibility of providing a way back.[44] This was a subject of intense discussion during the 1840s and 1850s. As was to be expected, the Dharma Sabhā took the lead, suggesting that, when a young man of respectable family had been seduced into accepting Christianity, means should be devised for bringing him back into caste.

One of the most interesting efforts was the formation in Calcutta, in August 1852, of a 'Society for the Deliverance of Hindu Apostates'. It was stated that the society had been formed by 100 wise and excellent gentlemen, and that after consultation with the learned in all the centres of learning in Bengal methods and principles for the restoration of apostates had been agreed upon. It was further stated that six apostates had applied for readmission to the Hindu family and that of these four had been accepted and two rejected.[45]

The Christians took careful note of all these things, but on their own principles of fairness and openness could enter no objection to them:

> Missionaries have no wish to harbour hypocrites, and as they employ no other means to convert the natives to Christianity than those which reason and honourable conduct will approve, so they will present no obstacles to the conversion of Christians to the Hindu faith.[46]

This did not settle the question of what was to happen if the convert could not be persuaded to return to his old ways. Many of those who had been attracted by Christian teaching did not wish to take any action which would separate them permanently from their families; and, provided that the ultimate step of baptism was not taken, many families were now prepared to connive at much on which in earlier days they would have felt it necessary to frown. But some enquirers reached the point at which the tension between loyalty to Christ and the performance of Hindu ceremonies in the home became intolerable. Then the break became inescapable. In such cases the new convert usually fled to the home of the missionaries, judging that conditions in his own home and loyalty to Christ were irreconcilable.

When this had happened, it was naturally the desire of the family to get the absconder back – at any cost and by almost any method. If legal means failed, recourse might be had to the less legal method of abduction.

The missionaries were ordinarily so careful in the methods they used that they had no difficulty in showing that no kind of coercion had been exercised, no improper means used to draw the person concerned away from his original faith. When cases were taken out in court, the decision usually turned on the question of the right of custody. Where minors were concerned, the parents seemed to have a strong case: it would appear right and natural that custody should be assigned to them. But there was an ambiguity – at what age should minors cease to be minors and be reckoned as able to speak for themselves? The missionaries generally were of the opinion that in the case of boys minority ended at the age of fourteen, but the Hindus desired that the period should be extended to eighteen.[47]

That the law was far from clear is evident from the contradictory decisions given by the courts, even where the cases were almost exactly similar.

In the case of a fourteen-year-old boy, Brojonath Ghose (1883), the judge remarked that the boy 'had been allured from his parents' home for the purpose of converting him to Christianity, contrary to the usages of the country . . . I therefore say that to order him to be delivered to his father is a sound, proper and good decision.'

In an almost exactly similar case, relating to one Umeshchandra Sarkar, the chief justice of Bengal affirmed that 'the child is under no illegal restraint, on the contrary he is consenting to remain where he is . . . Here is a species of moral restraint with which the court cannot interfere. If any obstruction had been offered in preventing the father from seeing his child, we should have granted the application [for a writ of *habeas corpus*].'

If there was confusion in the courts of Calcutta, the same was true in other parts of the country. In Bombay the decisions were generally in favour of the parents. In Madras cases frequently turned on the question of discretion – on the ability of the convert to state his own case in reasonable terms; and this meant that most cases were decided in favour of the converts and their missionary friends.

Two cases in Madras may be cited as specially important in view of the eminence of the judges by whom the decisions were given.

In 1846 a Brāhman boy, whose name is given only as E. R. wished to be baptised. A writ of *habeas corpus* was granted to the boy's father, and the Reverend John Anderson was ordered to produce the boy in court. The father swore that the boy was only twelve; E. R. gave his age as seventeen. The judge, Sir William Burton, himself put questions to the boy in English; having received what he judged to be satisfactory answers to his questions, he gave his opinion at great length, to the effect that the boy was free to choose where he wished to go. When he said that he wished to go to Mr Anderson's school, arrangements were made for him to be safely conveyed thither.[48]

An even more important case arose in 1847 through the desire of a number of girls for baptism. The case was heard before the same judge, Sir William Burton. In view of the importance of the case and the precedent that would be set, the judge announced that he would defer decision until the evidence had been heard also by his colleague Sir Edward Gambier. The second judge gave careful attention to the case, spending forty-five minutes with the girl who was before him, and examining her very carefully with regard to her age, competency and capacity, and as to her choice. He gave it as his considered opinion that 'the motion for her to be restored to her mother ought to be refused'. The choice of the girl was the result of her parents' decision to send her to a school in which, as they well knew, Christian instruction was given. A few further sentences from the judgement should be quoted:

> I think it impossible to come to any other conclusion. I hesitate not to say that the opinion of the Bombay judge, while I entertain sincere respect for him, is *not* the state of the law . . . We must look if the party is capable of exercising discretion, and leave her freedom of choice where to go . . . the discretion of the child must therefore now prevail.[49]

Sir William Burton gave judgement in the same sense. The decision must turn on the simple question whether the person concerned was capable of exercising discretion. If in the opinion of the judge that capacity was there, on the basis of personal freedom as recognised by the law of England the decision could go only one way. In view of the eminence of the two judges concerned, and the care they had taken in reaching their decisions, this case carried great weight throughout the whole of India.[50]

Naturally such judgements gave no satisfaction to the Hindu populace. There were loud outcries and some disturbances. Nor must it be supposed that all would-be converts showed such determination as the young people in Madras whose cases have been reported. A considerable number yielded to the appeals and reproaches of their relatives, and withdrew from their first eager acceptance of the Christian faith. Some, having been baptised, ventured to pay a visit to their relatives, and found themselves drawn back half-unwittingly into the old ways. Of one such it is recorded that, after more than four years of great wretchedness, he came back, as he said, 'to die within the shadow of the mission-house'.[51]

7 OTHER METHODS

Not unnaturally the relatives of converts, having failed to obtain what they regarded as justice in the courts, at times decided to take matters into their own hands and forcibly to remove young Christians from the care of those who had given them protection.

The first known case of the kind was recorded in *The Friend of India* for August 1835. A young enquirer named Ramratan Mukherji had taken refuge in the house of a missionary of the CMS, the Reverend J. Häberlin. A crowd of Hindus forcibly entered the house, pushed Häberlin on one side and carried off the young man. Missionaries were usually extremely reluctant to take legal action, even in the face of aggression. In this case no action was taken; the kidnapping was successful, and nothing was ever heard again of Ramratan.

Another case occurred in 1851. A young man named Dwarkanāth Bose had taken up residence in the house of Dr Ewart, a missionary of the Church of Scotland Mission. One day, as Ewart was driving to his school accompanied by his young friend, his horse was stopped in a crowded part of the Chitpore Road, and Dwarkanāth was violently dragged from the carriage. Later he stated that he had been very harshly treated, that chains had been put upon his ankles and that he had been given food containing intoxicating drugs. He did, however, manage to escape from confinement. On this occasion Dr Ewart felt it right to take the matter to court. The magistrate, having heard the young man's evidence, told him that he was free to go wherever he wished, and that, if it proved necessary, he would be given the protection of the police. The relations seem to have made no further attempt to carry the young man off into captivity.[52]

Such cases were not very numerous. Those who carried out such enterprises knew well that they were rendering themselves liable to criminal prosecution and that the courts would take a stern view of their actions. Almost all seem to have concluded that the game was not worth the candle.

Except in times of strong emotional excitement, the temper of the Indian peoples is in general pacific. In consequence martyrs have been few in the history of Christianity in India, and missionaries, quietly pursuing their avocations, have for the most part been untouched by personal violence. But to this general rule there were a few exceptions.

In December 1840 the Baptist missionary at Dinajpur, Smylie, and his Indian colleague, Budhan, were violently assaulted. Budhan was seriously injured and died the next day. The culprits were easily identified. One was sentenced to life imprisonment, two to fourteen years in gaol, a fourth to seven years.

It seems clear that the cause of the assault was not direct hostility to Christian preaching or to the Christian faith. Smylie and his colleague had been instrumental in exposing various malpractices in the neighbourhood, in some of which government officials had been involved. Those deprived of their illegal gains were indignant against the witnesses who had caused the loss and were prepared to take the risk involved in planning and carrying out reprisals.[53]

Another case of violence occurred in Calcutta in April 1842 on the occasion of the Charak Puja, a festival in which the hook-swinging ceremony was a principal event. The Reverend J. Campbell and his Indian colleague the Reverend T. Boaz remonstrated with the people, pointing out the folly and cruelty of the performance. It may be true that they had gone too far in their protests and that their behaviour had been provocative. (It was alleged that Mr Boaz had laid his hands on the materials being used for the erection of the Charak post.) A violent tumult ensued. Mr Campbell was found staggering into a dry ditch, his face covered with blood. The assailants ran away, but one was easily recognised as Harināth Roychaudhuri, a man of some education and social position. He was convicted and fined Rs. 200, a sum which the missionaries regarded as wholly disproportionate to the offence. Matters were made worse when it was learnt that Harināth had been appointed to a minor post under government. *The Friend of India*, with its usual frankness, described the appointment as 'improper, indecent, and immoral'.[54] Harināth wisely declined the appointment on the ground that the salary was inadequate.

The position of the village Christians was very different from that of the educated converts, whose fortunes we have been considering. They were ceaselessly exposed to attack, mainly from two quarters – the village community and the landlord class.

Christians were a threat to the complex and endlessly interrelated order of village life. In that life of varied mutual interdependence nonconformists could not be tolerated. If a whole village, or a large section of a village, decided to accept the Christian faith, such a group might be able to maintain itself in the face of whatever hostility might arise. If a small group, or a single individual, decided to change religious allegiance, hostility, though short of actual violence, might reach levels which it was by no means easy to endure.

The most usual weapon was a kind of village excommunication – denial of the services of the village washerman and barber, refusal of access to the village well (in many cases the only one) and to the village shop. Such measures did not threaten life or survival, but they could be exhausting and inconvenient, and the isolation from village life could be felt as humiliating. Against such reprisals there was no legal remedy, unless it could be shown that actual violence was involved. The foundation of Christian villages, instances of which have been noted in another chapter, gave respite from affliction but had the disadvantage of isolating Christians even more completely from the life around them.

A large part of the land-surface of India was in the possession of proprietors, who treated their tenants much like serfs; anything which tended to give the tenants a spirit of independence was anathema to them. It was the gravamen against the work of the missionaries that it tended to produce just that spirit which was most offensive to the landowner. Even if the Gospel was represented by no more than a village catechist, such a man would gain an ascendancy over the minds of his hearers, 'and eventually was looked upon as little, if at all, inferior to the proprietor of the estate. The zemindar's vanity was thereby wounded to no small degree.'[55] The most usual reaction of the landowners was refusal to employ Christians on their lands; as these had no other source of income, this was in fact to condemn them to starvation. Not infrequently, however, landowners resorted to illegal measures such as violence and expulsion of the Christians from their homes.

Even in cases of flagrant injustice the missionaries were reluctant to intervene in the interests of Christians. They were well aware that such interference might lead Christians to the refusal of just claims and obligations, and that it could also be regarded as an invitation to false and interested professions of Christian faith.[56] There were, however, some cases of such flagrant injustice that the missionaries felt it impossible to stand aloof.

One glaring instance was reported from a village, Bohirgachchi, in the neighbourhood of Krishnagar. In an affray between Hindus and Christians one of the Christians was so badly injured that he died. When the matter came to court, the magistrate refused to convict on the ground that, as the victims were Christians and the witnesses were all Christians, their evidence was not worthy of credence. On this *The Friend of India* rightly and pungently commented that 'to reject an evidence because it was uniform and came from Christians, was to degrade the character of our tribunals, wantonly to depreciate the character of Christianity itself and unjustly to obstruct its progress by teaching the heathen that they may oppress the native converts with impunity'.[57]

An even more scandalous case was the assault on the Christians of Baropakhya, a village twenty miles north of Barisal, in 1855. A number of Christians had been confined, tortured, and harried from place to place in the district. There was no doubt about the facts. Yet when the Reverend J. C. Page brought a case in the magistrate's court there was the utmost difficulty in securing any kind of justice for the Christians.[58] The local magistrate decided in their favour, but the sessions judge on appeal reversed the judgement of the lower court. The evidence was so plain that the missionaries approached the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, F. J. Halliday, a man not notable for his sympathy with Christians; on his orders a court of three experienced judges was appointed by the Supreme Court to go into this affair. More than a year after the original occurrence the three judges reported that the sessions judge had acted in error and that the judgement of the lower court must stand. But no compensation was given to the Christians for the wrongs that they had suffered and there was no guarantee that they would be better protected in the future.

Missionaries were constantly of service to those in need, especially in times of famine or other extremity. This naturally attracted many to a religion which showed them kindness such as was not always manifest in the religion to which they had previously adhered. It was, perhaps, as well that the desire to become Christians often resulted in hostility and outrage from which, in a great many cases, the missionaries were unable to protect their flocks. Undoubtedly many, perhaps the majority of enquirers, withdrew in the face of threats or persecution. Certainly a number of those who had been baptised lapsed from the faith when the help on which they had counted did not materialise. The surprising thing is that so many stood firm. Ignorant and newly introduced to a religion which they did not fully understand, the converts seem to have drawn strength from the faith which they had adopted, and to have shown a commendable courage and resilience. The steady growth in the number of Christians over many years suggests that faith may have been more than superficial and that there were at least some elements of true conviction.

Most of the evidence so far presented comes from either Bengal or the Madras Presidency, naturally, since the strength of missionary work was found in these two regions. But it must not be supposed that it was only in these two regions that opposition manifested itself.

In 1852 a report was received from western India of a book published in

Marāthī by one Gangadhar Shāstri, a highly intelligent teacher in a government school, under the title *Defence of the Principles of Hinduism.* What is interesting is that the writer inveighs with even greater passion against renegade Hindus than against the missionaries themselves:

> Of those who have subsequently received an education, a large part wholly pervert it by abandoning and seeking to destroy their ancestral faith. Against foreign enemies we might contend with some hope of success; but what can be done when traitors within set fire to the citadel? Hinduism is [so sunk into] death that I am fully persuaded that it must perish. Still, while life remains, let us minister to it as we best can. I have written this book, hoping that it may prove a useful medicine. And if it be so fated, then possibly the patient may yet recover.[59]

The learned author was unduly pessimistic; but the terms in which he wrote are good evidence both of the strength of the Christians and of the anxiety that it produced in the minds of thoughtful Hindus.

8 MISSIONARIES AND POLITICS

Missionaries have generally been instructed by those who send them out to refrain from any form of political activity. In Bengal, however, they were led by the extreme misery of the agricultural population to depart from this well-known principle and to engage themselves deeply in attempts to secure reform through official action. In seeking the cause of this misery, the missionaries found themselves led to attribute it to the ruthlessly oppressive methods followed by the *zamindārs*, the new aristocracy created by the permanent settlement of 1789, but also to the European indigo-planters, whose policies reduced the peasants to a position little better than that of slaves.[60] To these causes were added the incompetence and deep-dyed corruption of the police, and slackness and irregularity in the administration of justice.

The landholders and planters denied the charges of oppression and cruelty; and, while admitting the poverty of the people and the widespread corruption, they ascribed all blame to the British government in Bengal, which, if it would, could remedy the evils by passing the appropriate legislation.

In August 1852 the missionaries took the unusual step of presenting a petition to Parliament, stating the evils listed above and proposing a number of remedies.[61]

In September 1855 a meeting of more than ordinary significance was held in Calcutta, the General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries, forerunner of an endless series of missionary conferences, which gained in importance as the years passed. Three papers relevant to this section were read: F. Schurr 'On the Influence of the System of Indigo-Planting and the Spread of Christianity', J. C. Page, on 'The Zemindary System and

Christianity', and A. F. Lacroix 'On the Special Difficulties Encountered by Missions in Bengal'.

The conference did not pass any resolution on these matters, but in the following year the missionaries sent in a memorial to government, pleading earnestly for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the real state of affairs. This was very coolly received by the lieutenant-governor, F. J. Halliday, who declined to accept the statements of the missionaries as corresponding to the facts, having himself 'large and frequent opportunities of learning by personal intercourse with all classes, native and European, in and out of service, and thereby acquiring a knowledge of the real state of affairs'.[62]

Frustrated by the opposition of the government of Bengal, the missionaries turned to the imperial parliament and presented a 'Petition of the Calcutta Missionaries for a Royal Commission to Enquire into the Condition of the People of Bengal'. On 11 June 1857 the petition, together with a number of resolutions, was presented to the House of Commons by Arthur Fitzgerald (later Baron) Kinnaird.[63] After debate, Kinnaird was induced to withdraw his motion by a promise of immediate and effective reform; but within a few weeks England was caught up in the storm of the great uprising, and all thought of reform had to be for the time being abandoned. The missionaries felt, however, that one great object had been attained: 'the attention of the people of Great Britain and of the whole civilised world was directed in a way in which it never was before to the deplorable social condition of the teeming myriads of Bengal'. This had been achieved in the face of intense opposition on the part of wealthy Hindus to the policies of the missionaries, and therefore to the Gospel which they preached.

Not even the warmest friend of the missionaries could maintain that they were always tactful: they could be boorish, and they could be provocative. But it is pleasant to be able to quote the considered opinion of Dr M. M. Ali, who as a Muslim has no reason to be particularly sympathetic to missionaries:

> It is quite clear that throughout this period the real friends of the rayats of Bengal were the Christian missionaries. Their's was not a factious opposition to the indigo planters and zemindars as such, but an ardent desire to improve the lot of the peasantry, partly because of its bearing on the spread of Christianity, but mainly because of the extreme sufferings of the people under the zemindari and indigo systems.[64]

The opposition of the landowners and the indigo-planters to the missionaries was intense, and from their point of view fully justified. There were other Hindus and Muslims who while disapproving of the proselytising activities of the missionaries, were able to turn a friendly eye on some of the things that they tried to do and to recognise that the best among them were actuated by a deep concern for the welfare, in body, mind and spirit, of every member of the human race.

17 · Towards an Indian Church

I THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH

The story of Christianity in India must be primarily the story of Indians becoming Christians, developing as Christians, creating for themselves an identity as Indian Christians, adapting the church in an Indian setting, making themselves felt as a recognised and integral part of Indian society. At the start, however, Christians in a non-Christian country will be foreigners. Up to 1786 the story has to be largely the story of the foreigners.

If, however, missionaries had been asked to state the way in which they understood their position and their work, the majority would have declared almost passionately that the purpose of their being there was the emergence of an Indian church, that their role could not be more than transitory, and that it was the Indian church that must take root and thrive and survive. This was what Ingoli had insisted on from the very day on which the Propaganda was constituted in 1622. Similar utterances can be quoted from other parts of the Christian world.

So far there would have been general agreement; but if the missionaries had been asked in what way they understood the meaning of the phrase 'an Indian church', there might have been considerably less agreement. All came, naturally, with the idea that what they represented was the best and purest form of Christian faith and organisation, and that the best possible fate for the Indian Christians was to be as closely adapted as possible to what the missionaries had brought with them. The church of the Thomas Christians had been so long in India that it might have laid claim to being the Indian church; yet Roman Catholics and Anglicans alike had no hesitation about trying to mould that ancient church a little nearer to their heart's desire.

By 1858 all this was beginning to change. The idea of an Indian church was beginning to come to the fore in missionary thinking. Indian Christians were becoming articulate as they had never been before, and were recovering a sense of Indian dignity and independence. But the Indian church was still to a large extent dominated by foreigners, and so was inevitably foreign in many of its ways and in its manner of thinking. Indian integrity tended still to be relegated to an as yet far-distant future.

2 THE MISSIONARIES

a. Who they were

In the early days the vast majority of the Roman Catholic witnesses in India had been Portuguese. By the end of the eighteenth century all this had been changed. With the suppression of the Jesuit order, superiority in numbers passed to the French. But what they had gained was by no means a monopoly. Spanish and Italian Carmelites were present in numbers; other religious orders brought in Germans and Dutchmen; and there was even the occasional Englishman, such as the Capuchin Fr John Milton, who caused the British authorities in Madras so much trouble.[1] America was not yet represented in the spectrum.

Similar diversification had taken place in the ranks of the Protestants. The first great Protestant mission had been called the Royal Danish Mission; the great majority of the missionaries were, however, Germans, though the occasional Dane was found among them. With the awakening of missionary zeal in Britain, all parts of the British Isles came to be represented in India – Baptists and Anglicans from England, Presbyterians from Scotland, Calvinistic Methodists from Wales, Anglicans and Presbyterians from Ireland. By the end of the eighteenth century the Dutch had practically disappeared. The records speak of only one Swede, Peter Fjellstedt, who served briefly with the CMS in Tirunelveli. But Switzerland had entered on the scene and was greatly to strengthen its contribution through the Basel mission. In 1858 the American representation was already considerable, though the days were still in the future when the Americans would be the strongest missionary body in India.

In social status and academic qualifications the missionaries did not on the whole rank high.

The Roman Catholics were almost all seminary priests in the exact sense of that term. Many had been trained in the seminary of the Paris Society (Missions Etrangères). Just at the end of the period the Milan seminary entered the field. Most of the religious orders had their own places of training; but there was a certain similarity – in the course of studies, in the methods of instruction and in the general theological atmosphere. Probably these seminaries were on a rather higher level than that immortalised by Stendhal in *Le Rouge et le noir*, but on all alike the hand of the Counter-Reformation rested heavily. The students were not there to learn how to think; they were there to receive orthodox answers to all questions, and to learn the great virtues of submission and obedience. As preparation for the routine exercise of the office of the priesthood this training perhaps left little to be desired, but there are few signs of awareness of a wider world of thought and culture. Little was done to awaken interest in the very different cultures and religions which the students would meet in Asia.[2] The spirit of Nobili and Beschi, of Hanxleden and Roth, had died away. Until we come to the towering figure of Anastasius Hartmann, the spirit of discipline and conformity seems for the most part to have stifled originality.

The Protestant world naturally showed greater diversity than the Roman Catholic, but there too it was the case that not many wise, not many mighty, were called to missionary service.

Many of the Germans came from the great pietist centre at Halle, but later the seminary of Jaenicke at Berlin and that of Basel came to play a considerable role as sources of supply. In all these centres students received a good theological grounding, and some knowledge of the classical languages of the faith was required of all. But Halle, whatever its spiritual excellence, was not highly esteemed in intellectual circles, and it was generally taken for granted that the training in seminaries could not be compared with that which was offered in the universities.[3] Yet, for all the limitations in their training, some of the Germans did emerge as notable scholars. Hermann Gundert was not alone in becoming a perfect master of an Indian language (in his case Malayālam); Philip Fabricius had earlier mastered Tamil.

Among the English pioneers were a number of men who by their own exertions had raised themselves from indigence to eminence, and who, though self-educated, surpassed in learning some of those who had passed through the universities. Carey and his colleagues at Serampore came from the ranks of those whom the Victorians somewhat patronisingly called the respectable poor. But not all who came from this class were equally successful; some failed to make the necessary adaptation to the demands of missionary service, and fell by the wayside. Lack of intellectual training was a handicap which not all were able to overcome.

Candidates offering themselves to the CMS came from a great variety of backgrounds. After various experiments in training, the society decided to follow the example of the Germans and to have its own training institution; its college at Islington came into being in 1838. The first principal, the Reverend C. F. Childe, remarked that 'we had to carry the several works of an English School, a Grammar School, and a Theological College, at one and the same time, in one and the same place'. The achievements of the Islington men were as varied as their beginnings. It was natural to suppose that faithfulness rather than eminence would be their distinguishing quality. Yet there were those who did attain eminence. Several rose to be bishops, among them Edward Sargent, who became assistant bishop of Madras in 1877. One of the Germans, J. J. Weitbrecht, has been named as one of the notably able missionaries in Bengal. The Irishman James Long, when he arrived at Islington, was reputed already to know nine languages. He started work in

Bengal in 1840 and served for thirty years with splendid distinction, having acquired an understanding of the Bengali *ryot* (peasant) perhaps unrivalled by any other missionary.

Islington continued for many years to do useful work. But from 1841 onwards the situation was changed by the great spiritual awakening in the English universities. In the twenty years between 1841 and 1861 the CMS received forty-two offers from Cambridge men, twenty-two from Oxford, and twenty-two from Trinity College, Dublin. Many of these were men (not yet women) who had attained high academic distinction. India being regarded as *par excellence* the field where academic proficiency would be appreciated, a large number of these were sent out to India. Two stand out above all others. T. G. Ragland (1815–58) had been fourth wrangler, and had become fellow and mathematical tutor to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. At the time of his death he was senior fellow of the college.[4] Thomas Valpy French (1825–91) had attained high distinction in classical studies, and had been elected fellow of University College, Oxford. A gifted linguist, he was perhaps the ablest missionary ever sent by the CMS to India. His learning was not always tempered by prudence. After twelve years as bishop of Lahore, enthusiasm led him to a lonely grave in Muscat in Arabia.[5]

Numerically England was ahead of other countries in its contribution to missions in India; but the Scots might claim that they were first in the field in sending to India missionaries of outstanding intellectual calibre. Whereas England was content with two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, little Scotland had for centuries had four; and, small as numbers naturally were, these were served by professors of the highest distinction. When Robert Caldwell could not obtain admission to Oxford,[6] he found a home in Glasgow, and got there as good an education as could have been provided by the Oxford of his choice. The first missionary of the LMS in India, Nathaniel Forsyth, was also a graduate of a Scottish university. But it is with Duff, Wilson, Hislop and Anderson that Scotland enters with real power into the Indian story. It came to be taken for granted that some among the best students in Scotland would offer themselves for missionary service. Such men were able to hold up their heads in any society; the old reproach that only the unsuccessful would take up a missionary career could no longer be sustained.

Most American missionaries were graduates, but, in the rather rudimentary state of American education in this period, this did not necessarily mean very much; their giants mostly belonged to a later generation.

b. How they lived

For two centuries the crown of Portugal made an allowance to missionaries in India. For more than a century the crown of Denmark followed suit.

English chaplains were paid from the funds of the East India Company. But for Protestant missionaries outside Tranquebar no such provision was made; how were they to be supported?

The Baptists started out with the idea that within a short time missionaries should be self-supporting. In England many Nonconformist ministers supported themselves by engaging in a trade – Carey himself had been schoolmaster and cobbler. The exceptional circumstances in which the men of Serampore worked made it possible for them to be independent of the missionary society in England. Carey's salary from Fort William College, the profits from the Marshmans' school, and the income from the printing-press, enabled them not merely to live, but to pay large sums of money into the various activities of the mission. Before long, however, it came to be realised that this could not be taken as a precedent. The labourer is worthy of his hire; missionary work is not a spare-time occupation. Clearly it is right that the missionary should be provided with enough to live on and to maintain a family.

Supporters of missions were constantly exercised as to the amount that should be provided. It was not desirable that the servant of Christ should live in luxury; but if the provision was inadequate health could not be preserved and strength would be inadequate to the work that had to be done.

One or two examples may be given of the amounts that were thought to be sufficient for those at work in the field.

Bishop Middleton expressed approval of the action of the SPCK in raising the salaries of the veteran missionaries Pohle and Kohlhoff from £180 to £200 a year. Alexander Duff was appointed to Calcutta on a salary of £300 with free accommodation, John Anderson to Madras on £350 a year, all allowances included. At that time the pound sterling was worth about ten rupees; so Duff's salary would be worth about Rs. 250 a month in Calcutta.

It is extremely difficult to calculate the value of money in real purchasing power in a distant land at a remote epoch of time. The most practical method of calculation is to compare the salaries of missionaries with those earned by their fellow-countrymen who were following other professions.

T. B. Macaulay, as law member of the council in Calcutta, received a salary of £10,000 a year; but, before leaving for India, he was told that he would probably be able to double this amount by fees and other emoluments. Chaplains on the establishment drew a salary of £1,200 a year. Missionaries could not expect the same standard of living as those who came out to India under other auspices. If their income was compared with that of the Indians with whom they would have most to do, they would of course appear to be wealthy. The ordinary Indian labourer would be lucky if he could earn as much as Rs. 7 a month. Anderson in Madras noted that he paid Rs. 30 a month to Indian monitors in his school, but that head teachers (mostly

Anglo-Indians), who expected to live on a rather higher standard than their junior colleagues, required Rs. 100 a month. When three converts were licensed as preachers, he felt that they should not be offered less than Rs. 70 a month, to be increased when they were ordained. The Reverend Gopinath Nandi, in the service of the CMS, was allowed a salary of Rs. 170 a month. Though this did not put him on an equality with missionaries, it did elevate him to the precarious position of being considerably the richest man in his Indian congregation.

Missionaries had to learn to live a simple life; but the hardships involved in their way of living must not be exaggerated. We have the invaluable evidence of the layman A. C. Pears, writing from Megnanapuram on Good Friday 1860, on a visit to the Reverend John Thomas:[7]

> I am surprised . . . and very much pleased at the comfortable style in which the missionaries live, large and well-built houses, *well* furnished, a large garden, a swimming bath, ponies and horses, a good poultry yard, a *liberal* table. Thomas seems to live as comfortably as any field officer in any of our Cantonments, perhaps more so, and they sit down to dinner nine every day . . . I should not have thought it possible on their very moderate incomes. Perhaps the district is cheap, and no doubt there is good management.[8]

Not all missionaries managed as well as the Thomases, but this picture may serve as typical of many. Long experience had shown that what might appear as extravagance was in point of fact economy. Hill-stations were beginning to be developed, but until travel by rail became possible these stations were too distant, and travel too expensive, for missionaries to consider a visit to them except in cases of serious illness. Those who lived near to the coast would go there from time to time to enjoy the benefit of sea-breezes and of bathing in the ocean. For those suffering from the climate of Bengal, a sea-voyage would sometimes be recommended. But for the most part missionaries stayed where they were; routine could perhaps be broken by a visit to a neighbouring missionary, or, for those in village stations, by a shopping visit to the nearest metropolis. This being so, large rooms and high roofs were essential if health was to be preserved.

If it was desired that husband and wife should work together in the service of the missions,[9] servants were a necessary part of the missionary household. Pears mentions ponies and horses. Almost all missionaries kept these, as being by far the cheapest means of getting about the countryside, and also as providing the physical exercise so necessary in the tropics. Bishop Wilson in Calcutta rode some miles every morning, and found this a convenient way of doing business with the governor-general who followed the same regime. The frugality of Lord Cornwallis was shown in the fact that he employed only fifty-three servants at government house. In South India, where the division of labour was not carried to such excess as in the north, and where Christian servants, often of exemplary honesty and faithfulness, were available, numbers could be kept more easily under control. Nevertheless a family such as the Thomases would expect to employ a cook and a butler, two gardeners (all water having to be drawn from a well by hand), a *sais* and a grass-cutter to look after the horses, an *āyah* to look after the younger children, and a sweeper.

Roman Catholic missionaries, with their rule of celibacy, were exempt from some of the problems faced by their married brethren of other confessions; but the Roman Catholic presbytery of those days was often a cheerless place, with only male servants, and those often unskilled in the art of looking after Europeans.

Missionaries' children began their education in the home, the wife often proving a skilful though untrained teacher. A few children, such as James Thomason, were sent to England;[10] the others grew up in India. Missionaries in Bengal took advantage of the excellent schools run by the Marshmans at Serampore. The CMS planned a school for missionaries' children to be located in the Nilgiri hills. This was followed by the famous school founded by Dr G. U. Pope after his withdrawal from the service of the SPG. As a result, many of these children made their home in India. Some entered missionary service; we have taken note of the three generations of Kohlhoffs from 1737 to 1881.[11] The majority entered other professions – government service, the law or commerce. One of the sons of David Brown, a government servant in Calcutta, became the famous Telugu scholar and adviser of the missionaries, C. P. Brown. One of the Marshman daughters became the wife of the 'Baptist General', Sir Henry Havelock.

Health was a perpetual problem. Tropical medicine was as yet in its beginnings. Most missionary wives brought with them considerable knowledge and skill in home medicine, most valuable when doctors were few and far between. But such elementary precautions as the boiling of drinking water were unknown. All Europeans at that time believed that a moderate consumption of alcohol was necessary to the preservation of health in the tropics, and missionaries were no exception to the rule. The men of Serampore, finding that rum was the cheapest of all alcoholic liquors, adopted this as part of their diet. It is recorded that, when at sundown the servant brought Dr Carey the appointed glass of rum and water, he would swallow it at a single gulp with every appearance of distaste, and would then resume his interrupted work.

Missionary societies had not yet discovered the value of regular leave in the West; missionaries continued to work until they dropped.[12] With their abstemious manner of living they kept on the whole better health than other Europeans in India – the law of 'two monsoons' as the expected period of life did not apply to them. But casualties were many. The chief killers were malaria,[13] dysentery and typhoid; attacks of cholera were not unknown. No one has ever been able to compute the number of children who died in their early years from a multiplicity of children's diseases.

For the period 1793–1833 we have full and accurate information as to the number of Protestant missionaries in India, as to their period of service in the field, and, if that service was terminated by death in India, as to the dates at which they died.[14] For the Roman Catholic missions, unfortunately, detailed information is not conveniently available.

During the period under review, the Protestant missions in India had in their employ 301 missionaries. Most of these had been sent from the West, but a few were country-born or belonged to the Anglo-Indian community. One or two were Armenians. Most of these missionaries were married; in a number of cases the wives made notable contributions to the missionary enterprise.[15]

In the years between 1793 and 1813, 61 missionaries were at work in India. Of these, 18 gave upwards of twenty years service to the mission; another 15 gave ten years or more. 28, or rather less than half, gave less than ten years of missionary service.

Between 1813 and 1823, 117 missionaries had been added to the list. Of these, 45 gave ten years or more of service, thus giving a total of 78 out of 178 who had given at least ten years to the mission.

In the ten years following 1823, 123 recruits came from the West or were added locally. In 1833, 89 of these were still in service. Of the remainder 14 had died in India, 20 for one reason or another had withdrawn their services.

In forty years, 56 missionaries had died at their posts. Of these 22 had died within three years of reaching India. It appears that, of those who survived the rigours of the Indian climate for five years, the majority were able to give long service. The record seems to be held by J. P. Rottler, who resided in Tranquebar and Madras for just sixty years (d. 1836) without once returning to Germany. Not all returned to the land of their birth; some of those who retired from the work continued to make India their home, feeling that in truth it was much more their home than the land which they had left many years before.[16]

For the period between 1835 and 1859 we have exact records for the SPG. During those years the society employed 58 European and Anglo-Indian missionaries. Of these one worked for more than fifty years, 2 for more than forty years, 7 for over thirty years, 6 for over twenty years. 34, or considerably more than half gave less than ten years to the mission. 5 of those listed became chaplains on the establishment.

The number of those who died in India is not given. It was in all probability between fifteen and twenty, of whom a third may have been Anglo-Indians.

Various causes are given for the withdrawal of missionaries from India.

Some found simply that they had no vocation for the work; they were unprepared for the isolation and hardships of the missionary task and departed almost before they had arrived. In one or two cases inability to learn an Indian language is given as the reason; in such cases transfer to English work was the solution generally adopted. Some proved to be of little use, through lack of conviction or of devotion to the missionary cause; it was felt to be better that such should return to their own country. Only in rare cases was the cause of dismissal conduct regarded as unbecoming in a missionary.[17] Roman Catholic missionaries also seem to have maintained a high standard of probity; this was less true of the secular clergy than of the religious orders.

In the vast majority of cases the cause of departure was simply ill-health of the missionary or of his wife. In almost every case those who had left desired to return. In some cases this was possible, though some, like Joseph Fenn, returned only to die. But against many was passed the solemn judgement of the prophet Jeremiah, 'to the land whereunto they desire to return, thither shall they not return' (22: 27).

c. Varieties of Christian thinking

On the Roman Catholic side, there were considerable varieties in missionary practice as between the various religious orders, and as between the orders and the secular clergy. In the world of theology there could be little difference. All alike were committed to the rigidities of Tridentine doctrine. Since 1744 there had been no possibility of variation even in liturgical practice; the period of adventure, of adaptation, was for the time being at an end. The Indian priests, such as there were, would wear exactly what their European colleagues wore; they would say mass in Latin (except for those who said it in Syriac), without the smallest variation from what had been established as the Roman pattern. Few, Indian or foreign, had made any deep study of the religions by which they were surrounded. They enjoyed all the advantages of uniformity, but paid the penalty in a lack of originality. There was to be a church in India, but little attention was paid to what it might mean to be an Indian church.

Much greater diversity might have been expected on the Protestant side, but here too in many areas uniformity prevailed. Most of the missionaries were children of one or the other of the pietist revivals; their outlook was determined by the rather rigid biblical orthodoxy characteristic of all these pietistic movements.

All accepted without question the total inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. In 1836 David Strauss had published his *Life of Jesus*, and thereby unleashed a period of strenuous controversy in the

Christian world. It does not appear, however, that missionary life in India was perturbed by such 'neologies'; fifty years were to pass before liberal ideas created problems in missionary circles.

All alike accepted the reality of original sin and its outcome in the perverted will of every single human being. To all, idolatry was one of the worst of sins, inasmuch as it involved denial of the holiness of God and ran counter to his true nature as spiritual and invisible. For sin there could be no human remedy; God had provided the remedy in the perfect fulfilment of the law by his Son Jesus Christ, in order that the gates of righteousness might be opened to all who would believe.

Conversion, as they understood it, meant man's total repudiation of all merit of his own and a joyful acceptance of the merits of Christ as the only ground for his salvation. It was taken for granted that faith would be followed by open confession and that such confession would be followed by baptism. Baptists required that baptism should be by immersion; others regarded the exact form taken by the institution as having no particular importance.

Since they were agreed on so many things, confessional differences seemed to the majority among them to be, though important, less so than those many things on which they were agreed. Confessionalism was not in the forefront of missionary problems.

To this accord there were certain exceptions.

Relations between Roman Catholics and others could be personally cordial, but such cordiality could only gloss over much actual hostility. Roman Catholics, from Beschi on, regarded Protestants as intruders, unwelcome, bent on the destruction of souls.[18] Evangelicals regarded the Roman version of the Christian faith as a perversion of the Gospel and had few scruples about taking discontented Roman Catholics into their ranks. The troubles over La Martinière in Calcutta may be taken as an example of the difficulties that arose when the two groups found themselves forced into a propinquity which did not necessarily result in amity.[19]

Some among the Anglican chaplains were rigid high churchmen and took a low view of Nonconformists and their ways. Some could be offensive to Anglican evangelicals, as Robert Noble found to his distress in Machilipatnam.[20]

The new type of Anglican high church doctrine introduced by Keble, Newman and Pusey, the great men of the Oxford or Tractarian Movement, was slow in making its way to India. Robert Caldwell and Edward Sargent, though one served the SPG and the other the CMS, found no difficulty in working in brotherly harmony for half a century. We have noted, however, the arrival at Bishop's College, Calcutta, of Professor Street, who had come deeply under the influence of Newman and had adopted the full range of Tractarian doctrine. It was inevitable that he should influence the minds of some among his students. The most notable of these was the Anglo-Indian Charles Egbert Kennet, known because of his patristic learning as the Pusey of India, who taught for a number of years at the theological institution of the SPG in Madras and was awarded the Lambeth degree of Doctor of Divinity.[21] But harsh tensions within the Anglican tradition in India came to be a major factor only with the arrival of Bishop Milman in 1868.

A more confessionally rigid form of Lutheranism, previously unknown in India, entered the field with Heinrich Cordes, and later Karl Graul, of the Leipzig Mission. Lutherans of this type found it more difficult than their predecessors to co-operate with Anglicans, whose doctrine of the Lord's Supper they regarded as feeble and inadequate. Their insistence on the purity of Lutheran doctrine could not but lead to division where harmony had previously prevailed.

Protestantism in India, therefore, never presented a completely united front. In 1858 it was less united than it had been fifty, or thirty, years earlier. Yet there was much mutual appreciation, and co-operation in a great variety of ways, especially in the field of Bible translation.[22]

In another area of theology there was a surprising measure of unanimity, especially among missionaries from the English-speaking world. Evangelicalism, with its emphasis on conversion, has often been supposed to be an emotional form of the Christian faith, but this was very far from being true of early nineteenth-century evangelical missionaries. They believed that God had given to man the gift of reason, and that this, though injured by the Fall, had not been destroyed. Christianity is a religion for the whole man; Christian preaching must make its appeal to his reason no less than to other parts of his being. The right use of reason can lead man to natural theology; from there a reasoned study of the Holy Scriptures will lead him on to a full understanding of the Gospel.

The works of Bishop Joseph Butler, and especially his *Analogy of Religion* (published 1736) played an immense part in the formation of the English (and not only of the Anglican) theological mind for at least a century. The missionaries, almost without exception, were steeped in this cool and intellectual approach to the mysteries of the faith, used Butler's method in the instruction of their converts, and encouraged the translation of his works into Indian languages. The Malayālam translation of the *Analogy* was the work of George Māthan, a Syrian who was ordained to the Anglican ministry, and who died in 1870. The Tamil translation, which seems to have been the work of Henry Bower, appeared in monthly parts in 1858 and 1859 in the *Narpothagam*, the magazine put out by the Tirunelveli missionaries for the further education of their village workers.

The English and Scottish missionaries were 'Butler Christians'. It would perhaps be even more precise to say that they were 'Paley Christians'.

William Paley (1743–1805) was the author of four celebrated books, two of which enter into consideration here – *View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794)[23] and *Natural Theology, or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, collected from the Appearances of Nature* (1802). These formed the basis for the endless lectures on natural theology and Christian evidences given by missionaries to their students in the first half of the nineteenth century. Paley relies greatly on the argument from miracle and the argument from prophecy. That these were widely used by the missionaries is evident from two interesting references. K. M. Banerjea, in writing of the period in which, like Rāmmohun Roy, he was attracted by Socinianism (Unitarianism), remarks: 'Socinianism which seemed little better than Deism, I thought could not be so far above human comprehension that God should think of working such extraordinary miracles for its establishment . . . Socinianism . . . seemed yet so insignificant, as a professed revelation, that I could not conceive how, with propriety, an all-wise God should work miracles for its sake.'[24] Anderson, in Madras, in writing of the progress of one of his first converts, speaks of him as being well launched on the prophecies as evidences of the truth of Christianity.

Paley's arguments no longer convince us.[25] But even arguments which are not perfectly valid, when put forward by those who are absolutely convinced of their validity, have a deeply convincing effect on those to whom they are fresh, and who have neither the desire nor the resources with which to criticise them. These early converts became as deeply convinced as their teachers and found their doubts about the Christian faith gently laid to rest.

3 AN INDIAN CHURCH

Many authorities, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, had laid stress on the creation of an Indian ministry, as the precondition if much success was to be looked for in the conversion of non-Christians to Christ. But good intentions had not on the whole been followed up by notable success. The Portuguese had ordained too many Indian priests, and had then been unable to employ those who had been ordained; in reaction, the Jesuits never advanced any Indian Christian beyond the level of catechist, at which the requirement of celibacy did not obtain. Most of the other religious orders and the missions supported by the Propaganda seem to have adopted similar policies. The Lutherans in South India had in the course of 100 years ordained fourteen men as 'country priests'. But the tradition of such ordinations seems almost to have died out. In 1840 the number of Indian priests and ministers was still extremely small.

Just at this time two men, one a Roman Catholic, the other an Anglican, fought the battle for the ordination of Indians to exercise a village ministry among simple people – the one successfully, the other without success.

Melchior de Marion Brésillac was born in 1813 in the ranks of the minor aristocracy in the south of France. Educated by a strict father in the ways of the Tridentine church, he felt the call to the priesthood and in particular to the missionary service of the church. Having overcome some resistance both in his home and in the diocese which he served, Brésillac spent a year in the seminary of the Missions Entrangères in Paris and was able to set out for India on 12 April 1842. Before leaving, in the course of a retreat he set down the missionary principles by which he desired to be guided. The fourth of these is remarkable as coming from the pen of a man who had not yet set foot in India:

> Above all I implore the blessing of God on my desire to use every possible means to direct all my own work and thought towards training a native clergy . . . which has hardly been thought about yet at all. It is a pure dream, more brilliant than solid, to think of converting any people without a native clergy.[26]

Brésillac was a man who saw visions and dreamed dreams, an incurable romantic who knew what he wanted and was determined to get it, yet all too often stood in his own light and was himself the cause of his failure to obtain that on which he had set his heart. When he went to India he had had very little experience of the world. He had never attended a university; six years in seminary had done little to broaden his outlook, or to give him understanding beyond the limits of priestly efficiency. He was lacking in sensitiveness to the feelings of others and in that measure of diplomatic tact which is necessary, in ecclesiastical as in other affairs, if a desired goal is to be reached.

At first everything seemed to point to a career of brilliant success. After less than two years in India, Brésillac was appointed superior of the seminary in Pondichéri, a post less glorious than it sounds, since the students were little more than boys and it was certain that the great majority of them would never be ordained. He had hardly settled down to his work in the seminary when at the age of thirty-two he was called to be a bishop, pro-vicar of Coimbatore (4 May 1845), an appointment which was confirmed five years later when he was made vicar apostolic of Coimbatore. Rome felt that it had found a leader; it may have seemed that he was being groomed for even higher responsibilities.

In reality Brésillac's twelve years in India were a time of almost total frustration. The root of the trouble was the ideal of missionary life which in his day had come to be almost universally accepted. The missionary was to be like the *curé* in France, a man enjoying a considerable position in society.[27] The *curé* should have enough to live on in modest comfort; the poverty demanded of members of religious orders was not required of him. If Indians were to be ordained as village priests, they would have to be trained to live lives of considerable simplicity. In France there were many godly priests who were very poor and lived much nearer than the *curé* to the people they served; this was where the ideal for the Indian village priest must be sought.

That this is what Brésillac was aiming at is made plain by a conversation with one of the missionaries which he himself has recorded. The conversation opened well, when the missionary remarked, 'We must have priests of the country who speak their own language well.' To this Brésillac replied, 'Yes, but we must make sure not to expect them all to be missionaries. Some, no doubt, will be missionaries, but in the ordinary way it is enough that they be good priests charged with the care of a little parish.'[28] This was clearly an idea which had never entered the head of the good missionary. His only experience of priests in India was of men each in charge of a large area, with under him a number of catechists who were all trained to treat him with great deference, none of them making any claim to any kind of equality. He had forgotten the existence of another kind of priest in France.

Another problem related to the age at which ordination could be given. The current view was that Indians should not be ordained under the age of thirty-eight or so, a convenient way of avoiding the possibility of scandals. Brésillac wanted to confer the tonsure and minor orders on boys of the age of twelve or fourteen (so as to get them before the usual age of marriage), and to take the risk of possible scandals.

Life would have been easier for Brésillac if he had been able to start a seminary in his own vicariate and to run it on his own lines. But the number of Christians in the area of Coimbatore was very small; and in any case the mission was kept so short of personnel that he would have had no one to put in charge of such a seminary.

It is not surprising that Brésillac came to wonder whether he was doing any good in India. From 1849 on, he was thinking and speaking of resigning. By 1854 his mind was made up. In the following year Rome accepted his resignation. He was still only forty-two years of age. The Roman Catholic church in India had to wait another fifty years before a great increase in its cadre of Indian priests was effected.[29]

The story of the tough Anglican Welshman John Thomas is significantly different from that of the over-sensitive French aristocrat.

In 1838 Thomas was sent to Megnanapuram in the Tirunelveli district, where, by digging many wells, he caused the desert to blossom as the rose. Spiritually also the desert blossomed around him. A strong movement of the local people into the church was in progress. After four years of work he found himself with 500 communicants, each one of whom he felt should be visited once a month. In the whole area there was only one Indian priest, John Devasahāyam, and he was now over fifty years of age. Not more than one or two other candidates of the same calibre could be expected to come forward.[30] So, if the ministry was to be a ministry of the word and *sacraments*, a revolution must take place. There were hardly any priests, but there was a multitude of excellent and well-trained catechists; why should they not be ordained?[31]

This was the revolutionary proposal put forward by John Thomas. Let candidates be chosen from among the catechists of not less than fifteen years' service, men of unblemished reputation, diligent and loyal to the church. Let them be given a thorough training in their own language, in all the departments of theology that would be of use to them in their ministry in the village, and then let them be ordained. Intelligence was not to be judged by the number of years that a man had been in school. Many of these catechists were men of considerable ability, well versed in local custom, and with good insights into all the problems of village life. Moreover, they had been subjected to the steady and exacting course of training which dated back to the days of Rhenius and had been maintained by his successors in the CMS.

Naturally there was much opposition. Was it suitable to ordain men who knew little or no English, let alone Greek and Hebrew? Would not ordination lead to unseemly arrogance in those selected? Would the people respect ministers whom they had previously known in a humbler state of life? Was it desirable to have two classes of Indian ministers – some who like John Devasahāyam would rank as on an equality with the missionaries, others whose qualifications and salaries would be inferior and who could never hope to rise above the level of assistants? These arguments were more than specious.

Thomas was persuasive, patient and determined. In the end he got what he wanted. The first six candidates of the new order were chosen in 1846, and Edward Sargent was called in to undertake the training. The men were to study for three years. The course would include intensive study of the Bible in Tamil, an outline of church history, Christian doctrine based on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, preaching (of which they already had considerable experience), and pastoral care and village problems. For want of any other accommodation, the class met in the tower room of the beautiful church in Pālayankoṭṭai, which was later to be the cathedral of the diocese.

The experiment once tried proved itself to be a great success. The first ordination of five deacons was held in 1851, a second in 1856, a third in 1859.[32] John Thomas, having observed the first of these ordinations, remarked, 'I earnestly wish that the number of our Native Clergy were multiplied ten fold.' He lived to see the almost sensational fulfilment of his hope, when in 1869, in the largest ordination ever held in India, no fewer than thirty-two Indians were admitted to holy orders – twenty-two as deacons and ten as priests.

At the second of these ordinations, Paul Daniel, brought to Christ by Rhenius twenty-five years earlier, was ordained deacon. This man, who knew no English, proved to be one of the most remarkable preachers that the church in India has ever had. Of him John Devasahāyam remarked, 'He has what you call, eloquence, Sir. He expresses his ideas in rich suitable words.' John Thomas echoed this: 'I never listened with such unfeigned pleasure to any other preacher . . . His imagination was fertile, his resources in illustrations inexhaustible; his language clear, copious, appropriate, and euphonius in the highest degree.' He added, 'I have no hesitation in saying that if such sermons as are generally preached by him were delivered in any pulpit in London, the church would be crowded to overflowing.'[33]

The weakness in the system was that the salary of the Indian clergyman was paid by the mission. He was given a considerable amount of freedom in his own sphere, but in almost every case he worked under a superintending missionary who stood to him in the relation of employer to employee. This led to a measure of servility, not unmixed with resentment, on the part of the Indian clergy. It was not easy to combine due respect for authority with that legitimate desire for independence without which the Indian church could not grow to maturity.

Indian Christians were poor. Henry Venn's ideal of the self-supporting church had hardly begun to penetrate the minds of the missionaries, and plans for regular, systematic giving by the faithful had not yet been made. South Indian Christians were capable, on occasion, of considerable generosity. In 1845 Christians in Tirunelveli, having heard of the creation of the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem, sent no less than Rs. 170, quite a large sum in those days, to help in the building of Christ Church in that city. Signs of willingness to undertake financial responsibility were beginning to appear. As early as 1834 a Friend in Need Society was formed at Dohnāvur for the support of poor widows, and this was later extended to other districts. In 1848 this enterprise was reorganised as the Tinnevelly Catechists' Widows' Fund, a society which is still in existence. But the idea of total self-support was still far in the future.

The question of the relationship of highly educated Indian Christians, especially ministers, to missionaries was bound to raise its head and to find expression in demands for equality. Spiritual equality the missionaries had from the first been willing to grant; the concession of full equality in other respects they found more difficult.

When in 1844 one of John Wilson's first Parsi converts, Dhanjibhai

Naoroji, completed his studies in Scotland, Wilson was anxious that his ordination should take place in that country. But Naoroji had made it plain that, unless he was to be ordained on terms of full equality with the missionaries, with 'full evangelistic power and liberty', he would not enter the service of the Free Church of Scotland. In this he had the full support of Dr Wilson – 'we are for natives being ordained, after due probation, *as missionaries or evangelists like ourselves*'.[34] Wilson wrote at greater length to Dr James Buchanan, the head of the foreign missions committee of the church:

> Native ministers with a full evangelistic commission such as we ourselves receive as missionaries, and with full powers to enter into those doors of usefulness which may be opened up to them on their own knocking, are under Christ my great hope for the evangelization of India . . . I would give to them a very extensive latitude, that they and we may have the benefit of a very extensive experience.[35]

The principle as set forth by Wilson was accepted by the authorities in Scotland, and thus a precedent was set which was to be of the greatest significance for the development of the church.

When the missionaries trained young men of this calibre and brought them forward for ordination, they may not have realised all the consequences of what they were doing; but it was certain that they were raising up a generation of men who in course of time would have no hesitation in criticising the missionaries and in opposing them when they judged them to be in the wrong.

Lāl Behāri Day, the most articulate of all the converts in Bengal, fell out with Dr Duff on this very question of the equality of Indian ministers and missionaries. In point of fact the dispute arose out of a misunderstanding. Day, at his ordination, rightly expected to be placed on a footing of full spiritual equality with his Western friends, and to this no one took any exception. But there was one body, the Mission Council, which was concerned principally with the management of funds contributed from Scotland to the work of the mission, and which was responsible for seeing to it that work was carried on in accordance with the wishes of the donors. It was felt that this was not of direct concern to the Indian Christians, and therefore they were not admitted to membership of this Council. Dr Thomas Smith, one of the Presbyterian missionaries in Calcutta at the time, has stated the matter very clearly:

> There was no question of Presbyterian parity really involved. In all Church courts the claim of the native missionaries to absolute parity with their European brethren was not only frankly allowed, but was rejoiced in. But there was a body outside of these courts altogether, and whose members were not necessarily even Presbyterians . . . The European missionaries . . . did not consider themselves entitled to allow the claim of the Native brethren to the same official membership.[36]

In 1857, at the United Monthly Missionary Prayer Meeting, Day delivered an address entitled *Seachings of Heart*, which was later printed. He dealt plainly and faithfully with the want of cordiality between missionaries and converts, asking the missionaries to examine themselves carefully to see whether the blame for this sad state of affairs did not in part rest with them: 'Do I look upon my converts as my sons in the faith – as brethren in Christ, not as subordinates and servants? Do I exercise Christian charity towards the converts, not thinking evil of them?'[37]

Day further showed his independence of mind in a lecture which he delivered on 'The Desirableness and Practicability of Organising a National Church in Bengal':

> I should constitute the United Native Church of Bengal on the broadest possible basis, so as to include in its communion a great variety of opinion. And I know not a broader creed than what is called the *Apostles' Creed*, or *The Creed* by way of eminence . . . by founding the United Church of Bengal on so broad and catholic a basis, we should be in communion with every church in Christendom, the Greek and Latin Churches not excepted.[38]

Some of the ideas put forward could not come to fruition until the twentieth century. What is significant is that these ideas grew positively out of a genuine desire to be faithful to Jesus Christ, rather than negatively out of a desire to be free from foreign and missionary dominance.

4 THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL

The Christian approach to India has been conditioned, and to some extent determined, by the presence and dominance everywhere in Hindu India of the caste system. The Christian doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God, though constantly violated in practice and only dimly reflected in the social organisation of nominally Christian countries, stands in the sharpest possible contrast to the systematic inequality on which the caste system is based and to the mantle of religious authority that has been cast over that inequality. Where Christianity has penetrated, it has presented itself as a disruptive threat to the organisation of Indian society.

Hindu rulers gave considerable privileges to the Christian merchant community in Kerala; by so doing they did in fact confer on it, though perhaps not intentionally, the character of a caste. The community of the Thomas Christians became almost hermetically sealed off from the Hindu world around it. Marriage was always within the community. Conversion from the non-Christian to the Christian world was so rare as hardly to enter into consideration. The status of the Christians was roughly the same as that of the Nāyars, the great landholding Hindu caste. Throughout the centuries the Thomas Christians made little if any attempt to Christianise their non-

Christian neighbours, fearing perhaps that to do so might involve them in sharing with others their considerable social privileges, or perhaps merely because they had absorbed into their mentality the Hindu concept of an unalterable *status quo*.

The Portuguese insisted that candidates for baptism must first break caste, usually by eating European food. The result was the formation of a new community, classed by the Hindus as 'outcaste' and therefore driven to associate itself as closely as possible with European society. There was a genuine measure of tolerance; mixed marriages were not uncommon, and those of mixed race found ready acceptance. But, as multitudes of the less educated were brought into the church, society came to be marked by much the same kind of social discrimination as was found in the Western world.

The Protestant educational missionaries demanded of their converts the total repudiation of caste. As a result they found that they had dependent on them a number of young people who had no other home and so gradually formed a community isolated from the Hindu world and not fully at home in, or fully accepted by, European society in India. Such groups tended to become introverted, more concerned with their own integrity and survival than with visions of outreach into the non-Christian world.

The majority of missions, whatever their professed theology or background, have in practice found it necessary to recognise in some degree the existence of caste and to adapt themselves to its penetrating reality.

The extreme form of adaptation is based on the assumption that caste distinctions are social in character and have no religious significance; they can therefore be tolerated within the Christian church, though some of the asperities connected with them should be modified by Christian charity.

The Roman Catholic church has probably gone further than any other in this process of adaptation. Until well on in the twentieth century, churches were divided by a wall, so that Christians of the higher castes might be safeguarded against pollution by those lower in the social scale.[39] Even when an Indian ordained ministry was growing up outside the Portuguese dominions, no member of the separated communities could hope to be ordained as priest. At the time of the Synod of Pondichéri (1844), the mere suggestion that Paraiyas might be ordained to the priesthood was almost enough to create a schism.[40]

In some areas, such as Tirunelveli, where the great majority of Christians belonged to the same community, difficulties could be less. Yet every single Christian was aware of the community to which he belonged and of the status which would be accorded him in society. In the first half of the nineteenth century, caste titles were in use only for those of the higher castes.[41] It was taken for granted that such titles would be retained by Christians of the higher castes; in all the old records the names of such Christians are printed together with the caste title, thus marking their superiority to those of other and lesser communities. At the time no one, missionary or Indian, seems to have entered any objection to this custom.

The English-speaking missions had on the whole taken a harsher view of caste than those from the continent of Europe. Various attempts had been made to limit its influence, with varying success. The first attempt to eliminate caste completely from the church is associated with the name of Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta.

The matter had, indeed, been brought to the attention of Bishop Heber, who consulted Christian David, the South Indian whom he had ordained and whose opinion he thought would be reliable. David wrote a lengthy statement, in which he upheld the view that caste, among both Hindus and Christians, was in the main a social rather than a religious concern, and that it could not be wholly eliminated from the church; no matter how far a Paraiyan might improve in educational and financial standing, he would never be acceptable to those of Sūdra origin, to the point at which they would be willing to eat with him.[42]

This was a position which Wilson was wholly unwilling to accept. Very soon after his arrival in India, he wrote to 'the Rev. Brethren, the Missionaries, in the Diocese of Calcutta, and the flocks gathered by their labours and entrusted to their care', in which he laid it down that 'the distinction of castes . . . must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally'.[43] In a letter of the following year (17 January 1834), to the Reverend D. Schreyvogel at Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, he laid down under eight heads the points which he regarded as essential. Of these the most important are as follows:

1. That all converts should sit together in church.
2. That they should come without distinction to the Lord's Table.
3. That the country-priest and catechist should receive into his house anyone that came to him on a religious errand, or on business, of whatever caste.
4. That the congregations should admit into their houses the catechists, who are duly appointed to instruct them and read with them.
8. In the churchyard, no separate place should be allotted for the interment of those of the higher castes, as they were called.

The bishop foresaw that his instructions would not readily be followed by all; he was correct in his expectations. When his letter was read in the church at Vepery (Madras), all the members of the higher castes rose and left the church. The majority, however, gradually returned to their loyalty to the Christian fellowship.

In Thañjāvur the commotion was considerable. Of the four Indian priests, one conformed to the bishop's ruling, one was absent, two refused submission. Of the five superintending catechists, three conformed, two refused. Of the general body of Christians of the higher castes, all refused, with the exception of ten who remained faithful.

The recusants who were in the employ of the mission were immediately dismissed from their posts. When this was reported to the bishop, he expressed strong approval of what had been done: 'The removal of those who refused to yield to the will of our Lord and Saviour . . . I in the strongest manner confirm . . . none of the offices of the Church, none of the funds of the mission, none of the aids intended for the comfort of the faithful, are to be any longer conferred upon them.'[44]

All these steps were carried out in preparation for the bishop's first visitation.

He reached Thañjāvur on 10 January 1835, and spent much time with the Christians, trying to draw the dissentients back to the church. He then moved on to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, and personally took steps to make sure that his orders were obeyed. 147 believers received Holy Communion – first a Sūdra catechist, then two Paraiya catechists, then a European gentleman, then a Sūdra, then some East Indians. At the special request of a European lady of high rank, a Paraiyan knelt between her and her husband to receive Communion. Without the bishop's presence and insistence such participation could hardly have been secured.

On 28 January Wilson was back in Thañjāvur. A congregation of about 600 filled the church, of whom 348 received Holy Communion: 'The Resident and ladies of his family first approached – then some Sūdras and Pariahs intermingled – then some Europeans – then natives and Europeans mingled – then natives and East Indians mingled – then one or two missionaries and natives.'[45] Of those who received Communion, 62 were Europeans; of the 286 Indian Christians, 43 were of the higher castes. This was not much, but it was a beginning.

Bishop Wilson knew very well that he was only at the commencement of a long struggle. Even after a century and a half it is not possible to say that all caste distinctions have been eliminated from the church. But where it still persists Christians have a bad conscience about it, especially where Hindus have gone beyond Christians in taking action against caste feeling and caste prejudice.[46]

All the Protestant missionary societies, with one single exception, approved of the actions of Bishop Wilson. In 1848 the Madras Missionary Conference resolved that no one should be admitted to baptism until he had shown that he was prepared to break caste by eating food prepared by a Paraiyan. In February 1850 the conference reaffirmed its position in a *Minute of the Madras Missionary Conference*, in which almost all the missionary bodies in South India concurred.[47]

The one exception to the rule was the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran

Mission. The missionaries, and their supporters among the Indian Christians of this mission, found their hands much strengthened by the presence in India of the director of the mission, Karl Graul. This able man had carefully studied the Indian social scene, and wrote upon it. He was much less favourable to the caste system than has often been supposed. He believed that it must eventually disappear but that time must be allowed for this, and that the process would not be helped forward by precipitate attempts to eliminate immediately what could only be removed by the lapse of time. And even Graul was prepared to recognise that toleration of caste distinctions within the sanctuary would be completely incompatible with the spirit of Christian brotherhood. He wrote:

> The supreme principle must be that everything incompatible with life in Christ must be abandoned, while all that does not oppose the recreating energy of the Gospel may remain. Above all, distinctions of caste must never, especially at the Holy Sacrament, be allowed to exist within the church . . . Further, ordination may only be granted . . . to such as specifically promise never to allow themselves to be hindered in discharging the duties of their office through any caste differences, and also that they will especially cultivate fellowship at the Lord's Table with all Christian brethren in any cases where the avoidance of such fellowship would seem to cast a slur upon their brotherly love.[48]

Missionaries of all the other Protestant groups felt deeply grieved and at times outraged by Lutheran policies, especially in the matter of proselytism from among the adherents of other Christian groups. In 1858 nearly 200 of these missionaries, assembled in conference at Ootacamund, voiced their protest in grave and dignified terms. They ended their protest with the words:

> We wish not to dictate to others on matters of ecclesiastical polity, so far as the internal arrangements of their own communion are concerned; but when the proceedings of one body of missionaries directly interfere with the internal management of another community of native converts, we feel bound earnestly to protest against such conduct, as a departure from one of the first principles of our common Christianity.[49]

5 CONCLUSION

Henry Venn became general secretary of the Church Missionary Society in 1841 and held that position till 1872. He, together with his American counterpart, Rufus Anderson, did more than any other to change the thinking of the Western world on Christian missionary work and its problems. His aim, often expressed in minutes and other writings, was the creation in Asia and Africa of self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches. Venn's own experiments in Sierra Leone and in

Nigeria were less than successful; this does not affect the rightness of his theological and missiological views. Yet his arguments fell to a large extent on deaf ears; missionaries and missionary societies alike were slow to be convinced.[50]

This slowness to change cannot be accounted for by any single cause, but without doubt one of the principal causes was the growth of the colonial mentality in both state and church.

Until 1830 communication between India and the West had been slow and erratic; almost a year must pass before an answer to a communication could be received. As a result the authorities in India could act with a great deal of freedom; they could make war and peace at their own discretion, and experienced only limited control through the power of public opinion in England.[51] The steamship, and still more the electric telegraph, changed all this. When the governor-general could receive instructions from London within twenty-four hours, he could no longer be regarded as an independent potentate, and was in the strictest sense of the term a servant of the state. The good side of this was an increasing sense of responsibility in England for the welfare of India's peoples; the bad side was the increasing subjection of India to the fluctuations and vagaries of party politics at the home base.[52]

What was taking place in the state was closely paralleled by developments in the affairs of the churches. Everywhere the tendency was towards centralisation, and the loss of even such independence as the churches in India had enjoyed in the past.

The pioneer generation of the Baptists, with their profound conviction, and sworn policy, of the autonomy of the local church, probably came nearer than any other body to the ideal of a truly independent Indian church. But in their later years the Baptist missionary society in London claimed a measure of authority over them which the missionaries could not admit as being in accordance with Baptist principles, or as likely to forward the cause of Christ in India. Hence the bitter contentions of the period of 'the Woe'.

The tendency of the Roman Catholic church has always been in the direction of centralisation. The aim of Propaganda, from its first foundation in 1622, was precisely to bring the missions under the direct control of the pope; vicars apostolic were the pope's own men abroad, responsible to him for their actions and responsive to his directions. Except for the limited autonomy granted to the Romo-Syrians, everything had to be done exactly as it was done in Rome, and there was no thought at all of anything like an independent Indian church. All the bishops were Westerners; the Indian episcopate had ceased to exist.

In almost all the Protestant missions a similar process was taking place. The one notable exception was the mission of the Plymouth Brethren, brought into existence by the gifted and irrepressible Anthony Norris Groves. Wherever this man went, he created division – frequently, it must be said, with intent. Yet perhaps Groves was nearer to the ideal of independent Indian churches than the established bodies which he so much disliked. Stimulated by him the Palla convert of Rhenius, Aruḷappan, brought into being at Christianpettai a Christian settlement which more than a century after his time was still in existence, and which has maintained its independence of any other Christian body.

Anglicans in India had obtained a limited freedom in the matter of ordination of Indians to the ministry, and in flexibility relating to such matters of custom as the use of the *tāli* instead of the ring in marriage. But the establishment of the Anglican episcopate in India led to increasing insistence on the observance of every detail of church life as carried on in England. Even so devoted a friend of the CMS as Bishop Daniel Wilson fell out with the Society and its corresponding committee in Calcutta, because of claims to a measure of independence which he could not countenance. Through the wise intervention of three friends in England the difficulties were resolved. On 13 June 1836 the bishop was able to write: 'I return now the full tide of affectionate intercourse . . . with the CMS which I only felt compelled for a time to suspend because my superintendence was refused.'[53]

The continental missionary societies had mostly grown out of the various pietistic movements. In consequence, relationships with the churches were ill-defined and in a number of cases almost non-existent. It was perhaps in consequence of this lack of clear church connection that the German missions developed those two formidable characters – the mission director and the mission inspector. The director had his office at the centre of affairs in Germany and exercised a highly autocratic measure of control over the missionaries and all their doings. The inspector travelled, it being his business to see to it that the policy decisions made in the West were strictly carried out in the field. The typical mission director was Karl Graul, known to us already in more than one connection. Not content with directing affairs from Germany, he spent four years in India, to acquaint himself with every detail of the work. Great ability, tireless industry and shrewdness of judgement combined to give him more than episcopal authority, at a time at which this above all was needed to give coherence to the Lutheran work in India.[54]

It might have been thought that, with the strong democratic traditions of the United States, American missions would have been organised on a basis of greater freedom than those from Britain and the continent of Europe. In certain cases this may have been true, but it does not seem to have been the general rule. The deputation of the American Board which came to India in 1855, with Rufus Anderson as its chief member, carried things with a high hand, both in South India and in the Bombay Presidency; little weight seems to have been given to the view of the missionaries on the spot.[55]

The Western imprint was being ever more strictly imposed upon the missions. Venn and Anderson, with their wider perspectives and their insistence on the indigenous church, were still the exceptions. Mission boards and committees in the West, with little understanding of the actual situations in the field, made decisions based on theories rather than on clear appreciation of the facts and expected these to be put into operation, at times to the detriment of the wiser plans made by the missionaries in the light of direct experience. The voice of Indian Christians was hardly heard at all in these deliberations – not unnaturally when educated Indian Christians were still so few; but their voice was, above all others, that which most needed to be heard.

There is reason to think that relations between missionaries and Indian Christians were less easy and intimate at the end of this period than they had been at its beginning. Missionaries were now more numerous, though still very few in relation to the work that had to be done. This meant that in the larger centres it was possible for missionaries to spend a good deal of time with one another, and to be less readily accessible to Indian friends. Europeans of many types and avocations were increasing in numbers. Quite naturally, cultured and well-educated young men, some among them being also devoted Christians, found the society of missionaries agreeable, especially in the remoter stations, where other congenial society was not always to be found. To this no objection could be made, provided that it did not draw the missionaries away from the object for which primarily they had been brought to India. At times it was possible for Indians, both Christian and non-Christian, to feel that they were no longer the primary concern of the missionary.

Many critics doubted the ability of Indian Christians to stand on their own feet. If this view was well founded, the missionaries were certainly in part to blame. They were generous in their concern for their people; this led them at times to do for them things that they ought to have been encouraged, and able, to do for themselves, and thus to grow towards maturity.

Fine churches had been built in a number of places; but in almost every case the funds were provided from European, and not from Indian, sources.[56] In the south, the pious and wealthy Count Dohna built the solid church in the village in which his name is commemorated, Dohnāvur. At the time of the movement in the Krishnagar area of Bengal, a number of large churches was built with funds raised by the missionaries. But these proved to be white elephants; the congregations did not grow as had been expected, and the maintenance of the churches was a burden which was too heavy for the local Christians to bear.

Most of the church buildings followed a Western, and not an Indian, pattern of architecture. In cases where the entire population of a village had become Christian, the existing Hindu temple was adapted to the purposes of

Christian worship.[57] This had great advantages in terms of economy, and also as providing a building in Indian style. But if the congregation grew and a larger church had to be built, almost inevitably the congregations desired to have a building modelled on the Western churches which they had seen.

For this there were several reasons. There had been churches in many places in India before there had been Indian Christians. The Indians had for years had before their eyes such fine buildings as St John's Church in Calcutta and the Fort Church in Madras. It was natural for them to conclude that that was what a church ought to look like, and they became wedded to a tradition of nineteenth-century Gothic, the least suited of all architectural forms to a tropical climate.[58]

New Christians do not always wish to be reminded of the old religion to which they have once adhered. It seemed to them suitable that a temple should look like a temple, and a mosque should look like a mosque. Why then should not a Christian church look like a church? They regarded this style of building as not so much foreign as characteristically Christian. A Hindu temple is not built for congregational worship, though crowds will assemble at the time of festivals. A mosque is built for the worship of men, but not of women. The Christian idea of regular worship, in which men, women and children will take part together, was something entirely new. It was not altogether unreasonable to think that the purpose for which a building was being erected should to some extent determine its form. For this the missionaries must not be held too much to blame. Even in the twentieth century the pioneers in the attempt to use Indian architectural forms for Christian worship were in almost every case friendly missionaries rather than Indian Christians.

The one field in which from a very early date the Indian genius began to assert itself was poetry, and the music which in India goes along with it. Before the end of the eighteenth century a considerable number of Western hymns had been translated into Indian languages, notably by the great Philip Fabricius, and were sung to Western tunes. But before the end of that century Vedanāyaga Sāstriār had begun to compose hymns to Indian rhythms intended to be sung to Indian melodies. Throughout a long life (he lived to be about ninety years old) he continued to produce a steady stream of hymns, songs and lyrics, many of which continue to be sung in the Tamil churches to the present day.

Tamil-speaking Christians had taken the lead in the production of Christian literature in the languages of India. But, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Āndra Pradesh, speaking the cognate and singularly mellifluous Dravidic language, Telugu, was not far behind.

Purushottama Choudari was born in Orissa in 1803 to Brāhman parents. An intense search after knowledge of God and union with him along the lines of Hindu *bhakti* had failed to give this ardent devotee the inward peace which he desired. A chance encounter with a statement of Christian doctrine in a pamphlet in Telugu directed his attention to the Christian way. Thoughtful study, and such intense conflict between the old and the new as has been the experience of a great many converts, led to an uncompromising Christian decision; this led, in October 1833, to baptism at the hands of Baptist missionaries in Cuttack.[59] Purushottama had gained much experience, as a Hindu, in the writing of devotional poetry, setting forth the desires and hopes of the adherent of the Hindu *bhakti* way; from this time on his talents were devoted to extensive exposition of the Christian *bhakti*, centred on intense adoration of Jesus Christ as Lord.[60]

It seems that Purushottama, as a Christian, combined a biblical and strictly orthodox faith with the conviction that Christian truth could, and should, be expressed for Indian Christians in specifically Indian ways – not disregarding the possibility that Hindu expressions could be converted and serve in the expressions of Christian truth. Many of the expressions that are familiar to the student of Hindu *bhakti* recur constantly in his poems. One note that is recurrent in all forms of Hindu *bhakti* is devotion of the worshipper to the feet of the beloved diety. This emphasis, rather strange though not unknown to Western Christians, is constantly present in the lyrics of Purushottama:

> The feet of Jesus Christ . . . are a great blessing to and admirable for worship by those who tread the right path. His feet are the source for the eternal happiness of devotees and purge away the sins of the whole world, therefore, he says, he wants to worship the lotus feet of Christ with pure and blameless devotion . . . He wants to worship Christ by placing his head under his feet.[61]

No general study has yet been made of the work of Indian Christian poets in the many Indian languages in which the Gospel was being preached during the nineteenth century. Such a study would be valuable, and might be invaluable as revealing strands in Indian Christianity which are often overlooked. There is a tendency to exaggerate the dependence of Indian Christian thought on the West and its traditions and its consequent lack of originality. This may be true of the theologians; a study of the poets suggests that these devotees, while grateful to the Western friends who had brought them the Gospel, were from the start determined that Indian Christianity should be unmistakably and uncompromisingly Indian.[62]

18 · The Great Uprising

I THE CLOUDS GATHER

Few among the rulers of India succumbed to the illusion that British rule was popular. It was, indeed, greatly liked by many of the peasants and of the poorer people, to whom peace and equity were more important than prestige or theoretical ideas of independence, but it was distrusted by many in the middle class of traders and landlords, and detested by what was probably a majority among the highly educated and professional elite. Sporadic uprisings in various places had given warning of the extent of discontent that lay below the surface; the more prudent reckoned with the probability that one day there would be a general explosion. But when the general explosion did occur it came in a strange combination of the unexpected with the inevitable.

During the crucial years of the 1850s the reins were in the capable hands of the Earl (from 1849 Marquess) of Dalhousie.[1] This highly gifted man arrived in India at the age of thirty-five and devoted himself with almost fanatical intensity to the improvement of the country of which he regarded himself the chief servant. Many of the measures which he carried through, such as the plan for the development of the railways and the introduction of the electric cable, were of great and permanent service to the country. But Dalhousie, for all his talents and his inexhaustible energy, lacked the essential gift of imagination; he had little feeling for the way in which his actions might be regarded by others, and for the effects they might have on the lives of those whom it was his intention to benefit. Three of the actions which he regarded as being of the greatest value in point of fact increased the resentment which was already simmering in the minds of many.

The 'Emancipation Act' of 1850, which restored rights of inheritance to those whose rights had been forfeited as a result of passing from one religious community to another, did not in point of fact go much beyond the provisions of the act passed by Bentinck in 1832.[2] But the agitation which it caused was on a far more considerable scale.

Naturally Christians in India were delighted. It was clear that the act was supported by 'all Christian inhabitants in Calcutta'; these stated in their memorial to the governor-general that 'we hail the promulgation of his measure with joy . . . It offers no premium and inflicts no penalty. It enables the convert who seeks admission to the Christian church to obey the dictates of his conscience free from the dread of forfeiture, while it leaves his relatives precisely in possession of the same property which they had before.'[3]

The Hindu community viewed the matter in a very different light. Dalhousie supposed that he was doing no more than putting into effect a principle of natural law, in accordance with the policy of toleration to which the government of the East India Company had unceasingly given assent. He was unaware, or had forgotten, that in Hindu society, as in Rome, the family is a religious as well as a sociological entity. The Hindu father needs a son to light the flames on his funeral pyre, and to prepare the *śrāddha* ceremonies which are needed to ensure his passage to a happy life in the other world.[4] For this reason Hindu society accepts as valid the rite by which a father who has no son of his own may obtain one by adoption, a rite whose validity Dalhousie would not admit, at least among the ruling families.[5]

An act called the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, drafted by Dalhousie but carried into effect by Canning in 1856, aroused less emotion. The attention of missionaries and others in Calcutta had early been drawn to the special institution of the Kulin Brāhmans in Bengal – polygamy.[6] An official report of 1867 signed by two European and four Indian experts, refers to known cases of men who had married respectively eighty-two, seventy-two, sixty-five, sixty and forty-two wives, and had had eighteen, thirty-two, forty-one, twenty-five and thirty-two sons, and twenty-six, twenty-seven, twenty-five, fifteen and sixteen daughters.[7] Some of the young girl wives had hardly so much as seen their putative husbands; but under the law of Hinduism if the husband died such girls were widows and condemned to the miserable existence of the underprivileged Indian widow. No authority has ever contended that Kulinism forms part of any agelong and recognised Hindu system. Educated Hindu opinion was strongly against it, and the convert K. M. Banerjea was not alone in holding that government ought to take action against it.

The general question whether polygamy was in any circumstances legal in British India was left undecided. The act of 1856 dealt with one question: was the marriage of Hindu widows legal or not? The act was permissive only; it merely stated that the marriage of Hindu widows by any recognised or legal ceremony was to be accepted as regular and that the children of such marriages should be accorded all the privileges of family and inheritance. It is probable that few Hindu widows took advantage of this permission; but it proved its value in later years when Christians took up on a major scale the rehabilitation of child widows and their settlement in life.

On one minor question – government aid in the provision of Christian education for the children of English and Indian Christians in the army – Dalhousie took a firm line. When objection was taken to the grant-in-aid to a school constructed for such children, on the ground that it would give alarm to the natives, he replied (Minute of 27 July 1848):

> I altogether dissent from the view that the appointment by the English government of a schoolmaster for the education of English or Christian children in any given regiment would be regarded by Hindu or Mussulman with either alarm or disapprobation . . . The Government provides instruction for native children by their own teachers in regiments. Upon what ground can the governing authority refuse to provide aid, at least, to the instruction of children of their own blood and their own creed?[8]

Of all the measures taken by Lord Dalhousie, the most controversial and the most controverted was the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh (Avadh). In 1765 the Wazir (the title of king was later conferred upon the ruler of Oudh) Shujā-ud-daulah had surrendered to Lord Clive. From the time of the first treaty signed by the two powers in that year, and for ninety years, the Company maintained the principle of supporting the ruler of Oudh, interfering as little as possible in the internal affairs of the kingdom, and relying on the ruler for the protection in peace of the western marches of the British possessions. But one revision of the treaty after another failed to produce any improvement; misgovernment seemed to have become endemic, and the impoverishment of one of the richest provinces in India was such as to cause scandal in the eyes of many observers in India, and of public opinion in England.[9]

In 1847 a young man of twenty-seven, Wajīd ᶜAlī Shāh, became king of Oudh. His devotion to medieval literature hardly compensated for his addiction to sensual pleasures and his total neglect of the business to which a ruler ought to give his attention. In 1849 W. H. Sleeman, who had won deserved success in the conflict with *thagi*, was appointed resident at Lucknow, with a commission to consider whether the affairs of Oudh could be put in order under the existing system or whether some drastic change in the methods of government must be introduced. Sleeman had a knowledge, rare among British officials of the time, of the Indian peasants, with whom he could talk on the most intimate terms in their own patois. His impressions are recorded in the two volumes of his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849–1850*, completed between 1 December 1849 and 27 February 1850.[10] Sleeman had an ingrained sympathy for the Indian which was rare among British administrators of the time, and was concerned to analyse and to understand rather than immediately to judge. That which was clearly evil he was prepared unhesitatingly to condemn; but he was also willing to recognise and to state that some among the evils were due to British interference in the affairs of Oudh.[11]

James Outram, to whom was committed the task of drawing up the report on the basis of which subsequent action was taken, in the four months available to him for the completion of his report had checked the accuracy of his data by all possible means, and had corresponded with the magistrates of neighbouring districts to elicit from them their opinions as to the real state of affairs in Oudh.[12] His report confirmed the view of Sleeman that conditions in Oudh were very bad and that improvement was hardly to be expected from the reigning king.

Yet, with all this recognition of the deplorable state of affairs, neither Sleeman, nor Outram, nor Sir Henry Havelock, later resident at Lucknow, nor Dalhousie himself was in favour of the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh. The disorders in Oudh were undoubtedly very grave, but they were probably no worse than British government had put up with elsewhere and in the past; it should have been possible to devise a scheme by which order could be restored without grave infringement of the rights of the ruler, and of the 'native aristocracy'.[13]

Pressure for annexation of the territory came not from India, but from England. For once utilitarians and evangelicals were agreed. The utilitarians held that English institutions, the best in the world, had too long been withheld from those who needed them most. The evangelicals, with their almost exaggerated sense of responsibility, maintained that it would be criminal negligence on the part of the British government to allow the continued existence of evils which it was within its power to bring to an end. The order for annexation went out. The king was to be presented with a new treaty by which his sovereignty, though nominally upheld, was in point of fact to be abrogated. If he refused to sign he would be removed from Oudh, and his territories would become part of British India.

The king resolutely refused to sign the treaty.[14] He was, however, generously treated by the authorities. He was able to settle in one of the pleasant places in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, Garden Reach, with ample revenues, with members of his family and with numerous attendants – but with nothing to do but to carry on futile negotiations in England for the restoration of his rights.[15]

The annexation of Oudh must without doubt be reckoned among the causes of the great uprising. Almost all the ruling princes in India felt it as a warning that similar steps might be taken against themselves. Many of the best soldiers in the Company's army were drawn from the area; they were indignant at what they regarded as the abrogation of their privileges and the curtailment of their rights. Landowners were aggrieved, and peasants were disappointed in their expectations. In this part of India, but nowhere else, what began as a rising of sepoys took on something of the semblance of a people's war.[16]

2 A CHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY?

One of the causes of the uprising was undoubtedly the belief in the minds of many Indians that the government was engaged in a conspiracy to change the faith of Hindus and Muslims, and to turn them into Christians.

Two problems arise. Had Indians any solid grounds for entertaining such suspicions as to the intentions of the government? If they had no such grounds, how did the suspicion arise in their minds?

One Indian writer of unimpeachable authority may be quoted as rejecting out of hand the view that there was any such intention on the part of the authorities:

> The fear was undoubtedly unfounded, and the British Government had no intention of encouraging, far less seeking, conversions to Christianity. But the Indians of the first half of the nineteenth century did not know what is fully known today, and it is difficult, therefore, to regard the fear and anxiety which the people felt as totally unjustified.[17]

During the thirty years prior to 1857 there had been a great increase in the number of deeply committed Christians among officers of the army and other ranks, as well as in the membership of the civil service and of the judiciary. The great majority of these officials kept a strict line of division between their personal convictions and their official actions. But the line of division was not always as clear to observers as it was to the Christians concerned, and some cannot be acquitted of imprudence in the support given to Christian missions.

The case which attracted most attention was that of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheler of the 34th Regiment. Lady Canning commented rather ruefully on the fact in a journal-letter: 'Colonel Wheler of the 34th is terribly given to preach; so even if he does not actually preach to his men (which some say he does, telling them they must inevitably become Christians) he must keep alive the idea that they have not full liberty of conscience.'[18]

An official enquiry was directed to Wheler. In his answer, dated 15 April 1857, he claimed that he was entitled to make distinction between his duty to Caesar and his duty to God. His duty to Caesar he carried out by punctilious fulfilment of his military duties; the free time left to him after these duties had been carried out belonged to God. He had never raised the question of religion in areas which belonged to the military. Outside he regarded himself as at liberty to approach all classes of men, including sepoys, with the Gospel.

On this Canning commented, 'It proves to me that he is not fit to be trusted with a regiment'.[19]

Wheler's eccentricities do not seem to have had any seriously harmful effects. The sepoys seem to have regarded them with amusement rather than with resentment. There can be little doubt, however, that by his refusal to listen to advice, Wheler did grave harm to the cause of Christ, in that he lent colour to the view, already somewhat widely held, that deep evangelical conviction was inseparable from fanaticism.[20]

When the causes of the mutiny were rehearsed, it was natural that the missionaries should come in for a great deal of obloquy. It is probable that some were imprudent in their methods; but the affirmation not infrequently made that the greater part of their preaching consisted of abusive references to the manners and beliefs of the non-Christians does not stand up to investigation. The instructions issued by the missionaries of Serampore to one who was setting out for Orissa in 1809 were probably similar to those issued to many other missionaries of other societies, and would gladly have been accepted by them:

> Keep as close as possible to the pure Gospel of Jesus. Proclaim the holiness and justice of God . . . the Glad Tidings of salvation; the ability and willingness of Jesus to save the greatest of sinners; the glorious provision of the Gospel for the justification, sanctification, and glorification of sinners, coming with all their guilt and misery to Jesus.[21]

Writing many years later, a distinguished member of the Indian civil service, Sir Richard Temple, described an interview he had had in 1848 with two experienced missionaries of the CMS at Benares:

> The conversation of those self-denying and experienced men was most instructive to a young officer. They impressed me with their charitable considerateness towards the faults of the native character, and their appreciative discernment of its virtues. They showed me what were the ways of native thought, and how those ways could best be approached by moral and religious influences.[22]

In 1857 Lord Ellenborough, perhaps the least responsible of all the governors-general sent from England to India,[23] rose in the House of Lords to attack Canning on the ground that he had subscribed to 'every Society which had for its object the conversion of the natives of India'. Canning had no difficulty in showing that he had done no more than had been done by previous governors-general, and that he entirely agreed with the principle that 'the Head of the Government in India ought to abstain from acts that may have the appearance of an exercise of power, authority, solicitation or persuasion towards inducing Natives to change their religion'.[24]

The clash in Parliament had an interesting and unexpected consequence. When reports of Ellenborough's speech reached Calcutta, a meeting of the British India Association, a fellowship of educated Indian gentlemen, was called. At this meeting, which was not attended by a single Christian, a resolution was passed affirming that nothing that Lord Canning had done 'could be properly reckoned as an interference with their religion, or could give rise to rebellion'.[25] During the debate, one of the members, Bābu Dakinaranjan Mukerji, expressed himself in the following terms:

> However we may differ with the Christian missionaries in religion, I speak the minds of our society and generally of those of the people, when I say that as regards their learning, purity of morals, and disinterestedness of intention to promote our weal, no doubt is entertained throughout the land; nay, *they are held by us in highest esteem.* European history does not bear on its record the mention of a class of men who suffered so many sacrifices in the cause of humanity and education as the Christian missionaries in India.[26]

One activity of an Indian clergyman did attract considerable attention. Gopināth Nandi was the third of the high-caste Hindus brought into the Christian church through the work of Dr Duff's school in Calcutta. He was baptised on 14 December 1832. Later he was sent up-country to Fatehpur to work in a school, came under the influence of the CMS and was ordained to the ministry of the Church of England in India.[27] Here is his own account of part of his work in Fatehpur:

> The prisoners in the jail were also daily instructed in Christianity and general knowledge by a Christian teacher, and every Sabbath morning the Gospel was preached by me. This privilege was granted by our prison magistrate ... The judge and the magistrate, as well as the other gentlemen, took a deep interest in the mission, and helped us with their prayers, good advice and pecuniary aid.[28]

One of the great achievements of the Dalhousie regime was the creation of the Indian railway system. This was regarded with suspicion by high-caste Hindus, since no special provision was made for the seating of the higher caste, and they were exposed to the danger of defilement by the presence of those held to be unclean.[29] It was unfortunate that in 1855 one Mr Edmond of Calcutta sent out a circular letter in which he commended the advantages of propinquity:

> Steam vessels and the Electric Telegraph, are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth ... Is it rational to suppose that each nation is to find out a way for itself by mere guess? or has the one God, who made all, appointed different methods of obtaining present and future happiness to different portions of His family? Surely, this cannot be.[30]

It would be possible to compile a large book by accumulating details of events of the kind related above. The small selection cited will be sufficient to give an idea of the kind of things which were happening in various parts of India, and which, when they became known, could be used to further baseless suspicions of the intentions of government.

3 THE OUTBREAK

We come now to the vexed question of the 'greased cartridges'. In this matter a few things are certain; many others recede into varying degrees of possibility.

It is certain that, with the replacement of the old 'Brown Bess' by the Enfield rifle, greased cartridges had been issued to a number of sepoys.[31]

Before long word had gone round widely in the ranks that the cartridges were greased with beef-fat, defiling to the Hindu, and hog's lard, defiling to the Muslim. The origin of this rumour is usually described as follows:

> One day in January [1857], a low-caste lascar or magazine man, meeting a high-caste sepoy in the Cantonment, asked him for a drink of water from his lotah. The brahmin at once replied with an objection on the score of caste, and was tauntingly told that caste was nothing, that high-caste and low-caste would soon be the same, as cartridges greased with beef-fat and hog's lard were being made for the Sepoys at the Depots, and would soon be in general use throughout the army.[32]

The grapevine carried these tidings far and wide throughout the army.

It is certain that some greased cartridges had been issued.

It is uncertain whether any of them had been greased with beef-fat or hog's lard.

It is certain that, when word of the unrest reached the higher command, every possible step was taken to counteract the false reports which had gone round; but those steps were taken too late.

It is certain that it had never crossed the minds of the authorities that their actions could be interpreted as a sinister design to bring about the conversion of the soldiers to Christianity.

No certain answer can be given to the question as to the source and origin of the rumours set to work on the minds of the soldiers. The residence of Wajīd ᶜAlī at Garden Reach was a massive centre of intrigue; it may well have seemed to him, or to some of his advisers, a good idea to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian troops of the Company. This was the opinion of the usually well-informed Lord Canning:

> General Hearsey is confident that they [the 2nd N. I.] have been tampered with, and thinks that he has traced to the king of Oude's people at Garden Reach, or if there has been any attempt to seduce them it is much more likely to have come from the Oude Courtiers than from the Brahmins as was at first suspected by some officers.[33]

It was held by many devout Christians in India at that time that the endeavours of the government to segregate the sepoys from all Christian influences had been counter-productive. Had the sepoys possessed any real knowledge of Christianity – had, in fact, steps not been taken to keep that knowledge from them – they could never have supposed that the English government intended to make Christians of them against their will. This was the view of John (later Lord) Lawrence:

> Christian things done in a Christian way will never . . . alienate the heathen. About such things there are qualities which do not provoke, nor excite distrust, nor harden to resistance. It is when unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an unchristian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned.[34]

The government may have been successful in segregating the troops from Christian ideas; they had been far less successful in segregating them from Christians. In the Bengal army there were no Christian sepoys; nevertheless Christians were before the eyes of the troops all the time. One group which frequently meets the reader of the records of the time is the Christian drummers, almost always referred to with this Christian appellation. For instance, there are three references in a few pages of J. A. B. Palmer's vivid account of the first day of the mutiny at Meerut.[35] When an officer named Taylor issued an order to the sepoys of the grenadier company, they refused to move; thereupon the Christian drummers and musicians armed themselves with sticks and carried out Taylor's order (to disperse a crowd from the bazaar) (p. 75). A little later, 'the mob could not be dispersed though forced to yield a few yards by the Christian drummers' (p. 88). On p. 89 there is a reference to a Christian pensioner's house.

The drummers were not the lowest of the low. It is often forgotten that European soldiers were provided with servants. The water-carriers and sweepers were in most cases low-caste Hindus; but the personal servants and cook-boys were not infrequently Christians, probably Roman Catholics from Goa, of the type that made itself endlessly useful all over India.[36] Almost all these Christians would have been eaters of beef. Some may have been eaters of pork, and therefore consigned, by Hindu and Muslim judgement alike, to the very lowest level of the dregs of Indian society.

It was from those, whom they knew so well, that the sepoys drew their idea of what it meant to be an Indian Christian. They were well aware that, if a Hindu became a Muslim, he would adopt Muslim customs in every particular. It was natural for them to suppose that conversion to Christianity would mean accepting what they understood to be Christian custom; and, conversely, that the acceptance under duress of Christian customs would be equivalent to becoming Christians.

The extreme tenacity of this conviction or prejudice is well illustrated by a note from the pen of Sir Henry Lawrence:

> Last night I . . . held a conversation with a Jemadar [Indian officer] of the Oude artillery . . . and was startled by the dogged persistence of the man in the belief that

for ten years past Government had been engaged in measures for the forcible, or rather fraudulent, conversion of all the natives.[37]

Observers were not slow to note the contrast between the army of Bengal, in which no Christians were admitted to the ranks, and the armies of Bombay and Madras, in which no distinctions of religion were observed. In the Bombay army there were 359 Indian Christians, in the army of Madras 2,021. In the former there were a few signs of disaffection; in the latter there was hardly any tendency towards revolt. Where Indian soldiers were allowed to serve side by side with those of other religious professions, they seem to have found little or no difficulty in working contentedly with them.

So the great explosion took place – sudden, unexpected,[38] unplanned and, in its inception, fortuitous. Many attempts have been made to trace, in the events that led up to the violence, a well-articulated and carefully planned conspiracy. These attempts cannot be said to have been successful. That there was widespread unrest is certain; but had there been an organised conspiracy the course of the war must have been different from what it was. On the afternoon of Sunday, 10 May 1857 three Indian regiments at Meerut rose against the British, murdered a number of officers and their wives, released the prisoners in the civil and military jails, and then, perhaps aghast at what they themselves had done, marched to Delhi.[39] 'The mutiny had become a revolt, the Great Mughal its rallying cry and symbol.'[40]

The story of the uprising has been so often told in the fullest detail that there is no need for it to be repeated here. The story of Christianity in India touches that of 'the mutiny' at two points only – an account of what happened to Christians during the days of violence, and in an assessment of the permanent effects of 'the mutiny' on the relationship between Indian and European, between non-Christian and Christian.

The period during which it appeared to many that the very foundations of the *rāj* had been shaken seemed long but was in point of fact surprisingly brief. Suppression of the revolt in the Punjab, the massacre at Cawnpore, panic in Calcutta, the relief of Lucknow, the fortunately brief period of European hysteria and indiscriminate reprisals, and the siege of Delhi were all going on almost simultaneously; the first attack took place in Meerut on 10 May 1857; by 20 September of the same year Delhi was again in British hands. With this event the war was really over; the mopping-up process was long and painful, but with the fall of Delhi it was clear that the British were once again in control of the destinies of India.

4 THE CHURCHES DURING THE UPRISING

From the outbreak of the conflict, Indian Christians rallied almost unanimously to the side of the government. Later critics have interpreted this as indicating that Christians had been denationalised by government and by the missionaries and that this explains their lack of loyalty to the Indian nation and to the national movement. But this is to read back into the 1850s a situation which did not at that time exist. In 1857 there was no such thing as an Indian nation; the sub-continent was the scene of local and divided loyalties. The creation of an Indian nation, and of a genuine Indian national movement, fall within the period subsequent to 1858.

In 1857 Indian Christians had no particular reason for loyalty either to Muslim or to Hindu rulers. The Muslims had made it clear that, though Christians might be entitled, as 'people of the Book', to a measure of protection, they could never expect to be more than second-class citizens; the Hindus had placed them in a position of exclusion and total lack of social privilege; the Europeans had brought them safety, a measure of prosperity, new openings for careers, and a sense of personal dignity, and had, late in time, removed most of the injustices and hostile discrimination from which they had suffered even under British rule. Christians were convinced that the success of the revolt would mean the loss of all that they had gained in a century, and a reversion to the situation of oppression and subservience from which they had with difficulty escaped.

Offers of help from Christians poured in on the government. The Christian Kols in Chota Nāgpur offered to send 10,000 recruits for military service. The Karens in Burma were willing to send a battalion of 1,000 Christian soldiers. Christians in South India, representing many thousands of their fellow-believers, memorialised the government of Madras, offering their services to help in any way that was needed. All these offers were disregarded by central authorities, perhaps because it was felt better that Christians as such should not be embroiled with their fellow-countrymen, perhaps because Canning felt that Christians could not in any case be of much use.

Local authorities felt differently. Christians rendered yeoman service to the beleaguered garrisons of Lucknow and other cities. In lower Bengal an official raised a corps of Christian auxiliaries and with their help, unaided by any other forces, put down a riot in a military prison at Chinsurah – he sent to the CMS station at Krishnagar for '75 more Christians'. And just at this time Robert Montgomery in the Punjab took steps to admit Christians to appointments under government from which they had previously been excluded:

> The Native Christians as a body have, with some exceptions, been set aside . . . I consider I should be wanting in my duty at this crisis if I did not endeavour to secure a portion of the numerous appointments in the political department for Native Christians; and I shall be happy (as I am) to advance their interests equally with those of Hindu and Mohammedan candidates. Their future promotion must depend on their own merits.[41]

Religion cannot be excluded from the list of the causes of the outbreak of violence in 1857.

Suspicion and dislike of 'the Christian West' has been endemic in the Islamic world for at least nine centuries. The Englishman in India tended to get on better with Muslims than with Hindus. But, since all Europeans in India were supposed to be Christians, religious antipathy was added to all the other resentments by which Muslims were activated. The Hindus had become deeply convinced that it was the aim of the government to turn them into Christians and so to deprive them of their caste. The outbreak could be regarded as a pathological reaction of self-defence against a threatened ill: against Christians, as Christians were the common enemy. Any European in the area where the uprising prevailed was at risk. There is no evidence that chaplains or missionaries were specifically the objects of violence on the part of troops or mobs, as though, being professionals or more Christian than other Christians, they were specially objectionable. If such persons died by violence, this was simply because they were caught up in the flood which threatened to sweep away all European landmarks in the Gangetic plain.

It seems that nineteen chaplains and missionaries died by violence during the outbreak, or through the privations endured during that time, together with nineteen women and children connected in one way or another with the life of the church.[42] The majority of the victims were British, but eleven were American. The Americans seem all to have died together in the large massacre carried out by order of Nānā Sāhīb in the neighbourhood of Bithūr.

Chaplains and missionaries naturally shared in the hardships and dangers endured by all the Europeans; there are many touching notes in the records that have survived of the service that they rendered in keeping up the courage of those who were in imminent danger of death. Thus, the Reverend J. Owen, an American missionary, wrote in his journal for 14 June 1857:[43]

> June 14. *Sabbath.* Mr Spry conducted the services in a very appropriate manner. The Psalms for the day were Psalms lxxi and lxxii. I enjoyed the readings of the word; the 71st was appropriate to me individually, this being my birthday; the 72nd read in glorious contrast to the scene of desolation around us... Mr Spry preached a very good sermon from the middle clause of Jer. v.19: 'Wherefore doeth the Lord our God all these things to us?'[44]

Indian Christians, no less than Europeans, were exposed to anger and violence. They were regarded as enemies by Hindus and Muslims alike. How many died during the troubles it is impossible even to estimate; but the number must have been considerable. Here again no attempt seems to have been made to concentrate on those who were in the employ of the missions; only nine names are recorded of catechists and teachers who lost their lives during the days of the troubles.

Efforts were made in a number of places to persuade Christians to renounce their faith and to return to their old ways. Undoubtedly some did so, but the majority seem to have stood firm and to have accepted death rather than apostasy.

The fullest narrative of such experience is that provided by the Reverend Gopināth Nandi. This highly intelligent and well-educated man, together with his wife and three children, fell into the hands of armed men not far from Allahabad, to which they were making their way. They were brought before the moulvie, and the following dialogue took place:

> "How many Christians have you made?"
>
> "I did not make any Christians, for no human being can change the heart of another; but God through my instrumentality, brought to the belief of his true religion about a couple of dozens".
>
> "Tauba! tauba! (repent). What downright blasphemy! God never makes anyone a Christian; but you Kafirs pervert the people. He always makes people Mussulmans; for the religion which we follow is the only true one".

Later the moulvie said to him:

> You appear to be a respectable man. I pity you and your family; and, as a friend, I advise you to become Mohammedans; by doing so, you will not only save your lives, but will be raised to a high rank.

Among those who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents were two ensigns, schoolboys about sixteen years of age, who had recently landed in India to join their regiments. One was killed; the other, Ensign Cheek, was brought in grievously wounded. He listened to the conversation, when a large group of Indians bore down upon the Christian minister and his family with taunts and promise of release if they would accept the faith of Islam. Though suffering intensely from his wounds the boy so far forgot his pain as to call out to his neighbour, 'Padre, padre, be firm, do not give way.'

On the sixth day of their captivity, troops came out from Allahabad, routed the captors and brought the whole party safely into the fort. Ensign Cheek died the same day: 'His wounds were so severe and so numerous that it was a wonder how he lived so many days, without any food or even a sufficient quantity of water to quench his burning thirst. It must be a great consolation to his friends to hear that he died in the fort and received a Christian burial.'[45]

Many narratives exist recounting the sufferings endured by Indian Christians. As a specimen we may take a note relating to converts of the Lutheran mission in Chota Nāgpur:

> They who in the time of danger determined to face it and not to fly had their hands and feet tied together, and were thrown out into the rain, where they remained for several days. At such a time their captors used to come near and tauntingly ask,

"Where is your Father now? Where is your Jesus? Why does He not come to you when you cry out? Where are the Feringhees (Europeans) now? They have run away, and you have fallen into our hands" . . . Yet God be praised that in this great sea of suffering no one made shipwreck of faith.

When, in January 1858, the missionaries were able to return, they found 140 candidates awaiting baptism, and learnt that there were many others eager to be baptised as soon as they had received the necessary preparation.[46]

The ordeal of the Christians did not last long – in most places not more than a few months; but while it lasted it was severe. Many died, some renounced their faith, but the majority seem to have stood fast. When the missionaries were able to return, they seemed to sense a change in the Indian Christians: they had acquired a new dignity, a new sense of confidence in themselves. No longer willing, as in the past, to depend entirely on the missionaries, they had acquired, at least in a rudimentary form, confidence to stand on their own feet.[47]

5 THE END OF THE UPRISING

From the start it was impossible that the uprising should be successful.

Like so many of their predecessors in Indian wars, the sepoys had seriously underestimated the power and the tenacity of the British people. Reports of British losses in the Crimea had greatly distorted reality, and given the impression that Britain was no longer able to defend itself. And the insurgents had failed to understand the significance of the electric telegraph, an instrument with which they were not familiar, and the use of which they were never able to master.

On the day on which the news of the rising at Meerut reached Calcutta, Canning, who throughout the crisis never lost his head, ordered the immediate return of the troops engaged in Persia, and told the governor of Madras to have two European regiments ready for embarkation. He sent a steamer to Pegu to bring back a regiment from Burma. He ordered John Lawrence to send down to Delhi every man who could be spared from the Punjab. He wrote to England suggesting the desirability of raising three new regiments for service in India. Those who supported the rising were well-trained soldiers, though without experience of the use of artillery, and many of them fought with great courage. But the wiser among them must very soon have seen that they could not hope to stand against the immense forces which would be brought against them.

When the uprising began, those who took part in it had very little idea of what they intended to do or to achieve, apart from the immediate aim of destroying British military supremacy. To march on Delhi and to return to power the aged and already decrepit Mughul was a sentimental gesture with great appeal to Muslims. But southern India had no interest in the Mughul name; there was little response in the protected states or in the Punjab. Even if the last of the Mughuls had been other than the weary greybeard that he actually was, there was no possibility of turning back the clock by 100 years and more, and making the Mughul name the centre of a newly vitalised and united India. The uprising was the last dying struggle of the old India and not the birthpangs of the new.

After some moments of artificially excited interest, the great independent princes – Holkar, Scindiah, and the rest – sank back contentedly into observance of the pacts that they had made with the paramount power. The Punjab, after some stirrings of resentment, was quickly brought to heel through the decisive action taken by the British rulers on the spot. Madras gave no sign of wishing to join the movement.[48] Though the army was called the Bengal army, by far the greater number of its soldiers was drawn from other parts of India; it seems that the authorities in Calcutta never had much difficulty in controlling the situation in the great province of which it was the capital. The movement never spread beyond the Gangetic basin; only in Oudh did what had begun as a sepoys' revolt begin to take on the appearance of a national uprising.

Even in Oudh the path of the rebellious soldiers was not by any means easy. For a time it seemed as though the mass of the population was unquestioningly on their side. But before long their lack of administrative experience began to tell; the peasants found that they had not been relieved as they had hoped of the burdens that they carried – in some cases the revenue demands had actually been increased. Many of the sepoys began to be ashamed of what they had done; they had not joined the army in order to slaughter helpless women and children, especially since these were the wives and children of the men whose salt they had eaten. Such men, knowing that the war had already been lost, slunk away to their homes, thinking it wise to disengage themselves before the fighting came to its inevitable end.

Ill-fortune decreed that the uprising should not produce from within itself a single leader of the calibre needed to draw together all the scattered forces in one single allegiance. Tantia Topi was a commander of more than ordinary ability; without his skill and daring the insurrection would probably have collapsed many months before it did. Nānā Sāhīb had the heritage of a great name, and much legend has been built up around him – of hatred on the English side and of veneration in the picture drawn by later Indian historians; but when the legend has been dissipated the figure which emerges is less than heroic. Of all the leaders by far the most attractive is the *rānī* of Jhānsi. She may have been drawn unwillingly into the conflict, but once involved she behaved with a gallantry which drew even from her enemies unstinted praise. Of her an English author has written that 'this woman was as brave and resolute as any man, and almost alone among them she died a soldier's death in the field. We may ... allow her in honour and sincerity that place as an heroic leader which the ballads and legends of her compatriots had already marked out for her.'[49]

The lack of leadership showed itself at every turn. The Indians vacillated when they should have acted with decision, stayed still when they should have moved, and so threw away the opportunities which fate, with more than usual generosity, had thrown into their lap.

It was inconceivable that Britain should quit and surrender. Apart from anything else, it was not clear to whom surrender could be offered. But there was more in it than that. Some, no doubt, were activated by a kind of blind imperialism – what we have we hold, and it is not possible that the British army should ever withdraw. Some were concerned only with their own future and with the development of empire to their own commercial advantage. But others were concerned for the welfare of India as they understood it, and believed in the co-operation of two great peoples in a task which would exercise to the full the combined strength of both. Believing Christians thought that it would be treason against God to abandon the responsibility which, as they held, he himself had given them for the well-being of India. They may well have been mistaken; but no one who has read their writings and entered into their minds is likely to accuse them of hypocrisy. And so they held on.[50]

They held on, until the process of pacification ground itself to its unpleasant and undignified end. There is usually a long gap between the moment at which a war is in reality won and that at which hostilities actually come to an end. In the period after the fall of Delhi, undoubtedly a great many injustices and atrocities were committed and many bitter memories left behind. But on the whole peace is better than war, tranquillity than carnage. India was exhausted, but India had survived. On 1 November Queen Victoria was able to make her famous proclamation.

6 WHAT FOLLOWED AFTER

It is known that the queen herself inserted with her own hand the religious clauses of the proclamation:

> these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects ... And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these wishes for the good of our people.

For Indian Christians the proclamation was of particular importance, since it gave them for the first time in their history a charter of liberty and of equality of civil rights in the land of their birth:

> We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.
>
> And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge . . . we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

The Indian Christian was now fully a citizen in his own country. He should not need now to curry favour or to plead for compassion. On the word of the highest authority in the land he was now entitled to claim his rights.

So the great queen assumed dominion, and India began to enjoy the blessings of peace. Wounds were slow to heal, and resentments on both sides lingered long; yet India entered on a period of general tranquillity such as it had not enjoyed for more than 100 years,[51] and developed the myth, which still endures, of the beneficent grandmother at Windsor who loved her Indian people and in whose hands their well-being was fully assured.

Much of the harm of the years of conflict could be repaired. But some things had been destroyed which could never be restored.

The basis of British rule in India was confidence. The English in India had had measureless confidence in their Indian servants. Officers, both civil and military, had to spend long periods away from their homes; they never felt a moment of anxiety concerning the safety of their families. It was often necessary to send children on long journeys across India with no protection other than that of the accompanying servants; as far as the records can be checked, no case is on record in which servants proved unfaithful to their trust. Sir John Kaye does not exaggerate when he writes that 'there was not an English gentlewoman in the country who did not feel measureless security in the thought that a guard of sepoys watched her house, and who would not have travelled, under such an escort, across the whole length and breadth of the land'.[52] The intense affection of Indian servants for white children is legendary. All the greater was the shock when it became clear that servants and soldiers alike could become possessed by the mania of destruction that swept across India in 1857, and could turn to violence against those whom apparently they had loved, and who had reposed such confidence in them.

The tragedy at Cawnpore cast a deep shadow on relationships in India for a very long time. Doubts still exist as to what exactly happened and as to the responsibility of those present in Cawnpore at the time. It cannot be taken as certain that Nānā Sāhīb gave orders for the massacres, or even that he was aware that they were taking place.[53] It remains the fact that Englishmen who, under safe conduct, had embarked in boats on the river were mercilessly shot down from the banks as soon as the boats had been launched into the stream. It remains the fact that at least 150 women and children were murdered in circumstances of extreme barbarity. As the news spread among the British, the reaction was one of sanguinary hysteria. If soldiers could commit such atrocities, was the mere infliction of a comparatively painless death sufficient penalty? Mughul emperors had impassively watched while men were flayed alive in their presence; might not Mughul justice be suitably carried out on those who had reinstated the Mughul emperor of their time? In the eighteenth century, under Muslim law murderers had regularly been flogged to death; might not the reintroduction of this penalty be justifiable in the circumstances?

This has to be recorded with regret. Whatever the provocation, Christian men had no business seriously to propose a regression from the nineteenth century to the barbarities of an earlier age. Fortunately the great leaders – Canning, the two Lawrences, Lord Clyde (Campbell) – did not lose their heads: savagery was checked, and none of these extreme penalties was imposed by authority. But Cawnpore entered into the racial memories of the British people. It played the same part in their thinking as the firing at the Jallianwalla Bāgh played many years later in the thinking of countless Indians. Fifty years after these events had happened, Cawnpore was spoken of in terms of unmitigated horror.[54] In times of high emotion there is always a tendency to make illogical inferences from the few to the many. In the years after the uprising, it was the unspoken assumption of many among the English people that no Indian was to be trusted, and that a people so volatile and so liable to be swayed by dangerous emotions would never be able to govern itself.

Both sides were involved in the change of attitude. There was a long tale of atrocities committed by Englishmen, both in the short period of hysteria and in the much longer period of clearing up the debris.[55] It came to be widely believed that the Englishman's assumption of a godlike impassivity was sheer hypocrisy; given the necessary provocation, the Englishman could be relied on to lose his control and to behave with savagery at least equal to that of those whom he had affected to regard as primitive and uncontrolled. Moreover, there were current many accusations against the British of untrustworthiness and of broken promises. Some of these were baseless, some were due to misunderstanding, but all too many had at least some basis in reality.[56] Memories linger long. Much of what had been built up in a century was destroyed in a few months; nearly a century later some of the consequences were still to be seen.

Missionaries and their supporters in the West were as deeply horrified as others by the sudden disappearance of peace and by the more tragic aspects of the war. But neither those in India nor those who supported them in England drew back by a single inch from their conviction that the good news of Jesus Christ is to be preached in India and that it is the duty of all Christians to work for the coming of his kingdom in that land. Missionary work in India must not be abandoned or diminished; on the contrary, the challenge must go forth to all the Christian churches to 'make a new and enlarged effort to send forth missionaries to India'.[57] The committee of the CMS expressed 'an earnest hope that no missionary would withdraw from India except under medical certificate', and 'that new missionaries would be prepared to go forth at once, in reliance upon the Lord'.[58] They pointed out 'the exceeding importance of not deserting the Native Christians, of animating them by the presence of their leaders, of giving them *increased* spiritual support; also the urgent need for additional ministrations for our own countrymen in India'.

In point of fact in almost every case missionaries remained at their posts and carried on with their work as best they were able.[59] Exceptionally full information is available about Agra, where Europeans were subjected to a long blockade, but without the disasters which fell upon them in other places.[60] The Anglican missionary there was T. V. French, at one time fellow of University College, Oxford, and later bishop of Lahore.[61] A vivid glimpse comes from there in May 1857. The uprising had spread to Aligarh, as a little later it was to be extended to Muttra:

> Outside the college, all alarm, hurry and confusion – within calmly sat the good missionary, hundreds of young natives at his feet, hanging on the lips which taught them the simple lessons of the Bible. And so it was throughout the revolt – the students at the Government and still more at the missionary Schools kept steadily to their classes; and when others doubted and fled, they trusted implicitly to their teachers, and openly espoused the Christian cause.[62]

The missionaries had come to India to preach the Gospel of Christ. They stayed on because they had come to love India and its peoples. When peace returned they multiplied their efforts. Of the missionary stations which existed in India in 1947, considerably more than half were founded in the period between 1858 and 1905. In the history of India the great uprising marked an epoch; in the Christian history of India, it was an episode.

Appendices

APPENDIX I THE OTHER EAST INDIA COMPANIES

Indian affairs in the eighteenth century were complicated by the existence of a number of East India Companies which had in one way or another obtained imperial or royal licence, but all of which in reality existed as 'cover' for merchants who wished to evade the still-existing monopolies of the English Dutch companies. Whatever the name and ostensible nationality of those companies, they were all to a large extent staffed and financed by English subjects, and a large part of their profits went into Dutch or English pockets.

The following companies are identifiable:

1. The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies (1695), more commonly known as the Darien Company from the name of its first and most disastrous enterprise in the Western world (1698–1700). The Act of Union between England and Scotland had not yet taken place, and Scotland therefore provided very convenient cover.

2. The Ostend Company (1722). In this company English interests were dominant, as is evident from the astonishing careers of the Hume family – Robert, Alexander, Abraham, John and David – who were deeply involved in trade with the East. Of these, though all were engaged in illegal trade, Abraham was knighted in 1769, and Alexander (d. 1765) became a director of the East India Company and also Member of Parliament. Opposition from the English and Dutch companies was so strong that the emperor was persuaded to suppress the Ostend Company in 1727. For all that, the Company's settlement at Bankibazar in Bengal was still in existence in 1744, and its second settlement at Covelong, a few miles south of Madras, as late as 1752.[1]

3. The Ostend Company had at least a plausible existence. What followed on its suppression belongs almost to the realm of comedy. Those with extensive interests in Asia banded themselves together, and succeeded in forming a *Swedish* East India Company. But, as one observer pungently remarked, 'those gentlemen who call themselves the directors or managers of the Swedish East India Company are chiefly nothing but the factors or agents of the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands and other foreigners to

Sweden'.[2] This company seems to have promoted only one voyage, that of the good ship *Ulrica Eleanore*. The aim was to set up a factory at Porto Novo on the Coromandel Coast. On 1 September 1734, thirty sick seamen were left at the site of the intended factory and told to hoist the Swedish flag, whilst the ship went on to trade successfully in the Hūglī. The life of the factory was exactly three weeks; a small force of English and French descended upon it, and it was no more. In the following year the *Ulrica Eleanore* safely reached Göteborg; but no more was heard of the Swedish East India Company, and the English Company was compelled very unwillingly to pay £12,000 to soothe the injured vanity of the Swedes.

Other companies had an even more transitory and less substantial existence.

In 1729/30 two ships flying the Polish flag managed to reach the Ostend Company's factory of Bankibazar in Bengal. One was captured and the other blockaded, and that was the end of that adventure.

In 1730 a ship, fortified by an imperial passport, sailed from Cadiz – 'It arrived from Trieste as the *Mermaid*, sailed as the *Phoenix*, and returned as the *Syrène*.'[3] A scheme to create a Spanish East India Company in Seville collapsed when, under pressure from England and Holland, the Spanish government withdrew its support for the scheme.

The Prussian Company, chartered in 1754, seems to have been founded and supported by English ships' captains and Company servants with a view to remitting funds illegally to England. With the reform of British government in Bengal it seems to have faded away.

The Imperial East India Company of Trieste, founded in 1775, with a charter from the Empress Maria Teresa, fell into bankruptcy when the Seven Years' War ended with the declaration of peace in 1782.

These on the whole very trivial companies provide evidence of the intense interest felt by the West in India, of the rich profits to be made by legitimate trade, especially in tea from China, and of the vigour of the efforts made to break the monopoly of the established companies and to share in the profits. All the 'cover' companies noted above were really the efforts of private traders to break the monopoly and to share in the profits. But in reality they had no chance: none of them was able to stand up against the stamina and power of resistance of the main companies, which could count at least in a measure on the support of their governments.

APPENDIX 2 THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA

The main contemporary evidence for the events of the Black Hole is the narrative of J. Z. Holwell, who claims to have been imprisoned in the Black Hole and to have been among the few who survived that dreadful night.

According to what has become the canonical story, repeated in countless histories of India, 146 persons, including one woman, were incarcerated in this small room eighteen feet long and fifteen feet wide, and when morning came only twenty-three survivors were carried out. Holwell's narrative is very detailed, giving names and recounting minutely his own experiences.

In recent times doubt has been cast on the reliability of Holwell's narrative. Holwell is known to have been at least imaginative in other narratives, and disingenuous in his representation of his own part in events. The most sweeping attempt to discredit him was made by J. H. Little in *Bengal Past and Present* (July 1915, January 1916). Mr Little tries to show that the episode of the Black Hole never took place at all, the entire story having been fabricated by Holwell and other survivors of the capture of Calcutta by the troops of the *nawāb*. Little's arguments will not stand up to critical historical investigation (see a careful note by H. H. Dodwell in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 156).

A much more careful assessment of the evidence has been made by B. K. Gupta, *Siraj ud dowlah and the East India Company, 1756–1757: Background to the Foundation of British Power in India* (Leiden, 1962); see also *Journal of Asian Studies*, 19:1 (1959), 53–63. Gupta reaches the conclusion that sixty-four persons were incarcerated, of whom twenty-one survived. This figure has been accepted by a number of modern historians, both Indian and English, including Percival Spear, *India: a Modern History* (London, 1961), p. 202; but even today historians are divided in their opinions. N. Barber, *The Black Hole of Calcutta: a Reconstruction* (London, 1965), is content to follow Holwell rather closely and has 'ignored the suggestion that the event never occurred' (p. 19).

Whatever may have happened, Suraj-ud-dowlah cannot be held directly responsible for it; he was capable of great cruelty, but not of such an insane act as the deliberate murder of helpless prisoners of war. The tragedy of the Black Hole, as depicted with imaginative brilliance by the pen of Macaulay, has passed into the mythology of the English, with disastrous consequences for the relations between Indians and Englishmen – consequences which even after two centuries have not entirely passed away.[4]

APPENDIX 3 BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG'S *GENEALOGY OF THE SOUTH-INDIAN GODS*

Ziegenbalg signed the preface to his *Genealogy* at Tranquebar on 21 August 1713, adding to it as a compliment the name of his faithful fellow-worker, John Ernest Gründler.

Ziegenbalg intended his work to be published in Europe; he writes in his preface: 'We were content to do the work, thinking that herewith also a service is done to many in Europe; where otherwise we should have regarded this our labour as a punishment and not as a pleasure' (Eng. trans. (Madras, 1869), p. xix).

But fate was against him. When the work reached Halle, Professor A. H. Francke made his famous rejoinder that 'the printing of the "Genealogy of the South Indian Gods" was not to be thought of, inasmuch as the Missionaries were sent out to extirpate heathenism, and not to spread heathenish non-sense in Europe' (p. xv). So the manuscript slept in the archives for a century and a half.

Indology owes a great debt to Dr W. Germann, who, having found the manuscript, at once realised its importance and set himself to make it available to the world. His preface is dated at Madras on 9 September 1867. This appears to have been the first extensive piece of printing in German ever carried out in India. Unfortunately the beautiful illustrations which Ziegenbalg had had prepared could not be reproduced.

Worse is to follow. No one today can read what Ziegenbalg actually wrote without making the pilgrimage to Halle and consulting the original manuscript. The first editor felt himself more concerned with utility than with fidelity, and took liberties with the text such as no editor today would venture to take. He admits in his preface that 'against my own inclination, I have thought it necessary to make such additions as I could, in order to render the work a complete manual of South Indian Mythology' (p. xvi). On this the translator of the English version remarks: 'Dr Germann's additions to almost every single chapter, written in a modern style, impress upon the book the character of patch-work.'

But this translator, the Reverend G. J. Metzger of the Free Church of Scotland Mission in Madras, allowed himself even greater liberties. He has made omissions, mainly, as he complains, of unnecessary repetitions. He has introduced a chapter from Bishop Caldwell's well-known work on the *Tinnevelly Shānārs* to replace what he calls Germann's 'fragmental extracts' from that and other works. He has brought in material from the work of such scholars as Professor H. H. Wilson, Fr J. A. Dubois and Professor Max Müller. All these he confidently describes as 'improvements' (pp. xi, xii of his preface, dated Chingleput, 26 September 1868).

As a consequence of all these editorial changes it is difficult for the reader to detect omissions, to identify changes and additions, and to be sure of the extent to which he is in contact with the mind and the words of the original writer. The world of scholarship would be enriched by the publication of an accurate German text, and still more by that of a reliable English translation.

APPENDIX 4 ZIEGENBALG'S APPROACH TO THE HINDUS

Ziegenbalg's manner of approaching Hindus of high caste, and their reactions, are shown in a work published in English in 1719: *Thirty-four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries and the Malabari Brahmans (or Heathen Priests) concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion; together with some Letters written by the Heathen to the said Missionaries:*

One writes:

> Indeed, your law seems to be a clear mirror without flaw or blemish; and did you but abstain from your eating Cow's Flesh, spitting in your houses, and some other daily Nastinesses committed by you; and on the contrary, accustom yourselves to washing your bodies more often, and act nothing against Purification and Cleanliness; we assure you the whole Nation would have nothing to say against your Discipline, except your giving out that you eat the Body of Christ and drink his Blood in the Sacrament, which I humbly conceive none of us will ever be able to understand. (Quoted, M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), pp. 13–14)

APPENDIX 5 *PADROADO* BISHOPS AND VICARS APOSTOLIC

From the date of the first appointment by the pope of vicars apostolic for service in the Eastern regions, the relationship between bishops appointed by the crown of Portugal under the *padroado* agreement and the vicars apostolic appointed directed by the pope, with episcopal consecration but without territorial jurisdiction, involved endless difficulties, tensions and disputes. These continued through the eighteenth century.

To the credit of Propaganda, it must be stated that its aim was always to maintain a friendly relationship with the court of Portugal, to keep the causes of friction down to a minimum, and as far as was possible to soothe the injured feelings of *padroado* bishops.

Rome never admitted the extreme claims of the Portuguese authorities, who interpeted the *padroado* agreement as giving them in perpetuity the monopoly of episcopal appointment over a vast region in Asia and in Brazil. Commonsense was against such an interpretation; it was clear that Portugal would never be able to sustain so immense a burden. On the other hand there were in India four fully constituted and organised dioceses for the supervision of missionary work among non-Christians and for the care of Portuguese resident in India – Goa, Cochin and Mylapore; and for the spiritual care of the Thomas Christians there was the diocese of the Serra, now called the archbishopric of Cranganore, though previously the Syrian bishops had always resided at Ankamāli. Where vicars apostolic were appointed, as in the territories of the Great Mogul, it was understood that they would operate only in areas which had never been in Portuguese possession and were beyond the limits of Portuguese influence.

To this rule there was one possible exception. It might happen that the regular bishops were prevented from carrying out their responsibilities. In such cases of emergency, the pope might place Christians in the *padroado* dioceses under the care of vicars apostolic. But this would be done only as a temporary measure, and in such a way that the rights of the diocesan bishops were understood to be still in existence, though temporarily in abeyance, and to be restored as soon as the emergency was at an end.

Two areas in particular came into consideration in the eighteenth century – Bombay and Malabar.

At the end of the seventeenth century, when the East India Company took over the island of Bombay from the British government, the care of the Roman Catholics on the island was in the hands of Portuguese Jesuits and Franciscans of the Observant section. The Company, being dissatisfied with the attitude of members of both these orders, instructed them to leave Bombay, and invited the vicar-general of the territories of the Great Mogul, Maurice of St Teresa OCD (1708–26), to leave his residence at Karwar and to transfer himself to Bombay. Bishop Maurice accepted the invitation, and Rome in 1718 gave it approval to the arrangement, going so far as to indicate that the vicar-general was to be regarded as an assistant bishop to the archbishop of Goa.[5]

Later in the century the English took possession of the islands of Salsette and Karanjie, and invited the vicar apostolic of the day to accept responsibility for the Christians in the area. The matter was referred to Propaganda, which in 1777 gave the following answer: in exceptional circumstances exceptional measures must be taken, but these would remain in force only until the normal state of affairs could be restored.

The situation in Malabar was not quite the same. There, as further north, the creation of the vicariate apostolic of Malabar was regarded as no more than provisional. The Dutch made it quite plain that they would have no Portuguese prelate exercising any authority in their dominions, and they required the Christians to accept only the authority of the vicar apostolic. But Rome repeatedly affirmed that the vicars apostolic might exercise such authority only in times and places where the legitimate bishops could not act (rescript of 26 September 1706). In 1724 it was again affirmed that the business of the vicar apostolic was to 'represent the Ordinary, in circumstances in which through the action of the secular powers, or as has occurred in certain cases through the action of the Christian believers themselves, difficulties have been placed in the way of his exercising his pastoral responsibilities, but only for as long as those abnormal circumstances continue to exist'.

After the suppression of the Jesuit order, the king of France requested that a vicariate apostolic should be established to care for the French missionaries of the Paris Mission; he was told that the area in question had belonged since

1606 to the diocese of Mylapore, and that beyond question jurisdiction belonged to that diocese alone.

These signs of consideration from the side of Rome for the susceptibilities of the Portuguese did not alter the fact that the office of vicar apostolic, however provisional in theory, had in fact come to stay, and that the future lay with Rome and the Propaganda and not with Lisbon and the *padroado*. A striking manifestation of this reality occurred in the year 1756, when a new vicar apostolic had to be appointed for the territories of the Great Mogul. The choice fell upon Angelino of St Joseph OCD.[6] The Portuguese government was notified of the appointment 'only as a matter of courtesy', and the suggestion was made that Angelino, who was at the time resident in Lisbon, should be consecrated there by the papal nuncio. This gave grave offence to the Portuguese; Angelino did in the end secure episcopal consecration, but only after giving a solemn promise that he would never settle in any area in which a *padroado* bishop was exercising jurisdiction.[7]

APPENDIX 6 APOSTASY OF THE REDDIS

It is known that, to the north of the Madura mission and not far from Pondichéri, there had been a considerable population of Reddis, a Telugu caste which had once been Christian but was no longer so. Mgr Laouënan, being in the neighbourhood, took the opportunity of enquiring of a leading man of this community as to the circumstances which had brought about this change of religion, and received the following interesting report. The grandfather of the bishop's interlocutor, when travelling, had been refused admission to a *choultry* (caravanserai). When he enquired as to the reason for this insult, he received the answer: 'As long as you had as your priests men who scrupulously observed the rules of our caste, we had no difficulty in admitting you to a place reserved for pure persons. But now that you receive into your houses a very different type of teachers, who neither know nor observe any of the rules, it is not possible for us to receive or treat you as one who has kept the rules of purity.' The traveller, on his return to his village, assembled the leading men, recounted to them his adventure, and proposed that they should all return to Hinduism. The proposal was accepted, and the apostasy took place. But it is clear that these events, the record of which depends only on oral tradition, took place, if indeed they did take place, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, and that the bull of 1744 had little if anything to do with bringing them about. There is no reason to doubt that, in spite of some distress and some resentment, the majority of the faithful remained faithful to the church of their adoption.

APPENDIX 7 CAPUCHINS IN TIBET: LITERARY WORKS

On the literary activities of the Capuchins, see G. der Reifenberg, 'De studiis linguae Tibetanae a Fratribus Minoribus Capuccinis peractae', *AOMC*, 50 (1934), 15–23 and 43–9; note by L. Petech, *NR*, vol II, 1, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxvii.

We must lament the loss of all their apologetic works, and of a part of their philological works; not that this loss concerns a great mass of labours. A number of Capuchins learnt spoken Tibetan, and some had a certain knowledge of the written language; but only one had made himself completely master of the written language, after four and a half years of concentrated study (1717–21) – Francis Horace della Penna. He alone ventured on the immense task of composing apologetic works in good Tibetan, and of translating a number of Tibetan (Lamaist) works; we cannot withhold our admiration for what he achieved in this field, in spite of the total loss of all his writings. Della Penna is the only Capuchin who in this respect can be compared with Desideri. He had no successor, and his death marked the end of the mission and of the Tibetan studies of the Capuchins.

APPENDIX 8 MISSION IN NEPAL

Tibet was closed, but the Jesuits were slow to believe that their expulsion was permanent. Kathmandu in Nepal had been opened as a transit camp on the way to Tibet; this served as a rallying-point for the Christian forces, and here the Capuchins managed to maintain themselves for another quarter of a century. By 1744 they had set up stations in the three tiny and adjacent kingdoms in the Kathmandu valley – Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan. Although the workers were always too few, 'the humble dedicated life of the missionaries was instrumental in attracting the attention and gaining the confidence of the people, besides being an object lesson in Christianity'.[8] Adult baptisms were few, but the priests took advantage of their position to baptise a large number of children in the hour of death.[9] It seemed that fortune was inclined to smile on this small and remote mission.

Everything was changed by the decision of the king of the Gurkhas to conquer Nepal. The war dragged on from 1763 to 1769. By the latter date it had become clear that the position of the mission was untenable. With great regret the priests, together with their small flock of Nepalese Christians, left the valley and, trudging for thirteen days over hill and dale, safely reached Bettiah, a small town which had been occupied by the troops of the East India Company in 1766. Here they were welcomed by Fr Seraphim of Como and about sixty local Christians. In compensation for some losses sustained by the mission, the Company granted to the refugees 200 *bighas* of land tax-free in the village of Chuhari not far from Bettiah. In the twentieth century, it was reported that descendants of these Nepalese Christians were still cultivating the fields handed over by the British to their forefathers.[10]

APPENDIX 9 ANQUETIL-DUPERRON ON EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TO ASIA

At the end of his life, Anquetil-Duperron, aged sixty-seven, produced a book entitled *L'Inde en rapport avec l'Europe* (Paris, 1805), in which he proposed the abandonment of any idea of conquest, this to be replaced by a policy of alliance, friendship, toleration and understanding. The greatest tact should be exercised in replacing Asian by European institutions.

Duperron was opposed to all missions, except to those based on gradual persuasion, the final step in which must be the abandonment of inhuman customs. He did not think that Christianity would ever replace Hinduism:

> Hindu power is a majestic tree, often lashed by violent revolutions, whose top bends and curves back upon itself and seems likely to yield to tempestuous winds, but which, being strongly, firmly rooted, resists, recovers, and continually brings forth new branches, and will finally bring under its shade the whole extent of Hinduism.
> (p. 122)

APPENDIX 10 KIERNANDER'S MINISTRY: FORMER ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS WHO JOINED THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

1. Francis Bento de Sylvestre, or D'Souza, Augustinian, having joined the church on 7 February 1766, was appointed as catechist on a salary of £20 a year. A good linguist, he is reported to have translated large parts of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer into Bengali.
2. Manuel Joseph da Costa, Jesuit, who had been for some years a missionary in Siam, was received into the Church of England in Madras. He came to Calcutta in 1769 but died after a long illness in March 1771.
3. Francis Joseph Hanson of Vienna, Carmelite (born in 1739), was admitted to the Church of England at a solemn service in Calcutta on 1 January 1773. He is credited with a knowledge of eight languages, and seems to have obtained employment under government.
4. Marcellin Joseph Ramalhete, Portuguese Franciscan, was admitted in 1772 and died in 1783, after ten years' service as a catechist in the mission.
5. Joseph de Monte de Sinai, probably Augustinian, joined the Church of England on 4 August 1782 at the age of twenty-six. Nothing further seems to be known of his work.[11]

It is interesting that, apparently, none of these former Roman Catholics was permitted to minister as a priest of the Church of England. Anglican policy has been to admit former Roman Catholic priests to the ranks of the priesthood, with permission from the bishop and after a time of testing. It seems that the chaplains in Calcutta assumed that they had authority to admit these brethren into membership and lay ministry in the Church of England; but, there being no Anglican bishop in India and there being doubts as to the extent of the authority of the bishop of London in that country, they may have hesitated to take the further step of admitting them to priestly ministry.

There was the further problem that, if they had been so admitted, their status would have been extremely dubious. They would have had no licence from the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London, nor would they have had the Company's licence to minister in the Company's dominions. It does not appear that any of them made application to be admitted to the higher ministry.

APPENDIX 11 JESUITS IN SOUTH INDIA

In 1765 it was reported to Propaganda that the Jesuits had abandoned the Fisher Coast. A sharp reply was written by Clement Joseph SJ, the bishop of Cochin (1745–71), who states that the Jesuits had not been compelled to leave the Coast, and that they had no idea of doing so.[12] It seems likely that a small number of parishes had been taken over by Franciscans and Dominicans. In 1778 the Coast was made subject by Propaganda to the Paris Mission with its headquarters in Pondichéri; but it seems certain that that mission, with the onerous responsibilities thrust upon it elsewhere, would not have been able to spare a single missionary for the Coast. It seems possible, even likely, that as late as 1780 there were still six ex-Jesuits in residence and able to carry on the essentials of the work. The trouble was that the Jesuits who died could not be replaced.[13] But it seems likely that the Coast was not flooded with Goan priests until after 1790, that is to say beyond the limits of the period dealt with in this chapter.

APPENDIX 12 OPIUM

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Company's government realised the value of a commodity whose sale would yield enormous profits, and the duty on which could not fail to bolster up the shaky finances of government. Opium is exactly the kind of merchandise on which the prudent merchant sets his heart. It is small in compass, moderate in weight; it keeps its quality for a considerable time, and it sells for a price out of all proportion to the cost of producing it. The supply of opium to China, where the demand was insatiable and where Indian opium was preferred to all others, opened up to India a market which resembled a bottomless pit. So it came about that in 1773 Warren Hastings, who had declared opium to be 'a pernicious article of luxury, which ought not to be permitted but for purposes of foreign commerce', issued the order which made of opium a government monopoly, and this it continued to be for more than a century. Ruler after ruler recognised the evils involved in the traffic; but always Mammon was victorious in the conflict against God, and the traffic went on. As late as 1832 a committee of the House of Commons in London declared that 'it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue, a duty upon opium being a tax which falls principally upon the foreign consumer' – who presumably was to be left to care for his own interests as best he could.

The opium poppy had been known in India for many centuries, but the use made of the drug was mainly medicinal. The introduction of the government monopoly led to an enormous increase in the cultivation of it. James Tod, in the year 1820, records from his personal observation the devastation, moral and material, which followed: this drug, he says,

> has tended more to the physical and moral degradation of the inhabitants than the combined influence of pestilence and war . . . this execrable and demoralising plant . . . If the now paramount power, instead of making a monopoly of it, and consequently extending its cultivation, would endeavour to restrict it by judicious legislative enactments, or at least reduce its cultivation to what it was forty years ago, generations yet unborn would have just reason to praise us for this work of mercy.[14]

Christian opinion, both in India and in England, was steadily opposed to the traffic. Opposition naturally reached its height at the time of the first 'opium war' (1839–42), an infamous business in which Britain was clearly seen to be forcing on an unwilling China a harmful drug, the use of which the Chinese government had been determined to suppress. On 4 April 1843, Lord Ashley (later the Earl of Shaftesbury) introduced in the House of Commons a resolution in the following terms:

> That it is the opinion of this House that the continuance of the trade in opium, and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India, are destructive of all relations of amity between England and China . . . and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of governments and individuals, to abolish the evil.[15]

At the special request of the prime minister, Ashley did not divide the house, on the understanding that government had the matter in hand. But nothing was done. Once again, Esau had triumphed over Jacob; his triumph went far to render hypocritical the affirmation that the British were in India for India's good, and to tarnish the good name of the Christian missionary enterprise in China. But at least a protest had been made in the name of Christ.

APPENDIX 13 CHARLES GRANT ON THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN BENGAL

Charles Grant's *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with Respect to Morals, and on the Means of improving it* seems to have been written in a first draft in 1792, while he was still resident in India, then revised and expanded, and printed for the first time in 1797. It was reprinted in 1812, at the time of the re-enactment of the charter of the East India Company, and is to be found in *Parl. Papers, East India*, vol. X, pt 4, pp. 5–112; it was again reprinted in 1832 at the time of preparation for the renewal of the charter in 1833. That it was reprinted in this way shows that the *Observations* were regarded as reliable and important information on the subject treated in them.

Grant's view of Hindu society is unfavourable. For this reason many Indian writers have taken him to task as prejudiced and unfriendly; others, however, have praised his veracity and his courage in setting down what he had himself experienced. It is true that, as a civil servant, he had little access to the tender and praiseworthy elements in Indian society in private and family relationships; but there is abundant evidence from other sources of the dishonesty and venality which reigned in the world of business and commerce, and of the depravity which marred other areas of life in society. And though Grant is severe in his censures, his aim is recovery and not mere condemnation; if society is as it is, how can it be made other than it is?

Chapter 1 deals with British territorial administration and is introductory in character.

In chapter 2 we come to the heart of the matter: 'View of the State of Society among the Hindoo Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with Respect to Morals'. Grant's thesis is supported by quotations from various writers and from official documents. He ends the chapter: 'If [the author] has given an unfavourable description his wish is not to excite detestation but to engage compassion, and to make it apparent that what speculation may have ascribed to physical and unchangeable causes springs from moral sources capable of correction' (p. 39).

In chapter 3 we proceed to 'Causes which have produced the Present Situation and Character of the Hindoos'. The degradation which the writer has found among the people he attributes in the main to the unlimited power which the Brāhmans have over the other castes, withholding knowledge from all, and keeping certain classes in a state of subjection hardly to be distinguished from slavery.

Chapter 4 sets forth an 'Inquiry into the Measures which might be adopted by Great Britain for the Improvement of the Condition of her *Asiatic* Subjects, and Answers to Objections'. We must not be passive spectators, but in no circumstances may we use force; reason and argument alone are the tools to be used.

A prime method is the introduction of the English language:

> It is perfectly within the power of the Company, by degrees to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterward through that medium to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions on a variety of subjects . . . These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error; and all the objections that may be apprehended against such a change are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer.
>
> (p. 77)

The Muslim example in the introduction of Persian suggests this. Such information would be profitable to agriculture, and for the furtherance of prosperity. More important than all this is the spread of our religion:

> Wherever this knowledge should be received, idolatry, with all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and its corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions, would fall.

Eight objections to the proposed course are enumerated and answered *seriatim*.

> Our danger must lie in pursuing, for ungenerous ends, a course contracted and illiberal; but in following the opposite course, in communicating light, knowledge and improvement, we shall obey the dictates of duty . . . to raise a fair and durable monument to the glory of this country, and to increase the happiness of the human race.
>
> (p. 112)

In the light of later experience, many of the proposals made by Grant proved to be unworkable; but of the generous spirit in which he wrote, and of the sincerity of his desire for the improvement of the lot of the Indian peoples, there can be no doubt.

APPENDIX 14 THE ABOLITION OF *SATĪ*

To pass a decree is one thing; to ensure that it is observed is another. There is no doubt that *satī* was widely practised in India long after its formal abolition.[16] Even in areas controlled by the British government constant vigilance was needed. But in independent areas the government could do no more than advise, protect and encourage those who were prepared to support the government's policy. A case was recorded as late as 1861 in Udaipur on the death of the *mahārāna* of that state. Thompson gives the opinion that 1862 may be taken as the date by which *satī* was illegal everywhere in India, though not yet in Nepal. That careful observer W. Crooke, quoted by Thompson (p. 127), states that in Nepal the rite still survives, but gives no detailed evidence.

A later case of attempted *satī* that has come to my notice took place at Bahr in Bihar towards the end of 1927. The case came up on appeal early in 1928 before the chief justice of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Courtney Terrell, recently arrived in India. Ten persons were convicted of participation in the crime, and received prison sentences from ten years downwards. There is a fascinating account of the case in R. Terrell, *The Chief Justice: a Portrait from the Raj*, (London, 1979), pp. 136–40, in which a number of extracts of the judgement given by the chief justice is given.[17]

So great an event as the abolition of *satī* could not pass without comment and opposition. On 14 January 1830 a deputation of Bengali protesters waited on the governor-general, who pointed out to them that they had a right of appeal to the king in council. The proposal was accepted and a petition was sent. The case was argued before the privy council by the able and eloquent Stephen Lushington, defending the right of Hindus to the unimpeded practice of their religious rites. Rāmmohun Roy, who was in England at the time, was consulted by the privy council; he declared without hesitation that he now wholeheartedly approved of an action which at the time that it was taken he had regarded as premature. The appeal from Bengal was rejected by the council in 1832; not long after the governor-general received a letter from the contrary party in Bengal, thanking him for his services to the freedom of India.

APPENDIX 15 CAMPBELL AND THE KHONDS

Like so many government servants of the time, Campbell was a devout Christian. He writes:

> I have not alluded to the great precursor of civilisation – the Gospel – not because I am insensible of its fitness for these wild tribes (who have no predilection for Brahmans) but simply because it is not within the province of the government of India to introduce any agency of the kind. I may, however, express the hope that in due season these poor savages will be visited by the teacher of a higher and purer wisdom than that of men. (*Personal Narrative* (London, 1864), p. 132)

He adds, however:

> One hundred and twenty little children have been placed under the care of the missionaries at Berhampore and Cuttack at the expense of the government.

The total number of Meriahs rescued is given as 1,506 – 717 males, 789 females. In his official account the number of children in mission schools is given as 200.

APPENDIX 16 MACAULAY'S MINUTE ON EDUCATION

[Full text in *The Correspondence of Lord William Bentinck, vol. II: 1832–1835* (London, 1977), pp. 1403–13. An extensive and accurate discussion is J. Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 369–78.]

Macaulay arrived in India on 10 June 1834. He sent his famous minute to the governor-general on 2 February 1835. He had no time to acquaint himself extensively with the languages and thought of India. On the other hand, when he set out for India, he was by no means ignorant of Indian history, particularly of that history in the period of close contact between Britain and India; and during his months in Calcutta he had studied carefully the controversy about education, and in particular the legal aspects of the question.

Two points must specially be borne in mind. First, Macaulay never intended that his minute should be printed. It was a private memorandum intended for the eyes of a governor-general, whom he had come to know and greatly to admire, and of a few other persons particularly involved in the discussions. In point of fact, it was not published until 1853 when it appeared in C. H. Cameron, *Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain in India*. Secondly, the extent of Macaulay's influence on the debate and the decisions has been enormously exaggerated. He was doing little more than to sum up, in his own dictatorial and rhetorical style, what he judged to be the opinion of the majority of thoughtful people, European and Indian, in Calcutta at the time. The minute seemed to encourage the governor-general to put his views into effect – the decision he had in all probability arrived at some time before the minute reached him.

Under the trappings of rhetoric Macaulay deals with four points, each of considerable importance:

Are the hands of the governor-general tied by the act of 1813, which seemed to incline strongly to the side of the orientalists and of the 'learned natives' of India? Macaulay concludes, perhaps rather by special pleading than by argument, that the governor-general is as free to act in this matter as he is 'to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore shall be discontinued, or that no more public money shall be expended on the chanting at the cathedral' (p. 1405).

Can the education of India be carried on in the languages popularly used, in the form in which they were used at the time of writing? Macaulay was in no way opposed to the refinement and development of those languages; but this must follow as a second stage, and must come after and not before the settlement of the crucial questions of the *content* of Indian education, and of the medium in which it is to be communicated.

Is it true that the English language is so difficult that the acquisition of it by a large number of Indians is hardly to be thought of? Experience shows that this is an entirely untenable argument: 'There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and intelligence which would do credit to any member of the committee of public instruction' (p. 1411).

Have Arabic and Sanskrit the qualities which will fit them to serve the education of India at the present stage of its development? It is in his answer to this question that Macaulay exposes himself to the disapproval of his fellow-countrymen, and to the fury of his Indian readers. It may be taken as certain that, if he had known that his words were to become public property, he would have expressed himself with greater circumspection: 'I have never found one among [the orientalists] who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia' (p. 1405). Again, 'The question now before us is simply whether . . . when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter' (pp. 1406–7).

In 1835, the word 'philosophy' was constantly used in the sense now conveyed by the term 'natural science'. In fact, Macaulay himself refers to the distinction between 'physical' and 'moral' philosophy. When he speaks of 'sound philosophy and true history', it is clear that he is not inveighing against the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, of which he was probably entirely ignorant; he is pleading that Indian students should be introduced to the 'sound philosophy' of Newton and Laplace, of Faraday and Sir Humphry Davy. Here seemed to him to lie the true hope for 'Indian improvement'.

The orientalists were, naturally, strong against him. But the younger generation of thoughtful Hindus was on his side. John Clive notes that 'his example of time-wasting Hindu theology – which text of the Vedas one had to repeat in order to expiate the crime of killing a goat – was the very one employed by Ram Mohan Roy in his letter to Lord Amherst twelve years earlier'.[18] No doubt the governor-general was encouraged by the opinion of the legal member of his council, but there can be little doubt that, even if Macaulay had never set foot in India, even if he had never taken pen in hand to write his minute, the decision would have gone the same way.

The English language was already launched on its destiny to become the official, and in a very real sense the national, language of India.

APPENDIX 17 SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND

The story of Maitland's resignation of his post as commander-in-chief, Madras, is still surrounded by much ambiguity. E. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. I (London, 1899), p. 298, gives two completely different accounts.

The first is that two Christian privates had refused to fire their muskets in salute to an idolatrous procession. They had undoubtedly disobeyed orders. When the matter came before Maitland, he felt unable to issue the order for punishment for an action which his conscience commended. He saw quite clearly that his refusal to act according to military regulations must lead to his resignation. Supported by the desire of members of his family that he should act according to his conscience, he proceeded to resign.

The other story, which rests on the authority of the Reverend J. H. Gray, a missionary of the CMS who was in Madras at the time of these occurrences, was that shortly after his arrival in Madras Maitland found himself required to sign a document sanctioning the appointment and payment of dancing-girls at a certain Hindu temple. This Maitland felt unable in conscience to do, and he appealed to the East India Company for approval. This the directors refused to grant. Accordingly Maitland resigned.

Neither of these stories fits in with what is recorded in the official documents. It is clear that the resignation of so distinguished an officer caused great embarrassment to the authorities in India; it is probable that the official accounts tell less than the whole truth.

Opinion in India was strongly divided. The Christian forces were naturally almost unanimously on his side. The general feeling in official circles was probably that expressed by the Hon. Emily Eden:

> What mischief religion does in a country. George [Lord Auckland] is troubled that an unsensible person like Sir Peregrine Maitland should refuse to give the national festival the usual honour of drums, guns, etc, which they have had ever since the English set foot in India . . . irritation kept up on the pleas of conscience when the soothing system would be much more commendable and much easier.[19]

It is clear that military opinion in England, including the all-important opinion of the Duke of Wellington, was against Maitland. It is equally clear that, as the facts became more fully known, opinion swung in his favour. He was completely exonerated. He never again held a military appointment; but the esteem in which he was held was made plain by his appointment to the important post of governor of the Cape of Good Hope (1844), a post which he held until his final retirement at the age of seventy in 1847.

APPENDIX 18 *MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS* BY WILLIAM WARD IN SERAMPORE

Two defects in Ward's work cannot be overlooked.

His observations were accurate as far as they went, but his opportunities were limited, and he tended to generalise on the basis of inadequate information. F. J. Shore, a civil servant of wide experience,[20] wrote: 'Had his work been entitled 'An account of the Bengalee Hindoos, derived from observations in the neighbourhood of Serampore', it might have been correct enough, but to publish the book to the world as a description of the Hindus in general . . . was incorrect and unfair.'[21]

A more serious objection is that he took pleasure in depicting the darker side of Hinduism and of the Bengali character, and overlooked the more cheerful themes on which he could have dilated. This is not wholly true; he could write, 'The Hindoo lawgivers have established several customs which, if separated from idolatry, would be worthy of the highest commendation'; and, in another context, 'It is . . . but justice to the Hindoos, to mention certain of their institutions which would do honour to any country.'[22] On the other hand, he did take a low view of the Bengali character, and of the religion by which he believed that character to have been weakened and deformed: 'If vices of lying, deceit, dishonesty and impurity can degrade a people, the Hindoos have sunk in the lowest depths of human depravity'; again, 'If the religious institutions of a country be the prime source of corruption, how should the people be virtuous?'[23] Like most of the missionaries, Ward was shocked and distressed by the unreformed Hinduism which he encountered at every turn. But in this he was not alone. The criticisms of contemporary Hinduism launched by such thoughtful Hindus as Rāmmohun Roy were as scathing as anything written by a missionary.[24] Few have doubted the accuracy of Ward's presentation of the facts, though they may have deplored the spirit by which he was actuated.[25]

APPENDIX 19 WILLIAM WARD'S *FAREWELL LETTERS TO A FEW FRIENDS IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA* (1821)

This little book contains twenty-six letters, all of them written within the space of about one month, on board the ship *Hercules*, on which Ward was returning from America to Britain. He was induced to publish them, and the letters speedily became so popular that three editions were called for within a short space of time. This work of Ward thus became more widely known than any other which was produced from Serampore, and from it a great many readers in England derived their most vivid impressions of India, of the weaknesses of Indian society, and of the difficulties attendant on Christian witness in that country. Unfortunately the book has done more harm than any other to the reputation of missionaries in the judgement of later readers, giving the impression of men so fanatically attached to their Christian beliefs as to have no sense of possible goodness in others, and to be filled with contempt and even hatred for the people to whom they had come to preach the Gospel.

By far the greater part of the contents of Ward's letters is entirely innocuous. The subjects with which he deals are, in the main, the following:

1. The obligation resting on all Christians to preach the Gospel to every creature and to use means for their conversion.
2. The extent to which this duty is neglected in the churches, and the need for a new understanding of the nature of the Christian ministry.
3. The difficulties attendant on Christian missionary work in Bengal, through the intense attachment of the Hindus to their own scriptures and to the institution of caste.
4. The way in which these difficulties have been overcome by divine providence.
5. The measure of success that has been granted to the Christian missions, as evidence that the conversion of the non-Christians, though difficult, is not impossible.

Offence has been given by letters iv–viii, in which Ward deals with the injury done to the Hindu religious system by the intrusion of superstition and by the lack of an understanding of the holiness of God:

> with the harm done to the Hindu character by the lack of a clear connection between religion and morality, with the oppression to which Hindu women are subject in India, and the distortion of the female character to which this has given rise. (letter vi)

Under the last of these headings Ward has written a number of sentences to which grave exception has rightly been taken:

> Faithfulness to the marriage vow is almost unknown in India. (p. 68)

On female infanticide:

> And does no mother ever interpose her tender entreaties to spare her daughter? . . . oh what need of the enlightening and softening influence of the Gospels, where mothers have become monsters – have sunk below the wolf and the tiger. Through what unknown, unheard of process must the female heart have passed, thus to have lost all its wonted tenderness; thus to have laid hold of a nature not found anywhere else upon earth. (p. 62)

> At Saugur island, formerly, mothers were seen casting their living offspring amongst a number of alligators, and standing to gaze at those monsters quarrelling for their

> prey, beholding the writhing infant in the jaws of the successful animal and standing motionless while it was breaking the bones and sucking the blood of the poor innocent! What must be that superstition, which can thus transform a being, whose distinguishing quality is tenderness, into a monster more unnatural than the tiger prowling through the forest for its prey? (pp. 79–80)

Many of the practices described by Ward – female infanticide, immolation of widows, etc. – did exist in Bengal at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and had come under the observation of the missionaries. But few who know India would subscribe to the idea that Ward has given a full and fair description of that society.

It may be urged, in Ward's defence, that these letters were written hurriedly on board ship, where he had access neither to books nor to the notes he had himself earlier taken when resident in India. Moreover, it was not his aim to vilify a people whom he regarded as not so much guilty as grievously misled by the devil; he wished to stir the compassion of friends in the West, to engage their interest for missions, and to underline the message he had constantly proclaimed – that in East and West the only power that can produce any notable improvement in society is the Gospels.

But, when all has been said that can be said in defence of Ward, it cannot but be regretted that a man of genial and kindly temperament, of considerable intellectual power and of wide experience allowed himself to be seduced by emotion into writing harsh words which could not but do harm, and did in fact cause great harm to the missionary cause over a period of at least thirty years.

APPENDIX 20 A HINDU WRITER ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

The literature of this period has lately been enriched by a valuable book, the work of an Indian scholar – Kanti Presanna Sen Gupta, *The Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793–1833* (Calcutta, 1971), based on careful and extensive study of the primary sources. This is a welcome indication of the recognition by Indian scholars that the Christian missions have made a notable contribution to the development of modern Indian society, and are a worthy subject of research.

There is an interesting duality in the manner in which Dr Sen Gupta handles his material. He very much dislikes the evangelistic activities of the missionaries, and is sharply critical of their methods and of their alleged achievements. At the same time, he is acutely aware of the contribution made by the missionaries in the fields of education, literature in the Indian languages, journalism both English and Bengali, and others.

> Carey, Fort William College, and Serampore, thus became immortal names in the annals of the Bengali language and literature. The Serampore missionaries were the

> pioneers in Bengali Journalism and contributed immensely to its growth and development... The missionaries were the pioneers in providing mass education for both boys and girls . . . The missionary initiatives in the field of education aroused public interest in the subject of education in Bengal. (pp. 192–3)

Dr Sen Gupta's estimate of missionary achievement should be quoted in full:

> Apart from the fact that the number [of converts] shown is insignificant, most of these converts were low class Hindus and a few Muslims, and their behaviour after conversion was scandalous. The missionaries in Bengal thus not only failed to gain enough converts, but also to reform them – a total failure, acknowledged privately by the missionaries themselves without reserve.
>
> The disunity among the missionaries, their ignorance and narrowness, above all their 'zeal without love' may account for their failure. The neutral policy of the Christian government and the determined resistance of the Hindu leaders made missionary success in Bengal even more difficult.
>
> In spite of the failure of the missionaries to gain their main object they made a lasting contribution towards the social progress of Bengal. The socio-religious reforms were the last thing that the missionaries wanted but they were what followed from their activities in Bengal. (p. 194)

It is important for the student of Christian missions to see things 'from the other side'. Dr Sen Gupta's book contains a great deal of valuable information not easily accessible elsewhere. The last sentence of the quotation from p. 194, which is also the last sentence of the book, reveals the weakness of his case. He is right about the primary aim of the missionaries – conversion of the Indian peoples to the faith of Christ; but the wisest of the missionaries always held that the success of their work was not to be judged by the number of actual converts. They valued every sign of social or moral reform that manifested itself among the Hindu population, and believed that every movement in this direction, if followed to its conclusion, must result in allegiance to Jesus Christ. Dr Sen Gupta himself gives evidence for this in his remarks (p. 75) on the *Samachar Darpan*, the weekly Bengali paper edited by John Clark Marshman from 1818 to 1841. He picks out especially the unqualified praises given to the most orthodox Brāhmans, and the praise lavished on donations and charities raised by the people of India for benevolent purposes.

That the missionaries made many mistakes is self-evident. But credit should be given to them not only for their aspirations and achievements, but also for their at times intelligent understanding of the situation, and for their at times generous judgements on the Hindus with whom they had to do and on the converts who often failed to rise to the level of the high hopes which the missionaries had placed in them.

APPENDIX 21 WILLIAM CAREY'S PLEASING DREAM

No better illustration of the vividness of Carey's imagination, and of the amplitude of his missionary ideas, can be found than the proposal he sent to Andrew Fuller in 1806 for a World Mission Conference, to be held at the Cape of Good Hope in 1810 and to be repeated in other conferences to be held at intervals of about ten years. 'We should understand one another better in two hours than by two years of letters.'

In July of that year, Carey threw out the idea in conversation, and his words fell on the appreciative ears of the newly arrived Henry Martyn:

> An idea thrown out by Carey pleased me very much, not on account of its practicability, but its grandeur, i.e. that there should be an annual meeting, at the Cape of Good Hope, of all the missionaries in the world.[26]

Andrew Fuller received the proposal with scepticism. On 2 December 1806 he wrote to Ward:

> I admire Carey's proposal, though I cannot say I approve. It shows an enlarged mind, and I have heard say that great men dream differently from others! I consider this as one of bro'r Carey's pleasing dreams. Seriously, I see no important object to be obtained by such a meeting, which might not be quite as well attained without it. And in a meeting of all denominations, there would be no unity, without which we had better stay at home.[27]

Nothing more was heard of Carey's proposal.

In a pleasant article, published in the *International Review of Missions* for April 1949 (pp. 181–92), Ruth Rouse has worked out what might have flowed from Carey's imaginative proposal, if it had been accepted or acted on.

The difficulties of holding such a conference were much less than has often been supposed. Cape Town was already an entrepôt between Europe and the Eastern world and was readily accessible from America. Missions were already sufficiently developed to have sent a number of notable representatives. India could have sent Carey and Marshman from Bengal, Taylor (LMS) from Bombay and Jacob Kohlhoff, forty years in the Halle–Danish Mission.[28] Robert Morrison could have come from China, LMS missionaries from Tahiti. The pious chaplains – Samuel Marsden, Henry Martyn and others – could have been added; likewise mission-board secretaries such as Andrew Fuller (BMS), Josiah Pratt (CMS), and C. F. A. Steinkopf (BFBS); Christian statesmen such as William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay; at least one representative of a younger church; the Tamil pastor Sattianadhan, who could preach in English.[29]

Almost all the subjects debated in missionary circles a century later – the future of indigenous churches, relations between missions and governments, the training of missionaries – had already raised their heads. The spirit of ecumenical co-operation was by no means unknown.

Miss Rouse believes that, if such a conference had been held, it might 'have heralded not only the advent of an international missionary council, but also the beginning of corporate search for agreement in the realm of faith and order, and the appearance of some form of world council of churches in the mid-nineteenth instead of the mid-twentieth century' (p. 192).

More pleasing dreams. Nothing was done for just a century. The first World Missionary Conference was held in Edinburgh in 1910.

APPENDIX 22 CHARLES RHENIUS' PRINCIPLES OF TRANSLATION

In the year 1826 Rhenius put out 'An Essay on the Principles of Translating the Holy Scriptures with critical remarks on various passages, particularly in reference to the Tamil language'.

In the introduction he remarks truly: 'I conceive that only those who are practically acquainted with the work of translating, can form a suitable opinion on the subject.' He then goes on with the treatment of his theme under four main headings:

1. That the translation ought to be made from the original language, and not merely from another version.
2. That the translation should not be literal, but the idiom of both of the originals, and of the language into which they are to be translated, should be carefully attended to.
3. In countries where there is so great a difference between the language of the learned and of the unlearned, as among the Hindus, the translation of the Bible ought to be made according to the style neither of the one nor of the other, but the middle path should be kept between the two.
4. Passages which have been obscurely or incorrectly rendered in former translations should not be so retained in later versions, if their sense can be more clearly made out upon good evidence.

It is probable that in 1980 all serious translators would agree upon all the four points listed above. In the time of Rhenius it was impossible, and even now it is difficult, to find in the churches of the Third World scholars capable of translating from Greek and Hebrew.

APPENDIX 23 THE RHENIUS AFFAIR

It does not appear that any adequate study of the Rhenius affair has as yet been published. Although all these events occurred in a remote corner of the Christian world, great principles were involved, and much interest and many strong feelings were aroused not only in England and India, but also in Germany and Switzerland. A rewarding task awaits any scholar who is prepared to engage in rather extensive research in a number of languages.

Of printed authorities pride of place must naturally be accorded to *Memoir of the Rev C. T. E. Rhenius, comprising Extracts from his Journal and Correspondence, with Details of Missionary Proceedings in South India* (London, 1848), by his son. Many original documents are here reproduced. But some important matters are passed over in silence, and at certain points filial piety has led the younger Rhenius into misunderstanding of the facts.

The story is dealt with briefly in

J. Richter, *Indische Missionsgeschichte* (Gütersloh, 1924), pp. 104ff. (English translation of 1st edn, 2nd edn (1908), pp. 158–60).

E. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. 1 (London, 1899), pp. 318–22.

E. Chatterton, *History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924), p. 192 – wholly misleading.

M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India 1600–1970* (London, 1972) – gives scattered but accurate information.

A much more satisfactory study is

H. Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies: a Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion* (London, 1952) – this is based on extensive study of original documents, and is provided with an excellent bibliography.

J. Aagard, *Mission, Konfession, Kirche*, 2 vols. (Gleerup, 1965), deals with the matter at some length. The bibliography of thirty-five pages contains references to almost all the relevant printed sources, but not to original sources. This work is particularly valuable for its indications as to the extensive controversy on the subject on the continent, and especially in Germany; the references to contemporary periodicals are specially valuable.

Neither of the last two mentioned writers seems to have realised the importance of A. N. Groves in the story, though Aagard refers to him (pp. 192ff. and 356–7).

Documents are to be found in:

Memoirs of the late Anthony Norris Groves containing Extracts from his Letters and Journals, compiled by his widow (London, 1856).

This work does not contain bibliography or index, and is tantalising in its omissions.

The letters and journals of Rhenius have been carefully preserved, and are available in the archives of the Church Missionary Society in London. Valuable materials are also to be found in the library of the United Theological College, Bangalore.

APPENDIX 24 THE PAPERS OF DR W. H. MILL

A number of papers of Dr W. H. Mill, first principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Oriental Reading Room). My attention was drawn to these many years ago by Mill's grandson, Professor C. C. J. Webb, who presented the papers to the Bodleian Library. No one who has written on the Thomas Christians appears to have consulted these papers, though a report by Mill, based on them, appeared in the *Missionary Register* for 1823.

The papers in the Bodleian library consist of six small manuscript volumes, containing the diaries which Mill kept during his various journeys in India. He was in Travancore and Cochin from 19 November 1821 to 21 January 1822. This journey is recorded in MS Mill 204. The writing is small and cramped, and exceedingly difficult to read; in places the ink has faded and the writing is illegible. Mill spent much time with the CMS missionaries Fenn, Baker and Bailey. Fenn had been a friend of his from their schooldays together. Mill's primary interest was in Syriac manuscripts in the possession of the ancient church, a number of which he inspected and collated; but he was interested also in Hinduism and in the Sanskrit language, with the study of which he was occupied. Naturally at the same time he took trouble to acquaint himself with the Thomas Christians and their situation. In this he was much helped by younger *caṭṭanārs* who had come under the influence of the missionaries and spoke some English; he mentions with special affection Marcus, who is presumably the same Marcus to whom Fenn referred frequently as 'Marcus my son' (P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816–1840* (Kōṭṭayam, 1935), p. 249, n. 1), who was regarded as one of the most brilliant of the students in the seminary.

Mill, as a high churchman, was not likely to be prejudiced in favour of the presence of CMS missionaries in the territory of the Thomas Christians and of their approach to the problem of reform of the ancient church. He probably shared the anxieties of Bishop Middleton, with whom he was working closely in Calcutta, as to the effects of the presence of foreigners in the midst of an ancient Indian church. The impressions of the work of the missionaries recorded by so impartial an observer are therefore of exceptional value. Mill found himself able to report with almost unconditional approval on what was happening:

> From their venerable Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius, who is exerting himself in many ways for the improvement of his clergy and people, I had the happiness of hearing very warm expressions of respect and attachment to the Church of England. . . They do nothing but by the express sanction of the Metropolitan consulting and employing them.

APPENDIX 25 MAR ATHANASIUS, 1825–6

The episode of Mar Athanasius, the prelate sent to Kerala by the patriarch of Antioch in 1825, is fully reported by P. Cheriyan, in *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816–1840* (Kōṭṭayam, 1935), pp. 161–74; more briefly by L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1981), p. 137.

From the moment of his arrival, this foreign prelate claimed to be the only legitimate *metrān* in Kerala. He demanded that Mar Philoxenus and Mar Dionysius must be reduced to the status of simple priests, and that all those ordained by them must be reordained. He managed to secure the support of a small number of priests, and apparently succeeded in reordaining nine of them. The majority of the *caṭṭanārs* stood by their two local *metrāns*, and refused to admit the right of the foreigner to depose them.

It is alleged that Athanasius acted discourteously towards the authorities of the state of Travancore. This may or may not be true; but the government of Travancore soon came to realise that the presence of Athanasius could cause only disturbance and division within the church, and passed against him an order of deportation. His residence in Kerala lasted for less than a year.

The missionaries certainly resisted the attempt of this foreign prelate to take possession of their college; the allegation that they took action in the matter of his deportation from Kerala seems to rest on no foundation. Reports by the missionaries will be found in the *Missionary Register* for 1826 and 1827. In the latter year Bailey wrote to the CMS in London that 'the Travancore government acted with entire independence of us and for the preservation of its own authority' (*Missionary Register* (1827), pp. 600–1).

APPENDIX 26 DEACONS AS PRIESTS

The Reverend R. H. Kerr, who had been ordained deacon by the bishop of Sodor and Man in October 1789, arrived in India in 1790. In 1798, when he was senior chaplain on the establishment in Madras, the junior chaplain, Charles Bell, discovered the fact that Kerr had acted as priest without ever having been ordained to that office. Kerr produced a document signed by the Bishop of Sodor and Man on 18 November 1793 (M. E. Gibbs *The Anglican Church in England* (London, 1972), pp. 41–2, gives the date as 1798), in the following terms: 'We give and grant full leave and licence to our dearly beloved son in Christ Richard Hall Kerr, Clerk, A.B., to perform all the duties of priest, and to discharge all the duties of his function according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.' In defending himself to the governor-in-council, Kerr stated that 'the distinctions which prevail in England... have not hitherto been considered to apply to this country'. Kerr *was* ordained priest by the bishop of Sodor and Man in 1802.

APPENDIX 27 SOLOMON CAESAR MALAN

In 1837 Solomon Caesar Malan, a Waldensian but a graduate of Oxford, was appointed as senior classical professor at Bishop's College, Calcutta. From the start Malan evinced an astonishing capacity for acquiring languages. A chance meeting with the famous Hungarian scholar Csoma de Körös led him to an interest in the Tibetan language, which he set himself to acquire from the expert. The life by his son (A. N. Malan, *Solomon Caesar Malan DD: Memorials of his Life and Writings* (London, 1897)) includes a reproduction of a specimen of Malan's exquisite Tibetan writing – the master of languages was also a master of calligraphy. A young Chinese having come from Malacca in the company of an Englishman and having entered as a student in the college, Malan took the opportunity to learn from him the elements of the Chinese language.

In 1839 Malan was appointed as secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Unfortunately it soon became clear that his health would not stand the climate of Bengal. In January 1840 he left India, never to return. It is sad that India lost the services of one who made himself master of oriental languages whose number cannot be calculated with certainty – Professor Macdonnell puts it at forty.

An obituary notice of Malan, who had spent forty years of his later life as a country clergyman in Dorset, was contributed by Professor A. A. Macdonnell to *JRAS* for April 1895 (pp. 453–7). In it he states that Malan was by far the most accomplished oriental linguist in England: 'his writing of the Devanāgarī character few have probably ever seen equalled, and his Chinese hand it would be hard to excel'.

APPENDIX 28 ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS AND ORDERS IN INDIA, UP TO 1858

Augustinians	Bengal
Capuchins	Bombay, Nepal, Tibet, Uttar Pradesh
Carmelites (Discalced)	Bombay, Kerala, South Kanara
Congregation of St Anne (Indian)	Tamilnadu
Franciscans	Goa, Kanara, Tamilnadu
Holy Cross Society	Bengal

Jesuits	Agra, Andhra Pradesh, Bengal, Bihar, Goa, Pondichéri, Tamilnadu
Milan Seminary	Hyderabad, Mysore
Paris Mission (Missions Etrangères de Paris)	Andhra Pradesh, Pondichéri, Tamilnadu, Tibet
Salesians (of Annecy, not of Turin)	Andhra Pradesh
Secular priests	Goa, Mysore, Tamilnadu
Sisters of our Lady of Seven Sorrows (Indian)	Tamilnadu
Sisters of St Joseph of Annecy	Andhra Pradesh
Ursulines (briefly)	Pondichéri

APPENDIX 29 LATER HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN MISSION

The Moravian Mission to Tibet still exists.

In 1885 the missionaries were able to realise their ambition to establish themselves in Leh, and thus to live in a genuinely Tibetan environment. Jaeschke had had to leave the mission owing to ill-health, in 1868, but he continued his work for Tibet in Germany. Before his death in 1883, he had completed the translation of the New Testament into Tibetan, with the exception of the epistle to the Hebrews.

The first baptism of a convert took place in 1865. The number of converts has never been large, but by degrees a genuinely Tibetan church has come into being. The translation of the Bible into Tibetan has been completed. Tibetans by race, though not by political allegiance, have been ordained to the ministry. The mission is unusual in that it uses a tea-house as one of the main instruments of evangelisation. Travellers are constantly passing to and fro, and find a warm welcome in the mission guest-house. Christian literature in the Tibetan language is made readily available to them. It is known that Gospels and other pieces of Christian literature enter Tibet in their hands; it is not known whether, as a result of this indirect method of penetration, groups of Christian believers have come into existence in a land which is closed to any direct form of Christian penetration.

APPENDIX 30 PFANDER AND THE MUSLIMS

The article by A. A. Powell, 'Maulānā Raḥmat Allāh Kairānawī and Muslim–Christian Controversy in India in the Mid-19th Century', *JRAS* (1976), 42–63, is valuable as giving information about the debate between Pfander and his Muslim antagonist from the Muslim side, especially regarding the later career of Raḥmat Allāh, and the influence of his writings in the Islamic world, not readily available to readers unacquainted with Urdu and Persian.

Pfander's initial mistake was that, before committing himself to public debate, he did not insist on an accurate definition of the subjects to be discussed. He had not been warned that his opponent intended to bring into the arena books, written in English and German, which Pfander had not read and which dealt with areas with which, not surprisingly after nearly thirty years' absence from Europe, he was not familiar. Moreover, the exact meaning to be attached to the technical terms involved in the discussion should have been agreed on in private discussion, and not subjected to argument in the open arena.

The refusal of the Muslim protagonist to take seriously the vital question as to the date at which the Christian Scriptures are supposed to have been corrupted, or to produce in evidence an 'uncorrupted' copy of the New Testament, justified Pfander in breaking off the discussion. Unfortunately, however, this decision could be interpreted as meaning that he felt himself defeated, and was not willing to enter further into the fray. This impression was widely disseminated in the Muslim world, and widely accepted.

Powell has underestimated the part played in the debate by T. V. French, the notable Oxford scholar, who was better instructed theologically than Pfander. French's admiration for Pfander was almost unlimited, and in no way diminished by his supposed ill-success in the encounter in Agra.

No reference is made in the article to those Muslims present at the debate who subsequently became convinced and devoted Christians.

APPENDIX 31 PROTESTANT MISSIONS AT WORK IN INDIA UP TO 1858

ANGLICAN
Church Missionary Society (CMS)
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK)
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)

BAPTIST
American Baptist Missionary Union [American Baptist Foreign Mission Society from 1910]
Baptist Missionary Society (BMS)
Free Baptists [American]
General Baptist Mission [British]

BRETHREN (Plymouth)
Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML)

CONGREGATIONAL

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)
London Missionary Society (LMS)

LUTHERAN

American United Lutheran Mission
General Synod (Lutheran)
Gossner Missionary Society (GM)
Leipzig [earlier Dresden] Evangelical Lutheran Mission (Lp)

METHODIST

Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists Foreign Missions (WCMM) [*see also* Presbyterian]
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS)

MORAVIAN

Moravian Missions

PRESBYTERIAN

American United Presbyterian Mission (UP)
Basel Evangelical Mission (B)
Church of Scotland Foreign Mission (CSFM)
Free Church of Scotland [United until 'disruption' of 1843, after which missions divided between Church of Scotland and Free Church of Scotland]
Irish Presbyterian Mission (IP)
Presbyterian Church of England (EPM)
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PN)
[Dutch] Reformed Church in America (RCA)
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists Foreign Missions (WCMM)

STATIONS OCCUPIED BY PROTESTANT MISSIONS TO 1858

		Abbrev.	*Date of Arrival*
Agra	Baptist Missionary Society	BMS	1811
	Church Missionary Society	CMS	1813
Ahmadnagar	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	ABCFM	1831
Allahabad	Board of Foreign Missions of Presbyterian Church in USA	PN	1836

		Abbrev.	*Date of Arrival*
Almora	London Missionary Society	LMS	1850
Ambala	PN		1848
Amritsar	CMS		1851
Anandapur	Basel Evangelical Missionary Society	B	1857
Arni	Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America	RCA	1856
Aruppukkottai	ABCFM		1851
Balasore	Free Baptists (later American Baptist Foreign Mission Society)	AFM	1838
Bangalore	LMS		1820
	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society	WMMS	1821
Bareilly	Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church	MEFB	1856
Barisal	BMS		1828
Belgaum	LMS		1820
Bellary	LMS		1810
Benares/Varanasi	CMS		1817
	LMS		1820
Berhampur	LMS		1824
	BMS		1825
Betgeri	B		1853
Bezwada/Vijayawada	CMS		1858
Bhagalpur (Bihar & Orissa)	CMS		1850
Bishnapur	BMS		1844
Bombay	ABCFM		1813
	WMMS		1814
	CMS		1820
	Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland	UFS	1823
	Diocese of Bombay (Anglican)	DB	1839

		Abbrev.	*Date of Arrival*
Burdwan	CMS		1816
Buxar	Gossner Missionary Society	GM	1856
Calcutta	BMS		1801
	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	SPG	1814
	CMS		1816
	LMS		1817
	Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee	CSFM	1830
	Free Church of Scotland		1830
	Church of Scotland Women's Association for Foreign Missions	CSFMW	1840
Calicut	B		1842
Cannanore	B		1841
Cawnpore/Kanpur	SPG		1833
Chapra (Bengal)	CMS		1840
Chapra (Bihar & Orissa)	GM		1840
Cherrapunji	Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Missions	WCMM	1841
Chinsura	UFS		1846
Chittoor	RCA		1854
Chombala	B		1849
Codacal	B		1857
Coimbatore	LMS		1830
Conjeeveram	UFS		1839
Cuddalore	Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission	Lp	1856
Cuddapah	LMS		1822
Cumbaconan	LMS		1825
Cuttack	BMS		1822
Dacca/Dhaka	BMS		1816
Daska	CSFM		1857

		Abbrev.	*Date of Arrival*
Dehra	PN		1853
Delhi	BMS		1818
	SPG		1853
Dharwar	B		1837
Dinajpur	BMS		1794
Dinapore	BMS		1810
Dindigul	ABCFM		1835
Dohnāvur	CMS		1827
Ellore/Eluru	CMS		1854
Erode	LMS		1839
Fatehgarh	PN		1844
Fatehpur	PN		1853
Gauhati	American Baptist Foreign Mission Society	ABF	1843
Ghazipur	GM		1853
Gogha	Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland	IP	1843
Gooty	LMS		1855
Gorakhpur	CMS		1823
Gubbi	WMMS		1838
Guntur	Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America	ULC	1842
Hazaribag	GM		1853
Henzada	ABF		1853
Honavar	B		1845
Howrah	BMS		1821
Hubli	B		1839
Hyderabad (Sindh)	CMS		1856

		Abbrev.	*Date of Arrival*
Jaleswar	ABF		1840
Jessore	BMS		1804
Jubbulpore/Jabalpur	CMS		1855
Jullundur	PN		1847
Kaity/Keti	B		1846
Karachi	CMS		1850
Kolhapur	PN		1853
Kōṭṭayam	CMS		1817
Krishnagar	CMS		1831
Kumbakonam	Lp		1856
Kyelang	Moravian Missions	Mor	1856
Lahore	PN		1849
Landour	PN		1847
Lucknow	MEFB		1858
Ludhiana	PN		1834
Madras	LMS		1805
	CMS		1814
	WMMS		1817
	CSFM		1836
	UFS		1837
	CFSMW		1843
Madura	ABCFM		1834
Mainpuri	PN		1843
Mangalore	B		1834
Mannargudi	WMMS		1835
Martandam	LMS		1828
Masulipatam/Machilipatnam	CMS		1841
Matale	BMS		1837

		Abbrev.	*Date of Arrival*
Mayavaram	Lp		1845
Meerut	CMS		1815
Melur	ABCFM		1857
Mengnanapuram	CMS		1836
Moolky	B		1845
Motupatti	Lp		1852
Multan	CMS		1856
Mussooree	PN		1847
Muzaffarpur	GM		1840
Mysore	WMMS		1838
Nagercoil	LMS		1829
Nāgpur	UFS		1846
Naini Tal	MEFB		1858
Nallur	CMS		1819
Narasapur	Christian Missions in Many Lands	CMML	1836
Nasik	CMS		1832
Nazareth	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge	SPCK	1825
	(Mission taken over by	SPG	1829)
Nellore	ABF		1840
Neyyoor	LMS		1828
Nowgong (Assam)	ABF		1841
Palamcottah/Pālayankoṭṭai	CMS		1820
Palghat	B		1858
Pallam	CMS		1845
Parassala	LMS		1845
Pasumalai	ABCFM		1845

		Abbrev.	*Date of Arrival*
Patna	BMS		1816
Peshāwar	CMS		1854
Poona	UFS		1831
	CSFMW		1841
	CSFM		1853
Porayar	Lp		1842
Pudukkottai	(Swedish missionaries in Service of Lp)	SKM	1849
Puri	BMS		1825
Quilon	LMS		1821
Rajahmundry	ULC		1845
Rajkot	IP		1841
Ramnad/Ramanathapuram	SPG		1825
Ranchi	GM		1845
Ranipet	RCA		1853
Rawalpindi	PN		1856
Saharanpur	PN		1836
St Thomas Mount	WMMS		1827
Salem	LMS		1827
Satara	ABCFM		1849
Secunderabad	WMMS		1832
Serampore/Srīrāmpur	BMS		1799
Sialkot	Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America	UP	1855
	Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church	UPW	1855
	CSFM		1857
Sibsagar	ABF		1841

	Abbrev.	*Date of Arrival*
Sikandra	CMS	1839
Sirur	ABCFM	1841
Surat	LMS	1815
	IP	1846
Sylhet	WCMM	1850
Tanjore/Thañjāvur	SPCK (Danish)	1778
	SPG	1825
	Lp	1858
Tellicherry	B	1839
Tellippallai	ABCFM	1831
Tirumangalam	ABCFM	1838
Tiruwella	CMS	1849
Tranquebar	Royal Danish Mission	1706
	Lp	1841
Trichinopoly/Tiruchirāpaḷḷi	SPCK (Danish)	1762
	WMMS	1847
Trichur	CMS	1842
Trivandrum	LMS	1838
Tumkur	WMMS	1842
Udipi	B	1854
Vadala	ABCFM	1857
Vellore	RCA	1855
Vizagapatam/Vishākhapaṭṇam	LMS	1805

APPENDIX 32 HINDU–CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

The work of John Muir was known to specialists in the study of the period 1830–50; but a flood of new light has been cast on the whole episode by the work of

R. F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on Anti-Christian Apologetics in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (Vienna, 1981).

With commendable diligence (though rather less than adequate knowledge of Christian theology and terminology), Dr Young has traced the careers of the main actors in this highly interesting episode, and has made available in considerable detail the contents of documents never before made generally available.

Muir retired from service in India in 1853. It may be noted that from 1833 to 1837 he served as assistant to the redoubtable Robert Merttins Bird, one of the outstandingly Christian officials of the East India Company. Muir's work did not meet with uncritical approval on the part of the missionary community. Dr W. H. Mill of Bishop's College, Calcutta, wrote that 'the instructor gives no hint to his heathen pupil of anything more being required of him than the isolated mental reception of the philosophy of Christianity . . . no hint of the primary necessity of being joined by baptism to the church as the body of Christ' (R. F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism*, pp. 72–3).

Somanatha, the writer of the first answer (*Mataparīkṣāsikṣā*) was almost certainly Subājī Bapu, a learned student of astronomy, who had been deeply influenced by an English friend, Lancelot Wilkinson, and had become a believer in the Copernican understanding of the solar system. His broad tolerance in matters of religion, unusual in Hindus of that period, may have resulted from his friendship with Europeans, and also from his study of the physical sciences. His work was never printed.

Haracandra Tarkapancanana, the author of *Mataparīkṣottaram: or, An Answer to a Sketch of the Argument for Christianity and against Hinduism*, was a resident of Calcutta. He combined extreme Hindu conservatism, believing in the eternity of the *Veda* ('Only that religion is true which has prevailed on earth since the time of creation, and not one that arose subsequently'), with a somewhat superficial acquaintance with the work of European free-thinkers. The publication of his work caused something of a stir in Calcutta. The *Christian Observer* in 1841 took rather scornful note of it: 'If the enemies we shall by and by have to contend with in India are not more formidable than this brahman, our task will be an easy one' (R. F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism*, p. 93). As noted in the text, K. M. Banerjea composed in Bengali an answer to the work of Tarkapancanana. For an amusing account of a meeting between Banerjea and the pundit, see *Resistant Hinduism*, p. 101, n. 97.

On Nīlakaṇṭha (later Nehemiah) Goreh so much has been written that not much need be added here. K. Baago has included a chapter on him in his work *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity* (1969). Young's account of the gradual process by which the learned pundit became convinced of the truth of Christianity is excellent. The sixth edition of his Christian work *Ṣaḍdarśanadarpaṇa* was published in 1950; this was followed by an accurate reprint of his Hindu work *Śāstratattva nirṇ-ayah* at Ujjain in 1951.

APPENDIX 33 FORMATION OF THE DHARMA SABHA

Some modern writers maintain that the year 1830 did mark a polarisation of thoughtful opinion in Bengal.[30] According to this thesis, many of those who up to that time had been prepared to go along with moderate measures of reform felt themselves threatened in their identity and compelled to take measures of defence, which meant of course measures of hostility against the reforming party, whether European or Indian. The sign of their unrest was the formation of the Dharma Sabhā in 1830. If these men, the majority of whom were not Brāhmans, 'were bigoted, their hostility was not directed necessarily against modernization as such, but against what they came to fear as intrusive forms of Westernization'.[31] There was also an element of anti-missionary feeling in the movement. That there was an unfavourable reaction is certain. That it was extensive, and that it was successful in delaying the spread of Western ideas among the population of Bengal, is open to considerable question.

APPENDIX 34 THE NATURE OF THE UPRISING OF 1857

What really happened in 1857?

The uncertainty which prevails in this matter is shown in the variety of names by which the events of 1857 are known. English writers have generally referred to them as 'the Indian Mutiny'. Sir John Kaye gives the slightly more generous title 'the Sepoy war'. Indian writers, on the other hand, have tended to glorify the uprising as a great manifestation of Indian patriotism, as one of the first manifestations of the national spirit which led to the independence of India in 1947.

One of the most notable expressions of the latter point of view is the book by Swatantrya Veer V. D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence* (n.d.; 2nd edn Calcutta, 1930). This highly rhetorical work is based on considerable study of materials, and presents persuasively everything that can be said in favour of the thesis it maintains. But can the thesis be maintained?

Most of the literature on the subject has come from the pens of Englishmen, and, although some of the accounts are quoted even by Indian writers as being sober, temperate and reliable, the point of view of the authors is naturally suspect. It will be more useful to listen to Indian voices, and to consider Indian standpoints which differ from that so eloquently put forward by Sri V. D. Savarkar.

Surendra Nath Sen's *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Government of India, 1957) is certainly one of the best books from the Indian side. The author does not hesitate to condemn where condemnation has been deserved; but he attempts to see things as they were seen by contemporaries, to represent accurately what happened, and to judge it fairly. In his concluding chapter, 'A Review' (pp. 398–418), he raises the basic questions:

> Was it a spontaneous outburst of sepoy discontent or a premeditated revolt engineered by clever politicians? Was it a mutiny limited to the army or did it command the support of the people at large? Was it a religious war against Christians or a racial struggle for supremacy between the black and the white? Were moral issues involved in this mutiny and did the combatants unconsciously fight for their respective civilisation and culture?

Dr Sen gives qualified support to the thesis (p. 398) of Sri Savarkar (p. 411): 'What began as a fight for religion ended as a war of independence.'

This position has been subjected to a searching analysis in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. IX, pp. 603–25 ('The Mutiny the Outbreak of 1857'). Majumdar writes:

> It would be a travesty of truth to describe the revolt of the civil population as a national war of independence (p. 613).

> Merely a fight against the English, even with the distinct object of driving them away, cannot be regarded as an Indian war of independence (p. 619).

> It is quite obvious that the idea of a common national endeavour to free the country from the yoke of the British is conspicuous by its absence in these proclamations [by the Muslim chiefs in Oudh and Rohilkund] (p. 620).

> On the whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the so-called First National War of Independence of 1857 is neither First, nor National, nor a War of Independence (p. 625).[32]

The controversy will continue. The evidence already available is massive and yet more may be added to it. The views of thoughtful and temperate English writers are not markedly different from those of thoughtful and temperate Indian writers. This augurs well for a right understanding of what happened in 1857–8, of the part played in these events by Christianity and anxiety about conversion and of the consequences for Christians and for the churches of the outbreak which began in Meerut on 10 May 1857.

APPENDIX 35 EXTRACTS FROM THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION, MADE ON 1 NOVEMBER 1858

We hereby announce to the native Princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

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

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils of misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people. (*Parl. Papers* (1859: Session 1) xviii, pp. 296–7).

Notes

1 INDIA AND POLITICAL CHANGE 1706–86

1 See S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 103–6 and 259–69.

2 See L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah* (London, 1938), p. 149.

3 Qilīch Khān was also the name of his grandfather (d. 1687).

4 The establishment of the hereditary principle was a notable departure from what had been customary under Mughul rule.

5 On his promotion in 1726 he received the name Shujā ᶜ-ud-daula.

6 Like so many other Afghan conquerors, he did not stay long in India. On 20 March 1761 he set out on the homeward march.

7 The last outstandingly able *peshwā*, Bālāji Rāo (otherwise known as Nāna Sāhīb) died shortly after the battle – 25 June 1761.

8 R. Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indoostan from the Year MDCCXLV*, 3 vols. (London, 1763–8); quoted in N. C. Chaudhuri, *Clive of India* (London, 1975), p. 107.

9 *Begum:* 'a queen, princess, or lady of high rank in Hindustan' (*OED*).

10 C. C. Davies (*New C. Mod. H.*, vol. VII, p. 562) is, however, probably right in stating that 'Bussy's expedition into the Deccan involved a fatal division of forces and a dissipation of military strength, which was the source of the ill-success of Dupleix in later times.'

11 For an interesting study of a number of them, see H. Compton, *A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan* (London, 1892).

12 Quoted by N. C. Chaudhuri, *Clive*, p. 92.

13 The most vivid account of those days is still that in Macaulay's famous essay on Clive.

14 The French were not actually driven out. They retained their hold in Pondichéri till 1950. But as a political force they had ceased to count, though they continued to oppose the English at every possible turn, as far as their limited resources would permit.

15 Report of 1 May 1757.

16 On the question of what actually happened at the Black Hole, see Appendix 2.

17 Sirāj-ud-daula was captured, and put to death by Mīrān, the son of his successor Mīr Jaᶜfar, on the night of 2/3 July. For a competent modern study of the battle, and of what led up to it, see M. Edwardes, *The Battle of Plassey and the Conquest of Bengal* (London, 1963), with good maps.

18 N. Chatterji, *Mīr Qasīm, Nawab of Bengal 1760–1763* (Allahabad, 1935) includes shrewd comments on his character (pp. 311–16).

19 See R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 11 vols. (Bombay, 1951–), vol. VIII, p. 105.

20 A most valuable study is P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: the British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1976), especially the chapter entitled 'The Boom after Plassey' (pp. 106–28).

21 The responsibility for collecting revenue.

22 M. E. Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal 1772–1774* (Oxford, 1918), p. 85. But Becher, in another connection, noted 1769 as the very year in which things began to improve.

23 Sir John Malcolm, *Life of Robert Lord Clive*, 3 vols. (London, 1836), vol. II, pp. 310–11.

24 N. C. Chaudhuri, *Clive*, p. 336.

25 *Memoir of. . . John Lord Teignmouth*, 2 vols. (London, 1843), vol. I, p. 39. For a highly judicious and balanced account of the reforms of Hastings, see *CHI*, vol. V, pp. 205–14 (P. E. Roberts).

26 Whether justice was done in the celebrated cases of 'Nuncomar' is still a matter of dispute.

27 See K. Feiling, *Warren Hastings* (London, 1954), p. 103.

28 Rather surprisingly a German translation appeared at Hamburg in 1778: *Gesetzbuch der Gentoos oder Sammlung der Gesetze der Pandits.* Halhed (p. ix) commended 'a well timed toleration in matters of religion and adoption of such original institutes of the country as do not immediately clash with the laws or interests of the conquerors'.

29 On this, see Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: the Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 53–4.

30 Her divorce from her German husband had taken a very long time in arriving, but was perfectly regular under German law.

31 The marriage brought him singular happiness for a period of more than thirty years. His Maria was with him till his last moment, and survived him by eighteen years, dying at the age of ninety in 1836.

32 K. Feiling, *Warren Hastings*, p. 396.

33 I have tried, without success, to ascertain whether Clevland was consciously activated in his doings by Christian faith. The pious John Shore was his cousin. There is an attractive short account of him in P. Mason, *Men Who Ruled India* (London, 1953), vol. I, pp. 147–9. See also M. A. Laird (ed.), *Bishop Heber in Northern India*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971), vol. I, pp. 195, 206. Clevland is undoubtedly the original of John Chinn in Rudyard Kipling's moving story (in *The Day's Work*), 'The Tomb of his Ancestors'.

34 A. P. Dasgupta, in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. VIII, pp. 385–6.

35 Full text in C. U. Aitchison (comp.), *A Collection of Treaties*. . ., 4th edn, 13 vols. (Calcutta, 1909), vol. IV, pp. 40–4.

36 W. Hickey, *Memoirs*, 4 vols. (London, 1913–25), vol. III, p. 238.

37 On all this, T. G. S. Spear, *The Nabobs*, (Oxford, 1932), is still unsurpassed; see

especially chapter iii: 'The Later Settlements' (pp. 42–65).

38 H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901), p. 82, notes that a chaplain might expect to have to take four or five funerals every week.

39 H. B. Hyde, *The Parish of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1899), p. 190.

40 W. Hickey, *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 275. Presumably St James's Church, Piccadilly.

41 *CHI*, vol. v, P. 409 (R. B. Ramsbotham).

42 Letter of 18 April 1779 (to Laurence Sulivan). The whole of this long letter is quoted in G. R. Gleig, *Memoirs of... Warren Hastings*, 3 vols. (London, 1841), vol. II, pp. 260–75.

43 A full and clear account of the Bill, of all that led up to it and of its consequences is J. Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt* (London, 1965), pp. 117–27, 189–94, 437–66. For Hastings' opinion of the Bill, and of Pitt's speeches upon it, see G. R. Gleig, *Memoirs of Hastings*, vol. III, pp. 107, 170, 172.

44 Quoted in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 195.

45 Quoted in S. N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 117.

2 THE TRANQUEBAR MISSION

1 A remarkably full account of the fortunes of the Tranquebar mission is to be found in J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. III, pp. 107–345.

2 The Danish East India Company had been founded in 1616.

3 A new charter of the East India Company, dated 20 November 1670, stated that 'it is to be hoped that many of the Indians, if properly instructed, may be converted from heretic error'; but nothing seems to have come of this.

4 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien* (Berlin, 1955) prints many letters addressed by Ziegenbalg to the king and to other royal personages.

5 *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*, book IV (*De notis ecclesiae*), C. 12 ('Efficacia Doctrinae'): 'Lutherani vero vix unum aut alterum converterunt'. See C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*, 4th edn (Tübingen, 1924), p. 362.

6 This was the custom until well on in the eighteenth century. Although the missionaries were almost all Germans, it was generally held suitable that for work in a Danish mission they should be ordained by one of the Danish bishops; as all those concerned were Lutherans, there were no confessional difficulties.

7 At the time 'pietists' were regarded by orthodox Lutherans as dangerous 'enthusiasts'.

8 The missionaries, in addition, taught German to a number of the more intelligent among the younger converts. In the later stages of the mission German and Portuguese were replaced by English.

9 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 120.

10 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 59: letter of 22 September 1707 (recipient uncertain).

11 Ziegenbalg gives no details. Probably what he had was a book of the liturgical Gospels for Sundays. It does not appear that a complete Roman Catholic translation of the Gospels was in existence at that time.

12 See S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: the Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 280–300.

13 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 45: letter of 1 October 1706.

14 See H. W. Gensichen, 'Verdammliches Heidentum', *EMZ*, 24 (1967), 1–10; also in *ICHR*, 1 (1967), 29–40.

15 For details of Ziegenbalg's contributions on Indian subjects, see Appendix 3.

16 Preface to the English translation (Madras, 1869), pp. xviii, xix.

17 In the English translation, p. xv.

18 The first reference to this enterprise seems to occur in a letter of 5 November 1708 to Dr Lange in Berlin: 'Now with the help of divine grace I will set to work on the translation of Holy Scripture, beginning with the New Testament' (A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 91).

19 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, pp. 98–9: letter of 19 August 1709 (to Dr Lange?).

20 It has been noted that in some respects these English translations are more complete than the versions printed in Germany; the English retained a number of passages which the more cautious Germans had suppressed.

21 On this translation, see T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of ... Editions of Holy Scripture* ..., 4 vols. (London, 1903–11), vol. IV, pp. 1233–4, '*O Novo Testamento* ... *no.7466*, printed at the instances of the SPCK for the use of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar' (1712).

22 An English translation of the letter is to be found in J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans. (Tranquebar, 1863), pp. 112–15. The English hardly does justice to the florid and elegant Latin in which 'your faithful fellow-labourer in Christ, William Cantuar' had expressed himself. The letter is dated 1 January 1719, and therefore reached India after the death of Ziegenbalg.

23 J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., pp. 81–2.

24 It had been found that the type from Halle was unduly large and exacting in the amount of paper required. Fortunately J. G. Adler, one of the three sent from Germany, proved himself to be adept as mechanic and type-founder, and was able to produce the new fount as required. The letters are much less elegant than those used by the Roman Catholics in the sixteenth century and do not come up to the standard of Dutch printing in Ceylon.

25 The best short account of Tamil translations of the Scripture is that by B. Tiliander, 'Tamulische Bibelübersetzungen von Aufgang au bis heute. Ein Abriss', in *Fides pro Mundi Vita: Festschrift für H. W. Gensichen* (Gütersloh, 1980), pp. 268–83.

26 A Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, pp. 310–11.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 401.

28 This section of the Old Testament was published at *Trangambariae* (Tranquebar) in 1723.

29 It was noted that, 'as C. F. Schwartz prepared himself for the journey to India in 1750, he provided himself with a spare wig at a cost of four dollars' (W. Germann, *Missionar Christian Friedrich Schwartz* (Erlangen, 1870), p. 26).

30 For Ziegenbalg's views, see A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 178; his proposals, if accepted, would have put almost dictatorial power into the hands of the provost.

31 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, pp. 404–7: letter of 30 September 1714 (to Professors

Trellund and Lodberg in Copenhagen).

32 For a table of baptisms, see J. W. Richter, *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, 2nd edn (Gütersloh, 1924), pp. 119–37.

33 This is set out in detail in W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau* (Erlangen, 1868), pp. 340ff.

34 A letter of 10 September 1712 (A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 229) gives details of the staff employed in the mission:

A Danish teacher for the Danish school
A Portuguese teacher for the Portuguese school
Two Tamil teachers for the Tamil schools
A matron for the girls' hostel
A Tamil catechist
A Portuguese catechist
Two cooks (female)
A matron for the Portuguese girls
A house servant, who was also the grave-digger
Two water-carriers
Two gardeners and a workman
Two Tamil clerks
An accountant
A doctor (The Tranquebar mission was the pioneer in the use of mission doctors, including some from Europe (see A. Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, Eng. trans. (Vepery, Madras, 1956), pp. 99–101).)
A washerman

To those acquainted with Indian conditions this list will not seem unduly long, but the expense of maintaining all these workers was considerable.

35 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, pp. 473–4: letter of 7 January 1717 (to Francke). It was in this same year that a seminary was started with sixteen students; but the missionaries had not the time to provide adequate teaching.

36 The question is discussed at length by W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 281–93.

37 I have found no reference in the early sources to the conversion of a Brāhman.

38 An account of these distressing accusations and recriminations is given in J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., pp. 115–24. See also E. Bachmann, *Die Lebensbeschreibung des Johann Georg Bovingh* (1978); and H. W. Gensichen, 'D. F. Bövingh', *Z. für Mission* (1980), 106–12.

39 Fenger, in the original Danish edition of his work (pp. 120–3 and 329–57), gave a full list of all the works written against the mission, and in an Appendix the full text of one of them. These have unfortunately been omitted in the English translation (p. 115n.); but are to be found in the 1845 German translation (pp. 98–9 and 265–87).

40 This is generally referred to in the Danish and German sources as the Mission College – its Latin title was *Collegium de cursu evangelii promovendo*; but as the college had nothing to do with education the more usual English term is here adopted.

41 Some letters from this lady have been printed by A. Lehmann, *Alte Indien-post. Briefe der Maria Dorothea Ziegenbalg* (Halle–Wittenberg, 1959).

42 The generosity of the SPCK had hardly any limits. The mission reports in one year record the welcome arrival of thirteen dozen bottles of good English beer. When the mission printer needed lead for the type, he found a supply in the leaden covers in which Cheddar cheeses reached Tranquebar.

43 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 379. Reports of fifty-four conversations were sent to Halle, and published in German in 1715 and following years. Thirty-four of them were published in English translation in London in 1719. See E. Beyreuther, 'Die Missionspredigt Ziegenbalg', *EMM* (1956), 19–36.

44 Ziegenbalg's translations of ninety-nine letters were published at Halle in the annual *Berichte* of the mission in 1714 and 1717, occupying in all 255 pages. Five letters were not translated. See, for a full and scholarly account of these letters, H. Grafe, 'Hindu Apologetics at the Beginning of the Protestant Era in India', *ICHR*, 6 (1972), 43–69, especially the summary on pp. 68–9.

45 W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, p. 332.

46 The exact nature of Ziegenbalg's illness is hard to discover, but the many references to the cough which he was unable to shake off suggests that it was tuberculosis. The mistaken prescription of a Dutch physician probably hastened his end.

47 W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 353–67.

48 On Schultze, see A. Nørgaard, 'Missionar Benjamin Schultze als Leiter der Tranquebarmission . . . , 1720–1726', *NZM*, 33 (1977), 181–201.

49 A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 80.

50 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. 1, p. 183; from *SPCK Reports 1718*, pp. 48–9.

51 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, pp. 191–2.

52 Despatch of 11 February 1731/2, § 75; F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, pp. 193–5.

53 The records of the SPCK contain an interesting series of letters from its secretary, Henry Newman, recording a variety of gifts to India, including books, stationery, beer, wine, cheeses, hour-glasses, spectacles and other things (L. W. Cowie, *H. Newman: An American in London* (London, 1956), p. 123).

54 See J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., pp. 53–7.

55 Sartorius had arrived in India in 1730; he died in Cuddalore in 1738.

56 In the course of the eighteenth century the mission ordained only fourteen Indian pastors. All of these were Sūdras; more than a century was to pass before the first pastor from the scheduled castes was ordained (1890). Only one, Sattianāthan, ranked as high in the general estimation as Aaron. Names and dates are in J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., pp. 323–4. Further details on Aaron are in R. D. Paul, *Chosen Vessels* (Madras, 1961), pp. 1–24.

57 For an extraordinarily interesting letter of C. J. Beschi, SJ, to Walther, with animadversions on the character of Rājānaikan, see W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 195–8.

58 A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 140.

59 A. Lehmann states that in thirty years the number rose from about 300 to 2,200 (*It Began*, p. 159).

60 W. Germann, *J. P. Fabricius* (Erlangen, 1865), pp. 261–2.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 214. For the Fabricius translations, reference may be made to I. H. Victor, 'Tamil Translations of the Bible by the Danish–Halle Mission during the Eighteenth Century', *ICHR*, 16 (1982), 72–85.

62 For details, see Fabricius' long letter of 18 October 1756 to Professor Francke (W. Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 260–73, especially pp. 266–7).

63 W. Germann, *Fabricius*, p. 218. Vadanāyaga Sāstriār appears to have been born about 1770, and lived on into the second half of the nineteenth century. See also A. Lehmann, *It Began*, pp. 161–2.

64 The only one for whom a claim might be entered is Thomas Walker of Tinnevelly (in India 1886–1912).

65 Mention may be made of Fabricius' beautiful calligraphy, as seen in a letter written when he was seventy-two years old, and reproduced by Dr W. Germann at the end of his valuable book.

66 Later, when he was in the service of the 'English' mission, he simplified the spelling of his name to Swartz, and this is the form in which the name is found in the later records.

67 On a letter in Marāthī addressed to Schwartz from the court of Thañjāvur, probably in 1787, see E. Strandberg, 'A Tanjore Marāthī letter in Modī Script to Chr. F. Schwartz', *Acta Orientalia*, 41 (1980), 16–25. In transmitting the letter to the ministry of commerce in Copenhagen, the governor of Tranquebar says of Schwartz: 'besides he understands to perfection all the languages of the country'.

68 These can be followed in the lives by Pearson and Germann, both of whom enter into considerable detail in the picture which they give of the innerlife of Schwartz.

69 D. Poltzenhagen, who died in 1756, and G. H. C. Hüttemann, who served, mainly in Cuddalore, till 1781.

70 Quoted by A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 156.

71 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, p. 587. It is almost impossible to calculate the present value of the salary provided for Schwartz; it seems to me likely that it would be equivalent at the rate of 1979 to about Rs. 1,500 a month. For one used as Schwartz was to living extremely simply and almost in Indian style, this meant if not wealth at least reasonable affluence.

72 From the death of Gründler (1720) the mission never had a provost, and it made no attempt to remedy this defect (W. Germann, *C. F. Schwartz*, p. 301n.).

73 After the death of Philip in 1788, the missionary Klein wrote of him: 'Oh how willing and unwearied was Philip in visiting the sick and the healthy of his congregation! We have certainly lost a great deal in him, and have no one whom we can put in his place with equal confidence.'

74 The name is frequently spelt Tulsi or Tulasi, through confusion with Tamil words. Schwartz regularly used the form Tulossi.

75 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (New York–London, 1835), vol. 1, p. 170.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 185.

77 J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., p. 222.

78 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. 1, p. 314.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 312.

80 *Ibid.*, pp. 317–18.

81 The statement often repeated (as by Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 157) that Haidar Alī, when he was once more inclined to enter into diplomatic relations with the English, said 'let them send me the Christian; he will not deceive me', appears to rest on no credible authority.

82 A number of Indians had learnt German at Tranquebar, but all these seem to have been Christians who were being educated by the missionaries with a view to their becoming useful to the mission in various capacities.

83 Later the Right Honourable John Sullivan.

84 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. I, p. 379.

85 *Ibid.*, pp. 378ff.

86 W. Germann, *C. F. Schwartz*, pp. 261–2.

87 For valuable information as to details, see F. Western, 'Tinnevelly Church'.

88 It is believed by some that the officer had rescued this lady from the funeral pyre of her Brāhman husband, but I have been unable to find confirmation of this romantic story.

89 At this point the usually accurate F. Penny goes astray. The church shown in the excellent photograph between pp. 632 and 633 of *The Church in Madras*, vol. I, is not Clorinda's church, but the later Christ Church, commonly known as the English church. Clorinda's church is a much smaller and not very distinguished building not far away. It is still used from time to time for services. The first church registered of Pālayankottai is of the year 1780. On the accuracy of this register, see F. Western, 'Tinnevelly Church' (unpub. MS), p. 49.

90 There is some doubt as to the dates of Vedanāyagam's birth. A. Lehmann (*It Began*, p. 157) gives it as 7 September 1774.

91 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. II, p. 34.

92 It has often been stated that Schwartz was actually *dewān* (prime minister) of Thañjāvur, but this does not seem to have been the case. No doubt, through his long experience in the country and his knowledge of the languages, he was the most influential member of the committee and his word carried great weight in all the affairs of the kingdom.

93 Fate had dealt hardly with Tuljajee: he had not a single legitimate male heir on whom the succession could naturally devolve.

94 J. Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in India* (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 127.

95 As follows: Tranquebar 20,014; Tanjore 3,000; Trichinopoly 2,463; Madras 4,851; Cuddalore 2,104; Tinnevelly 4,538.

96 It is not clear why Mathurai, at that time probably the largest city in South India and already famous in Christian history, did not attract the attention of the Lutherans. Schwartz was there in February 1778, and in a letter to his friend Sorge has left a vivid description of the splendour of the temple and its surroundings (W. Germann, *Schwartz*, pp. 301–3). But he stayed only one day and seems not to have returned, perhaps discouraged by the hostility of the ruler and the poverty of the people and also by the strength of the Roman Catholic occupation of the city.

97 The Reverend Joel Lakra, in a report of the year 1952, quoted by A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 171.

98 The last days of Schwartz will be recorded in a later chapter.

3 THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS IN DECLINE AND RECOVERY

1 L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1981), p. 130.

2 In many authorities the name is spelt Thozhiyūr.

3 From 1741 to 1743 Vasconcellos was administrator of the archdiocese of Goa; he died in that city on 30 March 1743.

4 Details in W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen* (Gütersloh, 1877), pp. 514–17. E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India* (London–Calcutta, 1957), p. 187, gives the name of Pimentel as Manuel Carvalho Pimentel, SJ.

5 E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 92.

6 E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 95, states that he had authority from his superiors in the Order for taking this action, but does not support his statement by the citation of any such authority.

7 Kariaṭṭil was consecrated in Lisbon on 17 February 1783, reached Goa on 1 May 1786 and died there on 9 September 1786. E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 96, affirms that he reached *Bombay* on 1 May 1780, and died there on 9 September of that year. 1780 is clearly too early; this appears to be simply a misprint in Tisserant. P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* (Ratisbon, 1873), confirms the date 9 September 1786.

8 L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians*, p. 123, referring to T. Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land* (London, 1873), pp. 308–10.

9 E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 97.

10 K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, ed. T. K. Krishna Menon, 4 vols. (Ernakulam, 1924–37), p. 102.

11 On the difficulty of identifying the various prelates and assigning the right numbers to them, see L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians*, p. 117, n. 5.

12 There are many uncertainties in the whole story of Mar Gabriel. The Nestorian patriarch of the time was Elias X (1702–22), but it is just possible that Gabriel was sent by the *Uniat* patriarch of Babylon. He certainly attempted to secure recognition from the local Roman Catholic authorities, but it is equally clear that they never trusted him. For details, see W. Germann, *Thomaschristen*, pp. 533–62.

13 K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, vol. II, pp. 40–7. Visscher gives a number of interesting particulars regarding the Thomas Christians and their way of life.

14 It is impossible, from the sources, to reach any reliable figure for the number of parishes and Christians in the Serra. It seems probable that about two-thirds were Romo-Syrians and that the remaining third belonged to the Malankara church.

15 K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, vol. II, p. 43.

16 J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. II, pp. 390–1. Hough gives no reference in support of this statement.

17 J. Hough, who is here closely following La Croze, states that these priests were 'Roma-Syrians' (*History*, vol. II, p. 393), but this seems doubtful: the seminary in Ambalakkādu, (formerly in Vaipicotta), was in operation and it is probable that priests of that wing of the church would be both considerably more

prosperous and better educated than those here described.

18 Rome 1728. A complete translation in English in G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity in Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1901), pp. 294–5.

19 It may be recalled that the first leader of what became the Bahai movement was known as the *Bāb* (Gate). Hastings *ERE*, vol. II, pp. 299ff.

20 G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity*, p. 206, provides this quotation, but unfortunately does not give the reference.

21 Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana* (Rome, 1794), p. 111.

22 Mar Basil died in 1763, Mar Gregory in 1772 and Mar John in 1794.

23 This is reminiscent of the agreement made more than a century earlier between Bishop Stephen de Britto and the archdeacon of the time.

24 *Memoirs of Adriaan V. Moens* (governor 1771–81); quoted by K. M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala, 1498–1801* (Annamalainagar, 1960), p. 317.

25 L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians*, p. 121, gives the date as 1760.

26 Quoted in G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity*, p. 209. Further testimonies are in E. Malancharuvil, *The Syro-Malankara Church* (Alwaye, 1973), pp. 38–9. A smaller section of the Malankara church was received into the Roman communion in September 1930.

27 Mar Dionysius died on 13 May 1808.

28 This document is cited, in the original Italian, in G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity*, p. 210.

29 This is the account given by G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity*, p. 208. Other accounts vary slightly.

4 ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

1 See W. V. Bangert SJ, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St Louis, Mo., 1972), p. 327. Bangert notes a number of reasons for the decline.

2 Since the Thomas Christians still constituted a people separate from the rest of the population of India, it has seemed convenient to deal with their affairs, whether Romo-Syrian or independent, in a separate chapter.

3 He was exactly thirty-eight years old at the time of his appointment (C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras lusitanas no oriente*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Nova Goa, 1924), vol. I, p. 217.

4 A. L. Farinha, *A Expansão da fé no Oriente* (Lisbon, 1943), pp. 126–31. Exactly the same figure is reached by Fr A. Meersman in 'Some Eighteenth Century Statistics of Goa and Cochin', *ICHR*, 2 (1968), 97–106. For 1759 the figure of 225,000 is given in S. Delacroix (ed.), *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1780–3), vol. II, p. 382, but without a reason for the decrease.

5 This diocese occupied a coastal strip about thirty miles wide from Cannanore on the Arabian Sea almost as far as Negapatam on the Bay of Bengal, where it touched the diocese of Mylapore (San Thomé). Beyond this coastal strip, the interior of the country was in the archdiocese of Cranganore.

6 A. Meersman OFM, 'Some Eighteenth Century Statistics', pp. 106–17. See p. 117, n. 17, for the areas in the archdiocese of Goa not included in the above

survey. In all of them the number of Christians was very small.

7 Once again we have to regret the lack of direct evidence from the Indian side; the history is seen through European eyes.

8 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré* (Trichinopoly, 1914), p. 477. The stations were Idindakarai, Tālai, Manappādu, Virapāndiyanpatnam, Punnaikāyal, Tuticorin, Vaippār and Periyapatnam.

9 We do hear from time to time of Indian secular priests resident on the Coast. It will be recalled that the Coast was in the diocese of Cochin, with the bishop of which the Jesuits were not always on the best of terms.

10 On the position of this official in Parava society, see S. Kaufmann, 'Popular Christianity, Caste and Hindu Society in South India' (unpublished Cambridge dissertation, 1978), pp. 55–177.

11 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré*, pp. 471–2.

12 The term is confusing; the disputes had nothing to do with the rites customary among that section of the Thomas Christians which had remained faithful to the Thomas obedience or with the Romo-Syrians resident in the vicariate apostolic of Malabar. We are once again in the Tamil country, and in the area of Mathurai. The article 'Malabar Rites Controversy' in *NCE*, vol. IX, pp. 97–9 (V. Cronin), is a clear and concise summary of the stages in the dispute.

13 Visdelou was a man of considerable distinction as a sinologue. He lived with the Capuchins in Pondichéri for twenty-five years, until his death in 1739.

14 J. Wicki SJ, 'Schwierige Missionsprobleme in Indien', *Mem. Rer.*, 2 (1973), 935. It seems that his name had been put forward by Propaganda. In 1702 he was given the title 'patriarch of Antioch'. In 1710, very shortly before his death in Macao, he was raised to the cardinalate.

15 The best account of Tournon as man and diplomat is that by F. Rouleaux, 'Maillard de Tournon, Papal Legate at the Court of Peking', *AHSI* 31 (1962), 264–323.

16 Pope Clement XI took vigorous action in defence of his legate. On 4 January 1707 he took the archbishop of Goa severely to task, and on 4 March 1711 annulled the decision of the council of Pondichéri.

17 The full title of the work is *Defensio Indicarum Missionum Madurensis nempe Maysurensis et Carnatensis edita occasione decreti ab. Ill. D. patriarcha Antiocheno*. This work, which was printed in Rome in 1707, was widely circulated in India as elsewhere. It is now very rare, and I have not seen a copy.

18 In the bull *Ex Quo Singulari* of 9 June 1742 he had put out a similarly harsh and comprehensive condemnation of Jesuit methods in China. The actions and attitudes of Benedict XIV are expounded by L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Eng. trans., 40 vols. (London–St Louis, 1924–53), vol. XXX, pp. 461–9. Pastor supports in full the action of the pope.

19 For the intervention of Fr Norbert, see J. Wicki SJ, 'Schwierige Missionsprobleme in Indien', *Mem. Rer.*, 2 (1973), 933–8.

20 See *Encicl. Cathol.*, vol. X, col. 1005, with references to V. Belgeri, 'L'aboliz. del giuramento circa i. ri. malabarici', *Il pensiero mission.*, 12. iii (1940), 230–4, and P. D'Elia, 'L'abolizione del giuramento contro i r. malabarici in India', *Civ. Catt.*, 2 (1940), 331–40 and 424–31.

21 J. Bertrand SJ, *La Mission de Maduré*, vol. IV (1854), pp. 441–3.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 447.

23 Long extracts from his *Directoire de la mission de Pondichéry* Part II, are given by A. Launay, *Histoire des missions de l'Inde*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1898), vol. I, pp. cx–cxxviii.

24 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. cxiii–cxvi. For other considerations, see E. Amman in *D. Th. Cath.*, vol. IX (1927), cols. 1735–45.

25 Beyond the advice of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury in AD 602.

26 The great authority on this part of the world is M. Courant, *L'Asie centrale aux XVII*^{e} *et XVIII*^{e} *siècles: Empire Kalmouk ou empire mantchou* (Lyon, 1912).

27 See p. 76 above.

28 *NR*, vol. II.1, pp. xxxv–xxxvii.

29 To quote the ingenious explanation of L. Petech (*NR*, vol. II.1, p. xxxviii), John Francis was the captain and Francis Mary the pilot – but a pilot neither very skilled nor very discreet.

30 L. Petech does not express himself too strongly: 'The first and the second mission alike experienced shipwreck precisely because of this chronic and incurable disorder of the finances' (*NR*, vol. II.1, p. xlv).

31 The letter has been published by Clemente da Tenzorio, *Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini*, vol. VIII (Rome, 1932), pp. 275–6. See also *NR*, vol. II.1, p. xlix. Not all agreed as to the value of the base at Chandernagore (*NR*, vol. II.1, p. xlii).

32 The later narrative of Freyre is printed in *NR*, vol. II.7, Appendix III, pp. 194–207 (Agra, 26 April 1717).

33 In a letter to the cardinals of the Propaganda of 21 December 1719 (*NR*, vol. II.5, pp. 63–8).

34 The only satisfactory text is that edited by L. Petech, in *NR*, vol. II.3, pp. 3–37. I think that this interesting *Relazione* is not available in English, though it has been translated (badly) into French.

35 This last with the special duty of growing grapes 'and providing the mission with mass wine'.

36 L. Petech (*NR*, vol. II.1, pp. cix–xx) gives a most valuable list of all the missionaries of the mission to Tibet from 1706 to 1760, and of a selected number from 1768 to 1808.

37 In the world his title was Count Lucius Olivieri.

38 *NR*, vol. II.3, pp. 47–86. On his Tibetan–Italian dictionary, see *NR*, vol. II.1, pp. xcii–iii, and a valuable article by Fr Felix Finck OFM Cap. (missionary of the diocese of Lahore): 'Remarks on the Tibetan Manuscript Vocabularies in Bishop's College, Calcutta', *JASB*, n.s. 8 (1912), 379–96. See Appendix 7.

39 The latter is printed, in translation, by A. Launay, *Histoire de la mission du Thibet*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1904), vol. I, p. 34, and the Latin text of other letters relevant to the same issue in *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 378–9.

40 Quoted by E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), p. 362.

41 He was now alone, his companion Fr Freyre having set out on his return journey, and the Capuchins not yet having re-entered Tibet.

42 The 'king' at this time was Lha-bzaṅ-Khan.

43 This was probably the manuscript of 704 pages now in the possession of the Society of Jesus. See C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721* (The Hague, 1924), pp. 225, n. 1, and 274.

44 C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, p. 264.

45 The first printed edition did not see the light until 1904. The *Relazione* exists in two rather different forms. The second, which is fuller on the subject of religion, is the basis of the English translation by Sir Filippo de Filippi (London, 1931; 2nd edn 1937). The only satisfactory edition of the Italian text is that in *NR*, vol. II.5. See also G. Tucci, 'The Travels of Ippolito Desideri', *JRAS*, 9 (1933), 353–8. On the merits of Desideri's work, see S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet* (Stockholm, 1917), vol. I, pp. 277–9.

46 S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. III, p. 13.

47 See *NR*, vol. II.5, p. xxvi.

48 He died at Chandernagore in 1728, being only fifty-four years old.

49 A. Launay, *Thibet*, vol. I, pp. 36–7.

50 The seventh Dalai Lāma had succeeded to the position in 1720 at the age of twelve, and he held it until his death in 1757. P'o-lha-nas was never actually king, but he was by far the most powerful man in the kingdom, and it is not surprising that the missionaries gave him the title.

51 The phrase is due to A. Launay, *Thibet*, vol. I, p. 41. The authenticity of these documents is open to some doubt.

52 But only a minority of them were actually Tibetan; the majority were Nepalis.

53 Fr F. Vannini, *The Bell of Lhasa* (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 342–77, gives a full account of the trials, and grisly details as to the manner in which the punishment was inflicted. See also the account in the *Ragguaglio* of Fr Joachim of St Anatolia (*NR*, vol. III.3, pp. 235–58). The victims all survived the treatment that they had received.

54 The work in those remote areas continued to be known as the Tibetan mission; under this title it was erected as a prefecture apostolic on 14 March 1703. In practice, however, it came to be known successively as the Tibet-Nepal mission, then the Tibet-and-Upper-India mission, and finally as the Tibet–Hindustan mission. In 1845 Tibet was transferred from India to the jurisdiction of the Société des Missions Etrangères of Paris, whose main work was in China.

55 A somewhat sentimental account of the life of the saint is M. da Silva, *São João de Brito: Martir da Missionação Lusiada* (Lisbon, 1947).

56 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré*, pp. 582–4; based on a letter of Beschi to the Jesuit general, 12 January 1715. A much fuller account is L. Besse, *Father Beschi SJ: his Times and Writings* (Trichinopoly, 1918), pp. 45–63, from a letter of Fr Brolias Ant. Brandolini SJ.

57 For a full list of the writings of Beschi, see L. Besse, *Father Beschi SJ*, pp. 177–231.

58 No fewer than 3,615 quatrains in 36 cantos – considerably longer than the *Divina Commedia* of Dante Alighieri.

59 As appears in his satirical attack on protestantism, *Lutherinattiyalbu*, which was

printed at Pondichéri in 1842. A German translation appeared in *EMM* (1868), pp. 100ff.

60 An English translation by A. Crowquill (London, 1861) bears the title *Gooroo Simple, and his Five Disciples Noodle, Doodle, Wiseacre, Zany, and Foozle.*

61 The oldest of these Tamil grammars by Tamils, the *Tolkāppiyam*, is believed by many Tamils to antedate the Christian era. I would myself place it in about the sixth century AD.

62 For details, see Bibliography. The best and most elegant of these works is the 'Key to higher Tamil' – *Clavis Humaniorum Litterarum Sublimioris Tamulici Idiomatis* (Tranquebar, 1876).

63 D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51), vol. II, pp. 319–22 and 330, n. 1.

64 *Grantham* was the name by which Sanskrit was commonly known in South India.

65 In 1932, on the second centenary of the death of the scholar, a library was opened in his memory at Pazhayur in Kerala.

66 See J. J. Godfrey SJ, 'Sir William Jones and Père Coeurdoux: a Philological Footnote', *JAOS*, 87 (1967), 57–9.

67 The fullest account of all these events is Fr S. Noti SJ, *Land und Volk des Königlichen Astronomen Dschaisingh*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1911). See also G. R. Kaye, *A Guide to the Old Observatories at Delhi; Jaipur; Ujjain; Benares* (Calcutta, 1970).

68 S. Noti SJ, *Land und Volk*, vol. II, pp. 91–104.

69 Bouchet was also much involved in the question of the Malabar rites (see pp. 75–9).

70 For six vital years no single letter from the Carnatic mission has been preserved.

71 These letters are found in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères* (Paris, 1819), vols. VI and VII. It must be remembered that the *Lettres* were subject to considerable revision at the hands of editors.

72 It seems more likely that the two missionaries had been carried off by an attack of the cholera which was prevalent at the time. But, in such cases and at such a distance of time, it is hard to be sure of what actually happened.

73 *Lettres*, vol. V, p. 203.

74 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 200.

75 *Ibid.*, vol. VII (ed of 1819), p. 385 (letter of 20 November 1720). Caron died not long after, on 25 July 1721.

76 Some of the converts were, however, as we have seen, Brāhmans.

77 *Lettres*, vol. VII, p. 506. See also, Anon., *History of the Telugu Christians* (Madras, 1910), pp. 214–15.

78 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 532 (letter of 17 September 1735).

79 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, pp. 510–15; J. Bertrand SJ, *La Mission de Maduré*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1847–54), vol. IV, pp. 303–9.

80 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, pp. 410–11 (letter of 12 January 1722).

81 This is all accurately worked out by A. Meersman OFM, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India 1500–1835* (Bangalore, 1971); but his method of exposition, by areas and even by parishes, makes the book rather difficult to use,

and it is hard to get any general impression of the state of the work in the period now under review.

82 In 1700 there were 480 Franciscans in India; by 1779 the number had dwindled to 207.

83 A. Meersman OFM, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, p. 150.

84 A. Meersman OFM, *The Franciscans in Bombay* (Bangalore, 1957), p. 228, from the (Latin) report of the archbishop of Goa, 4 November 1747. 'Unfairly', because as it seems the Portuguese friars had no choice in the matter – they were simply turned out. It is to be noted that the English captured Bassein from the Marāthās in December 1780.

85 *Zend-Avesta*, vol. I, pp. cccxxvii–xxviii; quoted by J. Gerson da Cunha, *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* (Bombay, 1876), p. 164. This is a valuable work; the writer is not favourable to the monastic orders.

86 See A. Meersman OFM, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, pp. 161–9. It is to be noted that this was the period during which the Marquis de Pombal was in power in Lisbon.

87 The decree did not relate to hospices, which remained in the hands of the Franciscans.

88 This is clear from a document, referred to by A. Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, p. 169, in which the leading men of fourteen villages asked that the services of the Franciscans should be retained or restored.

89 Meersman makes the interesting point that Pombal did not press for the appointment of Goans to the episcopate, though by a decree of 2 April 1761 the secular clergy had been declared eligible for all ecclesiastical posts. On the hindrances caused by inner dissensions within the Franciscan ranks, see L. Lemmens OFM, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen* (Münster in Westfalen, 1929), pp. 101–4.

90 See *Mem. Rer.*, 2 (1973), 945–8, and A. Spalle, *Le Missione Teatine nelle Indie Orientali nel sec xviii* (Regnum Dei, 1971–2).

91 The name is spelt also Avalle, and De La Valle.

92 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. I, pp. 228–9. Penny well describes the complexity of the situation, and what at times appears to be the inconsistency of the English authorities in dealing with it.

93 Fr Wicki SJ, 'Schwierige Missionsprobleme in Indien', pp. 946–7, gives details, from the Roman side, of disputes between Capuchins and Theatines, with the bishop of Mylapore on the sidelines.

94 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. I, p. 231.

95 Despatch, 25 January 1715/16.

96 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. I, p. 241.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 464.

98 *NCE*, vol. XIV, p. 491, *s.v.* Ursulines.

99 *NCE*, vol. XIV, p. 493, gives an excellent photograph of their first convent, 'the oldest building in the Mississippi valley'.

100 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, p. xxxvii.

101 K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. III (London, 1940), pp. 272–3, mentions the arrival of the Ursulines, but does not record

their precipitate departure. They did not have 'an active share in the personnel of missions in the South and East of Asia'.

102 The letters are competently summarised in H. Josson SJ, *La Mission du Bengale occidental*, vol. I (Bruges, 1921), pp. 109–25, with references.

103 This curious word *topaz* was often understood to mean 'wearers of hats' from the word *topī*. This is certainly wrong. The origin is much more probably to be sought in *do-bhāshiya*, speaker of two languages, a word which was in common use in the sense of 'interpreter'. See H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1886), pp. 711–12.

104 Summarised by N. Kowalski OMI, *NZM*, 12 (1956), pp. 21–34.

105 Anquetil-Duperron (*Zend-Avesta*, vol. I, p. cciv), like many others, ascribes the decline of Goa to the feelings aroused by the Inquisition.

106 Alexis was a Christian of the Latin, Joseph Kariaṭṭil one of the Syrian, rite. Both these candidates were sent to Rome at a very early age, and spent so long in Europe as to be thoroughly westernised before their return to India.

107 It is to be remembered that the diocese included the large churches of the Fisher Coast.

108 An order of Propaganda of 1764 safeguarded the rights of the archbishop of Goa.

109 Details are given in E. D. Maclagan, *Jesuits*, pp. 133–40.

5 ANGLICANS AND OTHERS

1 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. I, pp. 224–5.

2 A lac is 100,000. Chunam is lime. *Consultations*, 29 August 1779.

3 See chap. 2, pp. 47–9.

4 Details in W. Taylor, *The Earliest Protestant Mission at Madras* (Madras, 1847), pp. 33–4. As an illustration of the variety of work undertaken by the missionaries, Taylor mentions that Fabricius and Gericke prepared for death three German deserters who had been sentenced to be shot: 'All three had given tokens of real repentance, and on the last morning received the Sacrament.' The missionaries accompanied these men to the place of execution, where one out of the three, chosen by lot, was shot.

5 J. Hough, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. III (London, 1845), p. 501, mentions that Gericke found similar conditions prevailing at Chingleput in 1780: 'There he found some pious and well-behaved soldiers, who had been stationed at Vellore, who possessed and valued Bibles and Prayer Books, and were married to native women, who were well instructed Christians.'

6 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (New York–London, 1835), vol. II, p. 77.

7 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. I, pp. 357–8.

8 This letter was published by the SPCK. See *An Abstract of the Annual Reports and Correspondence of the SPCK* (London, 1814), pp. 4–24. Stevenson became a prebendary of Salisbury, and survived until 1760.

9 It is clear that Palk was only in deacon's orders. If he had been a priest, he would not have been able to sit in Parliament, priests of the Church of England not

being eligible for election. In the eighteenth century it was not legally possible for a priest to resign his orders or to take secular employment. Palk was created baronet in 1782.

10 Quoted by F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, p. 358.

11 This dereliction did not prevent Long from obtaining preferment in England; in 1725 he became vicar of Chieveley, Berkshire (F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, pp. 151, 670–1).

12 Decision of 6 November 1704; quoted by H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901), p. 51.

13 Clive and his wife stood as godparents for Kiernander's son Robert.

14 Note that the SPCK report refers only to 'the people of Bengal', probably friends of Schwartz in that part of India.

15 See Appendix 10 for details of Kiernander's former Roman Catholic priests.

16 Kiernander always called his church 'Beth-Tephillah', the house of prayer. But it has passed into history as the Old Mission Church, and is still commonly so called. In 1770 there were eighty-five English communicants, and sixty-nine Indians and Anglo-Portuguese.

17 The cost of erecting the building was Rs. 60,000.

18 E. T. Sandys, *One Hundred and Forty Five Years at the Old or Mission Church, Calcutta* (Calcutta, 1916), gives a good and sympathetic account of Kiernander (pp. 1–11).

19 Quoted by H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, p. 88.

20 It is to be remembered that, though the boys were 'European', many of them could speak more Portuguese than English, and therefore the employment of Portuguese-speaking former Roman Catholics would help to solve the problem of providing instruction for them.

21 I cannot interpret the word 'Perpets', which is not found in *OED*.

22 Quoted by H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, pp. 99–100.

23 On doubts as to the reliability of Holwell's *Narrative*, see Appendix 2.

24 H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, p. 131. See, further, A. Broome, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army* (London–Calcutta, 1851), vol. 1, pp. 377 and 380.

25 A decline seems to have set in from about 1770 on. The situation began to improve with the Cornwallis regime, which began in 1786.

26 H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, p. 83.

27 One authority tells us that they walked because the court of directors had rejected the request of the governor that they should supply him with a state carriage to convey him to church!

28 Their resolution of 3 March 1758 reads as follows: 'We cannot approve of you so generally interdicting the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion within the whole bounds, as such a step may be attended with many inconveniencings . . . As to Fort William itself, it will be a prudent measure so long as the French war subsists not to suffer any person professing the Roman Catholic religion, priests or others, to reside therein, and this you are strictly to observe.'

29 S. C. Grier (ed.), *The Letters of Warren Hastings to His Wife* (Edinburgh–London, 1905), pp. 242–3.

30 A very full account of this is H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, pp. 177–81, including a not very decorous poem.

31 The total cost appears to have been upwards of Rs. 150,000.

32 No disciplinary action seems to have been taken against him in England. In 1741 he was appointed to the living of Winterbourne in Dorset, and he held this until his death in 1769 (E. Chatterson, *A History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924), pp. 53–4).

33 W. Ashley-Brown, *On the Bombay Coast and Deccan* (London, 1937), pp. 88–98.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13. The cemetery in Bombay seems to have been affectionately known by the sailors as 'Padre Burrowes' *godown*' (*godown*, a word borrowed from the Malay language, means 'storehouse').

35 Thomas Wilson held the see of Sodor and Man from 1697 to 1755.

36 Letter of 17 October 1713; quoted in L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman: an American in London 1708–43* (London, 1956), p. 114.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 115. There is an account of Griffith Jones in *DNB*, vol. x, pp. 991–3. Cowie's point is that, if Jones, with his great enthusiasm for education, had been let loose on India, he might have anticipated by a century the achievements of Bishop Middleton in Calcutta and of Carey and his friends at Serampore, and that others in England might have followed him into the missionary task in India.

38 L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 122.

39 Quoted in N. Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyter* (London, 1956), p. 142.

40 At the Reformation no attempt was made in Denmark to retain any historic succession. The king ordered Luther's friend Bugenhagen, who was not a bishop, to commission his new superintendents, and none of the existing bishops took part in the ceremony.

41 Ziegenbalg and Plütschau were ordained in Copenhagen, as was Schwartz in 1750. But Sartorius was ordained in London by Ruperti, one of the king's German chaplains, in 1731, and Geister at Wernigerode in the same year (L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 125).

42 N. Sykes, *Old Priest*, pp. 159–60; and see chap. 14, p. 326. An English translation of the sermon, in Ezekiel 33: 11, is printed in *Abstract of. . . the SPCK*, (London, 1814), pp. 325–56.

43 Letter of 19 December 1713; quoted in L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 127.

44 H. Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies* (London, 1952), pp. 41, 43, 54.

45 *SPCK Report 1791*, p. 110. The suggestion that there should be 'suffragan Bishops' was in order to avoid the delicate problem of whether overseas bishops would have a seat in the house of Lords!

46 Note the remark of the Dutch chaplain Visscher at Cochin on the difficulty of learning the Malayālam language, the acquisition of which was almost impossible for a chaplain, burdened as he was with other responsibilities (K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, ed. T. K. Krishna Menon, 4 vols. (Ernakulam, 1924–37), vol. II, p. 43).

47 Here again we are indebted to the work of Mesrovb Jacob Seth, *Armenians in India* (Calcutta, 1937). The work is somewhat uncritical, but the author has searched out with diligence all that can be known about the Armenian community through the centuries.

48 The course of the embassy and its success have been recorded in great detail in C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1895–1911), vol. II.2, pp. i–lvii and 1–254. It is to be noted that not all were agreed as to the character of Khwāja Sarhād; Wilson remarks that the English 'seem to have had no high opinion of Sarhād's private character, and to have distrusted him from the start'. It was agreed that he would require careful watching and that the English members of the mission would have 'to keep one eye on the Mughal and the other on the Armenian' (pp. x and xi).

49 Permission to settle there was granted by a *firmān* of Aurungzīb of the year 1665.

50 Another Arathoon was in command of a corps of Sindhia's army, stationed at Gwalior in 1813 (H. T. Prinsep, *History of... Political and Military Transactions in India ...*, 2 vols. (London, 1825), vol. I, p. 27). No detail is given as to how an Armenian came to be in this position of trust and authority. Also in the service of Sindhia was one Colonel Jacob Petrus, who died in 1850 at the age of ninety-five.

51 H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, pp. 193–4.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 172. He adds elsewhere the note that it is generally held that the likeness of the Greek priest Fr Parthenio is to be recognised in the figure of our Lord in the famous painting of the Last Supper by John Zoffany, which was placed in St John's Church before the consecration (p. 189).

6 THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

1 A clear and well-documented study of this episode is to be found in O. Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford, 1981), chap. 5: 'The Fall of the Jesuits' (pp. 346–90).

2 The whole story of the Jesuits and the actions taken against them has been set forth at great length by L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Eng. trans., 40 vols. (London–St Louis, 1924–53), vols. XXXVII, XXXVIII and XXXIX. Pastor is not an entirely satisfactory historian, but he has reproduced many official documents which are not available anywhere else, and his account may be taken as reliable at least in its general outlines. A clear and conveniently accessible account of the suppression, naturally rather favourable to the Jesuits, can be found in W. V. Bangert SJ, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St Louis, Mo., 1972), pp. 363–413.

3 From the beginning Jesuits had had no legal existence in England and in a number of the Swiss cantons.

4 The text, almost complete, can conveniently be found in C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums* ..., 4th edn (Tübingen, 1924), pp. 404–11.

5 See L. Pastor, *Popes*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 587, and, for judgements on his character and on his career, pp. 549–50.

6 W. V. Bangert SJ, *The Society of Jesus*, p. 371, gives the number of those embarked as 142, and of the survivors as 119.

7 Most of the detailed information about these events is drawn from a lengthy letter of Fr John Francis Filippi, which Fr Ferroli has used extensively for his account of the suppression in *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51), vol. II, pp. 515–21 and 522–7.

8 By areas: Malabar and South Canara 6; Mysore and Raichur 8; Mathurai and

Comorin 13; Carnatic 17; Chandernagore 4; Agra 4. Further researches may add some names to the list, but in all probability no very large number (D. Ferroli, *Jesuits*, vol. II, pp. 532–5).

9 J. Bertrand, *La Mission de Maduré*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1847–54), vol. IV, pp. 457–63. See also D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51), vol. II, p. 552. Fr Lichetta was for a time in Dhārāpuram and seems to have died in or about the year 1790.

10 This is dealt with in great detail, with lengthy quotations from original sources, by A. Launay, *Histoire des missions de l'Inde*, 3 vols. (Paris 1898), vol. I, pp. 5–151.

11 For a pleasing first-hand description of the Paris Society and its life, by a Carmelite Fr Paul of St Bartholomew, see A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. 9–10. The Carmelite gives us the interesting information that on two days in the week the students were allowed to speak in their own languages; on other days they might converse only in Latin, as had been the rule in Ayuthia.

12 Mgr Pigneau de Behaine, who resided at the seminary, had become vicar apostolic of Cochin–China in 1771; he died on 9 October 1799.

13 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, p. 54.

14 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. 61–2. It is to be noted that the mission of the Carnatic had not at the time a single Indian priest. The Jesuits were hardly in a position to complain of the incursion into their territories of the Goan priests of whom they entertained so low an opinion.

15 It may be noted that Fr Vernet, referred to above, was still alive in 1790. The last survivor of the Jesuits of Pondichéri was Fr Ansaldo, who died in 1805.

16 The work of the mission eventually came into the hands of the Capuchins (E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932)), pp. 136–7.

17 An edition in French was published in 1786–9 and a second in 1791.

18 There is a good account of Tieffenthaler in E. D. Maclagan, *Jesuits*, pp. 137–41, with excellent bibliographical notes.

19 E. D. Maclagan, *Jesuits*, p. 142.

20 Fr Wendel compiled for the benefit of the British authorities a notable work on the Jāts, the Pathans and the Sikhs. The section of the Jāts is considered to be of exceptional value and interest. This work has at long last been published: J. Deloche, *Les Mémoires de Wendel sur les Jat, les Pathan, et les Sikh* (Paris, 1978).

21 Quoted by A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. cxxxvi–cxxxvii.

7 THE NEW RULERS AND THE INDIAN PEOPLES

1 Clear evidence of this is provided by the story of the government's monopoly in the production and sale of opium, and of the relentless liability maintained against this traffic by the evangelical forces. See Appendix 12.

2 C. C. Cornwallis, *Correspondence*, ed. C. Ross, 3 vols. (London, 1859), vol. I, pp. 218 and 236. The second letter refers to his being appointed a Knight of the Garter.

3 All writers on this period are now indebted to F. and M. Wickwire, *Cornwallis: the Imperial Years* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980), a careful study based throughout on original sources.

4 The Bengal famine of 1770 was one of the worst on record. The disastrous consequences following on it could still be felt when Cornwallis arrived in India. The effects were comparable to those of the Black Death in England in 1349.

5 In 1977 a reprint was carried out of translations from *The Poems of Tāyumānavar* made by Sir Mutu Coomāraswāmy, who was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1874 and died in 1879. There is more Sanskrit in Tāyumānavar's language than is pleasing to the Tamil ear in modern times.

6 E. B. Cowell (ed.), *The History of India*, 7th edn (London, 1889), p. 94.

7 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 11 vols. (Bombay, 1951–), vol. VIII, p. 715.

8 See Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford, 1964), p. 201, and A. Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Sub-continent* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 153–60 and 206–9. Walī-Ullah translated the Quʾrān into Persian, and two of his sons translated it into Urdu – a revolutionary procedure.

9 Shore had desired a settlement of revenue for ten years, not in perpetuity. For a good exposition of varying views on the subject, see F. and M. Wickwire, *Cornwallis*, vol. II, pp. 67–9.

10 C. C. Cornwallis, *Correspondence*, vol. I, pp. 324–5, and vol. II, pp. 167–9. On the simplicity of his manner of life, see vol. I, pp. 237–8.

11 On his plea of poverty, the original figure of six crores (sixty million) of rupees was reduced to three crores.

12 Malcolm, *The Political History of India*, ed. K. N. Panikkar, 2 vols. (New Delhi, 1970), vol. I, p. 109.

13 Various excuses are made for Tipu by those who favour him. Narratives of the prisoners have been collected by A. W. Lawrence, *Prisoners of Tipu* (London, 1929). These are perhaps unreliable in detail, but the general impression is of verisimilitude. The horror felt by the young prisoners at the idea of circumcision seems explicable only if, like the Romans, they confused circumcision with castration.

14 On the other hand, Indian rulers could prohibit any Christian propaganda in their dominions. This was the case in, for example, the considerable state of Rīwā in Central India, until the declaration of religious freedom made by the government of independent India in 1947.

15 *CHI*, vol. V, p. 372. Note that Phadnavis is not strictly speaking a name but a title, 'chief accountant'.

16 The phrase is that of Sir John Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, 2 vols. (repr. London, 1872), vol. I, p. 431.

17 An unnamed writer, quoted in *CHI*, vol. V, p. 377. For an incomparable account of the Pindāris, their rise and fall, see J. W. Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. I, pp. 426–62.

18 Confusingly this governor-general (1754–1826) was until 1817 Earl of Moira; in that year he was created Marquis of Hastings. He was in no way related to Warren Hastings.

19 H. T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India . . . 1813–1823* (London, 1825), vol. II, p. 421 (concluding sentences of his 'Political Review – General Result').

20 For a good account of the Indian States, see C. Corfield, *The Princely India I knew* (Madras, 1975). Not all would agree with this highly favourable estimate. Compare E. J. Thompson, *The Making of the Indian Princes* (Oxford, 1943). Note that the rise of the Sikh power in the Punjāb was subsequent to 1818.

21 Munro: in India 1780–1807, 1814–27, governor of Madras 1819–27 (G. R. Gleig, *The Life of . . . Sir Thomas Munro*, 3 vols. (London, 1830)).

22 Malcolm: in India 1782–1822, 1826–30, *Political History of India* 1811, *History of Persia* 1818, *Life of Clive* (3 vols.) 1836, governor of Bombay 1826–30. (J. W. Kaye, *Life of Malcolm*, (London, 1856)).

23 Elphinstone: in India 1796–1827, resident of Poona 1810–16, governor of Bombay 1819–27, refused governor-generalship. (*History of India* 1841; T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone*, 2 vols. (London, 1884)).

24 Metcalfe: in India 1800–38, resident of Delhi 1811–20, of Hyderabad 1820–7, lieutenant-governor of north-west Provinces 1836–8, governor of Jamaica 1839–42, governor-general of Canada 1843–5. J. W. Kaye, *The life . . . of . . . Lord Metcalfe*, new edn, 2 vols. (London, 1858); E. J. Thompson, *The Life of . . . Metcalfe* (London, 1937).

25 E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 8–25, has written perceptively of these four men.

26 Munro to Elphinstone, 12 May 1818.

27 See T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), vol. II, pp. 41–2.

28 Sir John Malcolm, *The Political History of India*, 2 vols. (London, 1826), vol. II, pp. 184–5.

29 G. R. Gleig, *Life of Munro*, vol. II, pp. 84–5.

30 The article appeared in a Calcutta periodical. I regret that I cannot supply the exact reference.

31 *Private Journal of the Marquis of Hastings*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1858), vol. II, p. 326. With this compare the speech of T. B. Macaulay on the Charter Act of 1833 (*Prose and Poetry*, sel. G. M. Young (London, 1952), p. 718).

32 G. R. Gleig, *Life of Munro*, vol. II, pp. 330–1.

33 J. W. Kaye, *Life of Malcolm*, vol. II, p. 621.

34 T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone*, vol. II, p. 173; but see also p. 293 on a 'sermon by Dr Chalmers', and, for his extensive reading in theology and his commendation of 'the manly simplicity of Paley and Butler', see *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 162–3.

35 E. J. Thompson, *Life of Metcalfe* (London, 1937), p. 30.

36 J. W. Kaye, *Malcolm*, vol. II, p. 362. The date of the letter is not given, but, as it is in answer to a letter of Marshman requesting a subscription to the college of Serampore, it belongs probably to the year 1817. See also Sir John Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. I, p. xiv.

37 T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone*, vol. II, p. 95.

38 Wellesley's 'Notes of the Foundation of the College of Fort William; and his 'Regulations' for the college are printed in *The Despatches etc of the Marquess Wellesley KG* (London, 1836), vol. II, pp. 325–61.

39 Teaching actually began on 6 February 1801.

40 H. H. Wilson, *Essays . . . on Subjects Connected with Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1865), vol. III, pp. 262–3. The essay 'Notice of European Grammars and Lexicons of the Sanskrit language' (pp. 253–304) is a mine of recondite and accurate information. Wilson even includes a note on Paulinus' edition of the work of Fr Hanxleden (1804).

41 Second revised edition (Calcutta, 1961).

42 *Ibid.*, p. 115, and see also pp. 106–7. On the controversy as to the origins of modern Bengali prose, see P. Bhattacharya, 'Rammohun Roy and Bengali Prose', in V. Joshi (ed.), *Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernization in India* (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 195, especially n. 1, and the summary on p. 222: 'his prose, being modelled on the *Sādhu-bhāṣā*, is divorced from the living speech'. Compare with this the work of William Carey.

43 An excellent account of the College of Fort William, with full bibliography, is D. Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1969), pp. 44–126 and 217–35. The official account of the college in its earlier years is [Captain] T. Roebuck, *Annals of the College of Fort William, from the period of its foundation by His Excellency the Marquis of Wellesley on the 4th May 1800 to the present time* (Calcutta, 1819).

44 The attitude of the Company towards Roman Catholic missions had generally been friendly, except in times of extreme political tension.

45 Joseph Price, *Some Observations and Remarks* . . . (London, 1782).

46 On Grant's attempt to start missionary work at Malda, see chap. 9, p. 189.

47 See H. Morris, *The Life of Charles Grant* (London, 1904), pp. 108–16.

48 *Parl. Papers 1812–13*, vol. X, Paper 282, pp. 1–112; *ibid. 1831–2*, vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, pp. 3–92.

49 Syed Mahmoud, *History of English Education in India 1781–1893* (Aligarh, 1895), p. 3. As the name makes clear, the writer was a Muslim. He gives extensive quotations from Grant's *Observations.*

50 See, further, Appendix 13.

51 Quoted in *Life of Wilberforce*, by his sons, 5 vols. (London, 1843), vol. II, p. 392.

52 A. T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (London, 1962), p. 152. This is a correct and percipient estimate of what the 'pious clause' really meant.

53 See A. T. Embree, *Charles Grant*, p. 154. Grant discounted this danger, on the ground that the 'spirit of English liberty is not to be caught from a written description of it, by distant and feeble Asiatics'.

54 *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. II, p. 27.

55 Full text in J. W. Kaye, *History of Christianity in India* (London, 1859), Appendix IV, pp. 513ff.

56 It is almost certain that some of these drummers were Christians. They were drawn for the most part from among the boys in the government school in Calcutta for orphan children of soldiers.

57 Interesting details of this process are given by D. Forrest, *Tiger of Mysore: the Life and Death of Tipu Sultan* (London, 1970), pp. 332–3. In 1872 Queen Victoria appointed Ghulam Muhammad, one of the younger sons of Tipu, as a Knight of the Order of the Star of India.

58 S. K. Mitra, 'The Vellore Mutiny of 1806 and the Question of Christian

Missions to India', *ICHR*, 7 (1973), 75–82, is a well-informed and temperate statement. This Indian writer gives it as his view that there is no ground whatever for regarding Christian missions as being in any way a cause for the mutiny.

59 See W. J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army (1882–89)* (Madras, 1882–), vol. III, p. 173. Among easily accessible accounts of the Vellore mutiny, this is the fullest and perhaps the fairest. P. Chinnian, *The Vellore Mutiny 1806* (Erode, S. India, 1982), is valuable for quotations from original and contemporary sources but defective in interpretation.

60 For a clear and accurate summary of the controversy, see E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 177–92.

61 Twining's rhetoric seems to have caught the fancy of the public. A second edition was called for within a year of its publication. He went so far as to recommend the expulsion of all missionaries and the prohibition of the printing of the Scriptures in Indian languages.

62 London, 1808.

63 The full text can be found in *Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee of House of Commons on Affairs of the East India Company* (London, 1813). An accurate summary is in J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, 2 vols. (London, 1859), vol. II, pp. 1–51. For a rather unsympathetic account, see C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784–1834*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1962), pp. 188–92.

64 At a later stage of the proceedings, Sir Henry Montgomery affirmed that in twenty years he had never heard of any Indian becoming a Christian, except one who was converted by 'that very respectable individual Mr Schwartz'. This is a useful indication of the extent of the knowledge of the situation possessed by the leaders of the anti-missionary party.

65 No one seems to have noted the fact that Roman Catholic missionaries had been there for a much longer period under the protection of that same government.

66 C. H. Philips, *East India Company*, p. 189, gives the number of petitions sent in between February and June 1813 as 837. See also *Missionary Register*, vol. I, p. 235.

67 See J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. II, pp. 21–2.

68 The Earl of Buckinghamshire was at that time president of the board of commissioners.

69 It was during the debate in the House of Lords that Wellesley affirmed that he had found the missionaries 'a quiet, orderly, discreet and learned body', and added that 'he had thought it his duty to have the Sacred Scriptures translated into the languages of the East, and to give the learned natives employed in the translation the advantages of access to the sacred fountain of Divine truth. He thought a Christian governor could not have done less; and he knew that a British governor ought not to do more.'

70 The assertion that the evangelicals overlooked the evils in England would not be made by any competent historian today, though the methods they believed in for the elimination of those evils might not now be found acceptable. K. E. Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action: an Appraisal of their Social Work* (London,

1962), has drawn up a formidable list of the evils in England against which the evangelicals in England did battle.

8 GOVERNMENT, INDIANS AND MISSIONS

1 The works in question are: C. H. Philips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1977), with an admirable introducton by the editor, and J. Rosselli, *Lord William Bentinck: the Making of a Liberal Imperialist 1774–1839* (Brighton, 1974). See review of the former by K. Ingham, in *BSOAS*, 42 (1979), 158–9.

2 E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1963).

3 V. Jacquemont, *Letters from India 1829–1832: Being a Selection from the Correspondence* (London, 1936), p. 12. For a charming picture of the Bentincks at home, see *ibid.*, pp. 3–6 and 12.

4 The mind contemplates with pleasure the spectacle of the English aristocrat trying to convert the young French scientist (not a very ardent Christian), not apparently with conspicuous success (*ibid.*, p. 13).

5 J. Rosselli, *Bentinck*, p. 186.

6 He was only sixth on the list of those recommended, and it had seemed unlikely that the nomination would come his way (C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. I, p. xiii).

7 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 140–1 ('Bentinck to William Astell. Private'). The whole letter deserves to be read.

8 The evidence is well collected and set forth in E. J. Thompson, *Suttee* (London, 1928), pp. 16–17. Max Müller, who affirmed that the line had been 'mangled, mistranslated, and misapplied' called it 'perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood' (*Selected Essays on Language, Mythology and Religion* 2 vols. (London, 1881), vol. I, p. 335). The chapter in *CHI*, vol. VI, pp. 121–43, by Sir H. Verney Lovett, is of great value, on *satī* and a number of other kindred subjects.

9 E. J. Thompson, *Suttee*, p. 17. Later Indian writers ascribe almost exclusively to Rāmmohun Roy the credit for the abolition of *satī*; but Rāmmohun Roy advised against immediate abolition as likely to produce serious distrust and dissatisfaction.

10 See E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 144–56.

11 C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. I, pp. 335–45. (The minute is a model of candour and temperate argument.)

12 *Ibid.*, p. 344.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 360–2.

14 S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, 8th edn (London, 1934), p. 382.

15 The word is derived from a Sanskrit root meaning 'to conceal', in modern vernacular 'to deceive'; hence the *thag* is the deceiver. *The Deceivers* is the title of a novel by John Masters, in which a romanticised but not inaccurate picture of *thagī* is set forth.

16 J. N. Farquhar, 'Thags', in *ERE*, vol. XII, pp. 259–61. The quotation is from W.

H. Sleeman, *Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the Language used by the Thugs, with an Appendix descriptive of the System pursued by that Fraternity* (Calcutta, 1836), pp. 7–8. This is now a very rare book.

17 Sleeman was given his special appointment as superintendent in 1835.

18 His book *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 2 vols. (London, 1844; 3rd edn 1915) is a classic, among the best books ever written by a foreigner in India.

19 The primary authority for all this is *History of the Rise and Progress of the Operations for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice and Female Infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa*, Government of India, Home Department, No. 5 (Calcutta, 1854), supplemented by the writings of two of the officers most concerned in the suppression: J. Campbell, *Personal Narrative of Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan* (London, 1864), and S. C. Macpherson, *Memories of Service in India* (London, 1865). The former of these two books is much more reliable than the latter.

20 J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2 vols. (London, 1890), vol. I, pp. 384–90. Frazer adduces similar customs from among many other peoples, including the Indians of North America. See also a good article by W. Crooke, 'Kandh, Khondh', in *ERE*, vol. VII, pp. 648–51; also a full account in E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. III (Madras, 1909), pp. 356–415.

21 Russell, the civil servant, whose report first drew the attention of government to the problem, wrote: 'For all I have seen of them, I feel convinced that no system of coercion can succeed. Our aim should be to improve to the utmost our intercourse with the tribe nearest to us, using our moral influence rather than our power'; quoted J. Campbell, *Personal Narrative*, p. 60. Campbell was appointed as principal assistant to the commission in December 1837.

22 The main source of information on the subject is the enormous collection of papers published by authority of the House of Commons and dated 12 March 1838. These have been usefully summarised by J. Peggs, *India's Cries to Christian Humanity* (London, 1830), pp. 363–490.

23 J. Peggs, *India's Cries*, p. 459. The best authority on the whole subject is D. R. Banaji, *Slavery in British India* (Bombay, 1933).

24 The address is given *in extenso* by J. Peggs, *India's Cries*, pp. 390–1, from *Parl. Papers (Judicial) 1828*, pp. 9–10.

25 In D. P. Sinha, *Some Aspects of British Social and Administrative Policy in India during the Administration of Lord Auckland* (Calcutta, 1969), chap. 5: 'Steps towards the Amelioration of Slavery in India' (pp. 184–223), there is a valuable account of the discussion, in India and England, which preceded the passing of the act of 1843. The general view was that slavery was in any case on the way out, and that detailed legislation was more likely to hinder than to help the cause of emancipation.

26 On infanticide as practised in Bengal, see E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, pp. 140–1. An Indian writer, N. S. Bose (*The Indian Awakening and Bengal* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 128) gives to William Carey the credit for securing the suppression of this practice – 'the first instance of Government interference into the so-called "religious observances" of the people'.

27 Two contemporary works give detailed (and, as it seems, entirely reliable) information on the whole subject: J. Wilson, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India* (Bombay, 1855), and J. Cave-Browne, *Indian Infanticide: its Origin, Progress, and Suppression* (London, 1857). Dr Wilson was the famous Presbyterian missionary resident in Bombay; Mr Cave-Browne was a chaplain on the establishment.

28 Quoted in *CHI*, vol. VI, p. 129.

29 J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 3 vols. (Madras, 1873), vol. I, p. 547.

30 J. Cave-Browne, *Infanticide*, p. 82.

31 This delightful letter is printed, in English, by J. Cave-Browne, *Infanticide*, pp. 91–8.

32 Reference may be made to A. I. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India* (London, 1929), pp. 126–37, where a number of other examples is cited. Among these is the legalisation by Dalhousie in 1856 of the remarriage of Hindu widows; but this was too far ahead of general Hindu opinion, and the act remained a dead letter.

33 This view had been put forward forcibly by Charles Grant in his famous *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* (London, 1797).

34 See J. Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay* (Oxford, 1973), chap. 12: 'Indian Education: the Minute' (pp. 342–99), a comprehensive and reliable survey of the whole question, with excellent bibliography.

35 C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. II, p. 1287 (letter of 1 June 1834); the name of his correspondent is not given.

36 Adam, under the influence of Rāmmohun Roy, had adopted the Unitarian position and therefore ceased to be a missionary. He continued, however, to serve the government in Bengal in a number of useful capacities. His first *Report on the State of Education in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1835), to be followed by others, is a masterpiece; it deals with far more than elementary education, and notes with regret (p. 111): 'Women are not only not educated, but the idea of educating them even in the most elementary knowledge is treated with contempt and even reprobation.'

37 Quoted by D. Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1969), p. 242.

38 Carey's *Bengali Dictionary* contained 85,000 words.

39 J. Clive, *Macaulay*, p. 351.

40 On this, see, further, A. F. S. Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 129–68.

41 On what follows, there is an immense amount of information in *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance* (Calcutta, 1958). See especially the chapter on 'Derozio and Young Bengal' (pp. 16–33).

42 See Lord Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta* (London, 1925), p. 17.

43 Quoted *Bengal Renaissance*, p. 18.

44 The two Europeans present refrained from voting.

45 For many years the minute, though constantly quoted, was not readily available. The full text is now given in C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. II, pp. 1403–13.

46 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xlii.

47 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 1412.

48 Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807–86): deputy secretary to government in Calcutta 1831–40, brother-in-law of Macaulay, wrote *On the Education of the People of India* (1838), governor of Madras 1859–60.

49 C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. II, pp. 1413–14.

50 Quoted in J. Clive, *Macaulay*, p. 419, from M. Gilbert, *Servant of India: a Study of Imperial Rule from 1905 to 1910* (London, 1966), p. 132. But Andrews proceeds to point out the defects of Macaulay's minute, and some harmful consequences that followed from it (this part of the letter is not quoted by Clive).

51 13,699 Hindus, 1,636 Muslims, 236 Christians. (*Parl. Papers 1847–8*, HC 48 (20)). The general refusal of Muslims to opt for education in English was to have dire consequences in the twentieth century.

52 See J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India* (London, 1859), pp. 366–96 and 431–43, especially pp. 379–82.

53 Auckland to Hobhouse, 17 November 1836.

54 October 1825, pp. 270–71, quoted in E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, p. 163.

55 D. E. Smith, *India as a Secular State* (Princeton, NJ, 1963), pp. 75–6.

56 Claudius Buchanan had in 1806 been an eye-witness of the ceremonies in the temple of Jagannāth at Puni. His account in *Christian Researches in India*, 8th edn (Cambridge, 1811), pp. 17–35, stirred deep feelings in the mind of many readers.

57 D. P. Sinha, *Some Aspects of British Social and Administrative Policy in India during the Administration of Lord Auckland* (Calcutta, 1969), p. 122. Chap. 4 of this work, 'Auckland's Policy Towards Religion', based on original documents, temperate and judicious, is the best survey known to me of this highly complicated subject.

58 The despatch did, however, state that 'we are rather holding up a standard to which you are ultimately to conform your policy, than prescribing a rule which you are instantly and without respect of circumstances, to carry into accomplishment'. Details are given in J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India*, pp. 410–20.

59 Quoted in D. P. Sinha, *Aspects of British Policy*, p. 130.

60 On obscuration and inconsistencies in the accounts of these events, see Appendix 17.

61 The Duke of Wellington at first, disapproved of the action of Maitland, but later changed his mind. Maitland was notably vindicated by his appointment as governor of Cape Colony, a post which he held from 1844 to 1847.

62 The order was despatched on 9 August 1838 (D. P. Sinha, *Aspects of British Policy*, p. 151, n. 80).

63 A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social* (London, 1882), chap. 10: 'Our Religious Policy in India', at p. 263. This article was written in 1872.

64 This prohibition was not absolute in the armies of Madras and Bombay.

65 Full details, including the official text, are given in M. Wilkinson, *Sketches of Christianity in North India* (London, 1844), pp. 248–64. This source alone quotes the statement of Prabhu Din, supported by his fellow-soldiers, that 'the serjeant-major, the quartermaster-serjeant and the drummers are all Christians'

(pp. 257 and 263). The serjeant and quartermaster-serjeant would be Europeans or Anglo-Indians. On the drummers, see chap. 18. See a further reference by M. Wilkinson, *Missionary Register*, March 1830, p. 149: '*CHUNAR Feb 8, 1829* In the afternoon had a Hindoostanee service for the Drummers and their wives; Among them were 10 Christian Drummers.' A rather different view of the event was set out by J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India*, pp. 341–4.

66 Crawfurd was heir to a baronetcy, and therefore a person of some consideration in Indian society.

67 J. Mill, *History of British India*, 5th edn, 10 vols. (London, 1858), vol. IX, p. 193. This volume was written by Professor H. H. Wilson.

68 The more decisive action taken by Lord Dalhousie will be dealt with in a later section.

69 J. Mill, *History*, vol. IX, p. 365. The pages dealing with the Charter Act of 1833 (pp. 331–96) constitute an able and impartial account of what went on.

70 *Hansard*, 3rd ser., vol. XIX, p. 509.

71 J. Mill, *History of British India*, vol. IX, p. 391. But, as some later events were to show, Esau was not quite as dead as could have been desired.

72 Dated 10 December 1834.

73 B. B. Majumdar, *History of Political Thought*..., vol. I (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 72–5 and 192–5; B. B. Kling, *Partner in Empire: Dwarkanath Tagore and the Age of Enterprise in Eastern India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976), pp. 24–8. For Bentinck's views on European colonisation, see C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. I, pp. 201–13.

74 Quoted by J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India*, p. 449 n.

75 Letter of Sir Charles Napier, January 1843; quoted in Sir W. Napier, *The Life... of... Napier*, 4 vols. (London, 1857), vol. II, p. 300.

76 See F. J. Goldsmid, *James Outram: a Biography*, 2 vols. (London, 1880), vol. II, pp. 5–6. It was his great opponent, Napier, who had given Outram the title of 'the Bayard of India', by which he has become widely known (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 292).

77 L. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh* (Oxford, 1893), p. 91.

78 For an account of this period very unfavourable to the British, see R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 11 vols. (Bombay, 1951–), vol. X, pp. 47–50 (R. C. Majumdar). See also M. Alexander and S. Anand, *Queen Victoria's Maharaja: Duleep Singh 1839–93* (London, 1980), a fascinating work. Duleep Singh had been recognised as his son by Ranjit Singh. He was baptised on 8 March 1853 and lived as a Christian for many years. But in 1884, by which time he had become extremely eccentric, he declared himself to have returned to the Sikh religion. He died on 22 October 1893.

79 See chap. 12.

80 All the notable men were Anglicans, with the exception of Henry Havelock, who married the daughter of Joshua Marshman, the Baptist missionary, and himself became a Baptist. See J. C. Pollock, *Way to Glory: the life of Havelock of Lucknow* (London, 1957).

81 His friend Lewis wrote in his diary for 26 March 1826: 'Lawrence does not seem to comprehend the doctrine of original sin.' In this he was mistaken. Lawrence knew a great deal about original sin in himself and in others.

82 J. L. Morison, *Lawrence of Lucknow 1806–1857* (London, 1934), p. 330.

83 *Memorials of . . . Sir Herbert B. Edwardes*, by his wife, 2 vols. (London, 1886), vol. II, pp. 32–5. The letter was written from Peshawar to John Nicholson at Delhi.

84 There is an excellent article on orphans and other waifs and strays in India: D. Arnold, 'European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 7 (1978/9), 104–27.

85 A pleasant description of a visit to the Sanāwar school is J. Lawrence and A. Woodiwiss (eds.), *The Journals of Honoria Lawrence* (London, 1980), pp. 194–6.

86 The expression is that of Sir Richard Temple, *James Thomason* (Oxford, 1893), p. 139.

87 [J. Thornton,] 'The Settlement of the N.W. Provinces', *Calcutta Review*, 12 (1849), 413–67, a thorough and able piece of work; it includes a charming and imaginative picture of the work of a settlement officer at that period (pp. 466–7). The article is in part a review of Thomason's *Directions for Settlement Officers* (Calcutta, 1844) and other official publications for which he was responsible.

88 Sir Richard Temple, *James Thomason*, pp. 173–4.

89 Thomason's refusal to include Christian teaching in his programme was harshly criticised by many of his friends on the ground that merely secular education would do more harm than good. He stuck to his guns.

90 Thomason did not venture to preach, but read a printed discourse from one of the many collections of sermons available at that time.

91 Note the letter of Lord Dalhousie to Henry Lawrence of 20 February 1849: 'There are more than Major Edwardes in the Residency who appear to consider themselves now-a-days as Governor-General at least . . . I will come down unmistakably upon any of them who may try it on – from Major Edwardes CB, down to the latest enlisted General-Ensign-Plenipotentiary on the establishment' (J. L. Morison, *Lawrence*, p. 42).

92 H. B. Edwardes, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848–49*, 2 vols. (London, 1851), vol. I, pp. 350–2.

93 *H. B. Edwardes*, vol. I, pp. 304–6. A less temperate speech by Edwardes in London in May 1860 led Canning to write to Sir Bartle Frere: 'Really Sir John Lawrence ought to be shut up, and Edwardes have his head shaved. The latter is exactly what Mahomet would have been if born at Clapham instead of Mecca' (J. Martineau, *The Life and Correspondence of the Rt Hon Sir Bartle Frere*, 2nd edn (London, 1895), vol. I, p. 370).

94 *Life of Reginald Heber*, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. II, pp. 317–18.

9 BENGAL 1794–1833

1 These two phrases have constantly been quoted in the wrong order. But Carey's theology was correct; great expectations should precede rather than be produced by great enterprises.

2 S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, 6th edn (London, 1925), pp. 84–5.

3 English writers have tended to exaggerate the importance of these events. This

was not the beginning of modern missions, not even the beginning of Protestant missions – this had come with Ziegenbalg eighty years earlier. Nottingham and Kettering meant that the immense forces of Anglo-Saxon Christianity would now be released for missionary service; this was significance enough.

4 G. Smith, *The Life of William Carey* (London, 1885), pp. 45–6.

5 S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, pp. 34–5.

6 Scott published in 1779 *The Force of Truth*, an account of his own experience in the search for truth, which in the end he found in Christ and in the Scriptures which bear witness to him. It was of this book that John Henry Newman (1802–91) wrote that, humanly speaking, he almost owed to it his soul (J. H. Newman, *Apologia pro Vita sua* (London, 1966), p. 32).

7 W. Gardiner, in *Music and Friends*; quoted in G. Smith, *Life of Carey*, p. 45.

8 It had long been known that Carey had been won for Christ by a fellow-apprentice, but the latter's name had been completely forgotten until, while S. Pearce Carey was preparing his life of Carey, a bundle of letters (copies) came into his possession and the long-forgotten name was revealed. (S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, p. x).

9 The work has been exactly reproduced a number of times in facsimile, e.g. by Hodder and Stoughton (London, 1891).

10 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, 2 vols. (London, 1859), vol. I, pp. 30–3.

11 C. B. Lewis, *The Life of John Thomas* (London, 1873), is favourable to Thomas; the biographer of Grant, Henry Morris (1904), takes a highly critical view, in which he is followed by A. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (London, 1962). See E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 9.

12 Rām Bāsu showed great interest in the Gospel, and even wrote a number of Christian tracts, but he was never baptised. In later years he was employed at Fort William College and so renewed his association with Carey.

13 Grant and Brunsdon died after only short periods of missionary service.

14 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, p. 93.

15 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 519.

16 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 106.

17 Letter of 5 February 1800 (to Andrew Fuller); in E. Carey, *Memoir of Carey* (Boston, Mass., 1836), p. 265.

18 Dr A. H. Oussoren has dedicated a whole book to the subject: *William Carey, especially his Missionary Principles* (Leiden, 1945).

19 First edition, 1801.

20 Andrew Fuller in England could find no better term for the *Rāmāyana* than 'that piece of lumber'. Many supporters in England took a narrower view of the nature of missionary work than did Carey and his friends.

21 The title of the edition of 1811 is *An Account of the Writings, Religion and Manners of the Hindoos, including translation from their principal works.* Of later editions the title is *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos, including a minute description of their manners and customs, and translation from their principal works.* Further changes were made in later editions.

22 For an estimate of the value of Ward's work, see Appendix 18.
23 D. A. Christudoss, in W. S. Stewart, *The Story of Serampore and its Colleges*, 3rd edn (1961), p. 21.
24 Ward to the Society in May 1800; quoted in A. H. Oussoren, *William Carey*, p. 206.
25 The whole of this classic document is to be found conveniently in A. H. Oussoren, *William Carey*, pp. 274–84. The quotation is on pp. 276–7.
26 *Ibid.*, pp. 275–6.
27 *DNB*, vol. XVII, p. 669, affirms that this 'remains the best version in any language'. This was certainly true in 1809; it might be disputed today.
28 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, p. 249.
29 There is a useful map in E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India* (Cambridge, 1967), facing the Introduction on p. 1.
30 Chamberlain had found it impossible to adapt himself to the communal style of living adopted by the Baptist missionaries in earlier days.
31 In 1803 he and his brother Felix, then little more than children, had combined to start the first Sunday school in India.
32 His life was written by W. Yates, *Memoirs of Mr John Chamberlain, Late Missionary in India* (London, 1826). The section occupying pp. 421–50 is entitled 'Delineation of the Character of Mr Chamberlain'. Other estimates are less favourable.
33 S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, p. 409.
34 On the whole episode, see M. Broomhall, *Robert Morrison: a Master Builder* (London, 1924), pp. 69–73.
35 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, p. 245.
36 The work was begun under the direction of the notable orientalist John Leyden (1775–1811).
37 H. Edwardes, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848–49*, 2 vols. (London, 1851), vol. I, pp. 485–7.
38 G. Smith, *Carey*, p. 141. In point of fact most converts in India desire to change names which have too close a Hindu connotation.
39 *Ibid.*, pp. 137–8. This was the first time that the Lord's Supper was administered in the Bengali language.
40 Krishna Prasād continued to wear the sacred thread for three years after his baptism, but then of his own volition gave it up.
41 See A. H. Oussoren, *William Carey*, p. 280.
42 *Ibid.*, pp. 280–1.
43 *Ibid.*, pp. 282–3.
44 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. II, p. 173.
45 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 244.
46 For Carey's letters to England on the subject of the college, see G. Smith, *Carey*, pp. 387–403.
47 For a different view of the situation, see F. A. Cox, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society from 1792 to 1842*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), especially vol. I, p. 286.
48 When Serampore was sold to the British in 1845, a clause was included to the

effect that the right of Serampore to grant degrees should not be interfered with.

49 He spoke the truth; had not Carey once said, 'What does Marshman know about a garden? He only appreciates it as an ox does grass.'

50 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. II, p. 476.

51 S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, chap. 31 ('The Garden-Grower') is the best account known to me of Carey's activities as a botanist.

52 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, p. 108. The prime mover in the matter was George Udny, the pious friend of Carey.

53 The fullest treatment of the subject known to me is that in E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, pp. 139–69. Generous recognition that there was a strong reforming movement among Indians in Bengal should not be allowed to obscure the part that the Baptists played in all these good works.

54 This is the date as given by J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol II, p. 163. The statement that this was the first Bengali newspaper to appear has been challenged, but apparently without reason.

55 P. N. Bose and H. W. B. Moreno, *A Hundred Years of the Bengali Press* (Calcutta, 1920), p. 8; quoted in E. D. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, p. 107. The last issue of the *Durpan* appeared on 25 December 1841.

56 The later history of *The Friend* falls outside the limits of this chapter. After a lapse of ten years, in 1835 it began to appear as a weekly journal under the editorship of the indefatigable John Clark Marshman, who held the fort until 1852. *The Friend* still exists under its changed title *The Statesman.*

57 J. C. Marshman's account of the disaster is moving in its sheer simplicity (*Life and Times*, vol. I, pp. 468–73).

58 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 104.

59 G. Smith, *Carey*, pp. 374–5. See also J. C. Marshman, *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (London, 1864), especially p. i.

60 Many of the missionaries' children followed their parents into the service of the mission; but others, naturally, took up secular avocations, and some may have secured positions to which considerable emoluments were attached.

61 The account of the last years of Carey in G. Smith, *Carey*, pp. 419–33, is moving in its completeness.

62 I suspect that, like his father, he was not an altogether easy man to deal with. But he did earn inclusion in *DNB*; the article gives an exhaustive list of his many works.

63 The majority of the Anglican chaplains, but not of the missionaries, were graduates of British universities.

64 The quotation is from the *Calcutta Christian Observer* of 1833; see M. A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 191–2.

65 A memoir of Lacroix was written by Joseph Mullens and published in 1862.

66 Not all the twenty-six became permanent centres of Christian work; and in Calcutta and some other centres several societies were at work.

67 Letter of 16 November 1818 (to the SPG).

68 M. A. Laird's section on 'Schools' in *Missionaries* (pp. 63–176) is uniquely valuable as drawing together the evidences scattered through many sources.

69 *3rd Serampore School Report*, pp. 24–7.

70 Letter of 12 June 1820; quoted in M. A. Laird, *Missionaries*, p. 89.

71 H. Ware and W. Adam, *Queries and Replies on the Present State of the Protestant Missions in the Bengal Presidency* (Calcutta, 1824), pp. 60–1.

72 At that time the committee was composed in large part of laymen; the missionaries had no voice in it.

73 *Memoir of Bishop Heber*, by his widow (Boston, Mass., 1856), p. 246.

74 In 1817. See E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, p. 123.

75 The CMS undertook to provide financial support for Miss Cooke's work. Not long after, she married Isaac Wilson, one of the missionaries of the CMS.

76 *Life of Reginald Heber*, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. II, p. 187. Bishop Heber wrote on the subject at greater length to the dean of St Asaph on 16 December 1823 (A. Heber (ed.), *Narrative of a Journey*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1828), vol. II, pp. 244–7).

77 K. Ingham, *Reformers in India* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 95. The support given to these enterprises by leading Hindu gentlemen should not be passed over without mention. Fuller information is in J. C. Bagal, *Women's Education in Eastern India* (Calcutta, 1956).

78 E. D. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, pp. 49–50, with references.

79 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, pp. 460–1.

80 It is to be remembered that the Anglican church in India was until 1930 a part of the Church of England. What was legal in England, unless modified by act of Parliament or by order in council, was also legal in India.

81 Ward's *Journal*, vol. III (5 May 1807); quoted in E. D. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, p. 55.

82 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, p. 297.

83 H. Josson, *La Mission du Bengale occidental*, vol. I (Bruges, 1921), pp. 186, 190–1, refers to Marshman as head of the mission at Serampore, but this was a position to which he never attained, fit as many judged him to be to hold that post.

84 On this, see D. V. Singh, 'The Calcutta Missionary Conference', *ICHR*, 13 (1979), 8–16.

85 *Indian Evangelical Review*, 5 (1818), 271.

86 J. Mullens, *Brief Memorials of . . . Lacroix* (London, 1862), pp. 121–3.

87 J. Mullens, biographer of Lacroix, was one of those most responsible for the convening of the 'Conference on Missions' held in 1860 at Liverpool (*Brief Memorials*, pp. 365–76).

10 NEW BEGINNINGS IN THE SOUTH

1 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (New York–London, 1835), vol. II, p. 202. He adds that 'a resident usually receives seven thousand star pagodas, or £3,000 sterling. I have not received anything, nor have I asked it.' When he had occasion to visit Madras in connection with the affairs of the young *rājā*, 'the expenses of the journey I bore myself'.

2 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. II, p. 171.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 106–7. The patience of the new Christians under provocation led after a time to a diminution of the hostility of the Hindus.

4 A touching estimate of Schwartz' character by his colleague, Dr C. S. John of Tranquebar, is given by W. Germann, *Missionar Christian Friedrich Schwartz* (Erlangen, 1870), p. 362.

5 Quoted by J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans. (Tranquebar, 1863), p. 295.

6 There is a long report on his educational work in the *Missionary Register*, I (1813), 369–84: 'Experiment in Fifteen Tamil and Five English Native Schools'.

7 Quoted in A. Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar* (Madras, 1956), p. 175.

8 A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 177, gives the figure '1900 souls'. This may be more correct than the figure given in the text.

9 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. II, pp. 239–40.

10 The SPG was not able to send its first missionary to South India until 1829. But D. Schreyvogel, who had been ordained in Tranquebar in 1813, accepted episcopal ordination in 1826, and died at Pondichéri in 1840.

11 J. Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, Eng. trans. (Edinburgh–London, 1908), p. 166. On caste, see, further, chap. 16.

12 This translation was later criticised on the ground of Rottler's imperfect knowledge of the English language.

13 For an elaborate and accurate analysis of the community and its social position, see the careful work of R. L. Hardgrave, *The Nadars of Tamilnad: the Political Culture of a Community in Change* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969). Hardgrave has written well in this book on the Hindu–Christian schism, dealt with later in this chapter.

14 R. Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission* (Madras, 1881), pp. 71–100.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 79

16 It is to be noted that in 1811 the missionaries ordained as 'country priests' four catechists – Gnanapragāsam, Adaikalam, Vedanāyagam and Abraham (F. Western, 'Early History' (unpub. MS), p. 134).

17 James Hough later served the church in India by being the first writer in modern times to write a comprehensive *History of Christianity in India* (see Bibliography). We are fortunate in having his own account of what he was able to achieve in Tirunelveli. Hough's son prefixed to vol. V of his history (1860) a useful biographical account of his father (pp. i–xxxi).

18 Hough notes that 270 of these lived over the border in Travancore.

19 These had later to be given up; Christian opinion was not yet in favour of the education of girls.

20 Hough made his appeal to the CMS only after ascertaining that it was very unlikely that the SPCK would be able to spare a missionary for work in the far south.

21 J. L. Wyatt (ed.), *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell* (London, 1894), p. 99.

22 On Rhenius' principles of translation, see Appendix 22.

23 In spite of his German-sounding name, Schaffter was a French-speaking Swiss. He died in 1861, the last of the continentals who served an Anglican missionary

society without having received Anglican orders.

24 It is now the cathedral church of the diocese of Tirunelveli of the Church of South India.

25 In what is now the Tirunelveli diocese of the CSI, the bell sounds every evening in 700 villages. The only difference is that in the days of Rhenius the service resembled unstructured family prayers; with the introduction of the Anglican prayer book, it took on a more recognisably liturgical form.

26 *Memoir of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius*, by his son (London, 1841), p. 277. What was all-important was that the great majority of the Christians continued to live in their own villages, though not always without tensions between them and their non-Christian neighbours.

27 *Memoir of Rhenius*, pp. 289 and 291. For criticisms of the work of Rhenius and his Indian helpers, see M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), p. 100.

28 *Memoir of Rhenius*, pp. 427–9.

29 See *Memoir of the late Anthony Norris Groves*, compiled by his widow (London, 1856), pp. 227–43, and *Memoir of Rhenius*, p. 455.

30 *Memoir of Rhenius*, pp. 499–500, where the statement is given in full.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 503.

32 It can hardly be doubted that one of those who gave this advice was A. N. Groves. A letter quoted on p. 506 of the *Memoir of Rhenius* is exactly in the style of Groves, who also wrote a little later *A Brief Account of the Present State of the Tinnevelly Mission.*

33 G. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission* (London, 1861), p. 120.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 433. Charles Rhenius served as a missionary from 1845 to 1852, and as a chaplain from 1854 until his death in 1874. F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. III, p. 348: 'an effective preacher, a very good musician, and one of the most gentle and kind-hearted of men'.

35 The older Malayālam-speaking stock bears the name Nambūdiris; in the south the Tamil-speaking Iyers and Iyengārs are more numerous.

36 The Lord gave him length of days; he died in 1875, being about ninety years old.

37 This account is based on that given by R. Caldwell in *Early History*, pp. 125–31, which itself is based on an article that appeared in a Tamil magazine in 1841. The writer was a relative of Vedamānickam, and Caldwell was of the opinion that there was no reason to doubt its general historical accuracy.

38 J. H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore 1806–1906* (London, 1908), p. 25; W. Robinson, *Ringeltaube the Rishi* (London, 1908), p. 64. The latter work gives lengthy quotations from Ringeltaube's letters to his sister, from one of which the above description is taken, but it gives no reference to sources.

39 S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity: a Descriptive Account of Travancore and its People* (London, 1871), p. 264.

40 J. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, p. 24.

41 Ringeltaube noted with regret that all the pupils were boys; the time had not yet come at which parents would be willing to send girls to school.

42 J. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, p. 28. With a view to securing the future of the mission, Ringeltaube was successful in obtaining through Colonel

Munro a grant of land, the annual revenue from which was reckoned at 350 star pagodas. This area he described as a sort of glebe lands, forming consequently a permanent supply for those wants which are inseparable from a religious establishment.

43 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. II, p. 388.

44 J. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, pp. 31–2.

45 The congregation would of course be seated Indian fashion on the floor. This was for many years the largest Protestant church in India.

46 On 20 March 1844 Eliza Mault was married to Robert Caldwell. Legend has it that the LMS missionaries, wishing to give Robert a wedding present, handed over to him the LMS congregations on the British side of the border. The transfer of the congregations is historic fact; the connection with the wedding seems to belong to the realm of mythology.

47 This was rather an artificial industry, as it served only a Western market; but at that time there was no Indian market to be served.

48 At the same time the CMS missionary at Alleppey, the Reverend T. Norton, was also appointed as judge; but Norton, after a short period in office, resigned, for the same reasons that had led to the resignation of Mead.

49 See C. G. Hospital, 'Clothes and Caste in Nineteenth Century Kerala', *ICHR*, 13 (1979), 146–56. The missionaries' concern for 'decency' and the Nādār women's desire for social elevation both played a part in arousing the wrath of the Hindus. Dr R. N. Yesudas does not exaggerate when he writes: 'For the great majority of the people in Travancore during the nineteenth century oppression was synonymous with the Hindu caste system and Christianity was the major liberating force' – for Hindus no less than for Christians (*The History of the London Missionary Society in Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1980), p. 252).

50 S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, pp. 277–8, and 281.

51 In recognition of these services he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the archbishop of Canterbury.

52 J. L. Wyatt (ed.), *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, is a delightful work, full of useful and interesting information.

53 The scholarship was transferred to another young man of promise, Archibald Campbell Tait, later archbishop of Canterbury.

54 His ordination as deacon took place on 9 September 1841.

55 J. L. Wyatt (ed.), *Reminiscences of Caldwell*, p. 54.

56 On curious doubts as to the date and place of Sargent's birth, see M. E. Gibbs, *Anglican Church*, p. 99, n. 5.

57 He was trained for the ministry at the institute of the CMS in Islington.

58 On 11 March 1877 Caldwell and Sargent were consecrated together as assistant bishops for the work of the church inTirunelveli.

59 Thomas died in 1870. His widow continued to live in Megnānapuram until her death in 1899, by which time she had given more than sixty years of service. Their daughter directed the girls' school in the village until 1923. The members of this family between them gave considerably more than a century of service to the church. See A. H. Grey-Edwards, *Memoir of the Rev John Thomas* (London, 1904), a less than satisfactory life of a great missionary.

60 But cases are also on record in which the missionaries intervened on behalf of oppressed non-Christians, and others in which the Christians really were guilty of the offences with which they were charged.

61 This was published in a Tamil periodical called the *Tesābimāny* (Patriot). See G. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 258.

62 G. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission*, pp. 438–50. John Devasahāyam had been ordained priest by Bishop Spencer in 1836.

63 G. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 451. This whole story has been very carefully studied in a paper by R. E. Frykenberg, 'The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform upon Society in South India in the Late Company Period . . . with special reference to Tinnevelly', in C. H. Philips and M. D. Mainwright (eds.), *Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernisation c. 1830–1850* (London, 1976), pp. 187–243. The writer has gone very deeply into contemporary papers both official and unofficial. He is perhaps a little too kind to Lewin, and a little too critical of the missionaries; but he depicts well the intensity of the feelings aroused and the difficulties which the missionaries had to face, from European no less than from Hindu critics.

64 G. J. Spencer, *Journal of a Visitation-Tour in 1843–4* (London, 1845), pp. 85 and 87–8. 'The people are in a state of open rebellion against their minister, and must be treated as rebels.'

65 Ragland never married and at the time of his death was senior fellow of the college.

66 In 1929, when I was a young missionary, an aged Christian said to me with great pride, 'I was baptised by Ragland.'

11 THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS IN LIGHT AND SHADE

1 T. Parameakkal, *Journey of Archbishop Kariyaṭṭil* (in Malayālam, published 1936). C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras lusitanas no oriente*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Nova Goa, 1924), vol. II, p. 56, refers to a petition in his favour sent to the king of Portugal on 24 November 1787.

2 C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. II, pp. 56–7. The writer goes on to add that Thomas is a proud and vain man, not deserving any favour from the king of Portugal. He died in 1799.

3 C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. II.

4 Cochin and Mylapore have little relevance for the subject dealt with in this chapter, except in so far as quarrels broke out between the authorities of overlapping dioceses.

5 C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. II, p. 50.

6 They captured the city of Cochin from the Dutch in 1795 but did not annex the states of Travancore and Cochin.

7 See L. W. Brown, *Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1981), p. 125, whose view of the situation is the same as mine.

8 C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. II, p. 58.

9 For varying estimates, see P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816–1840* (Kottayam, 1935), pp. 64–5. Ward and Conner in

their survey (1816–21) give a figure of fifty-five churches with 35,000 members. I have allowed for some increase between 1820 and 1835.

10 According to Bishop L. W. Brown (*Thomas Christians*, p. 124), he was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 20,000 which for the time being reduced him to penury.

11 *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 211.

12 8th edn, Cambridge, 1811.

13 C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches*, 8th edn (Cambridge, 1811), p. 105.

14 At a later date Buchanan was able to report that the translation of the New Testament, made naturally from Syriac, had been completed under the supervision of Mar Dionysius, and that arrangements were being made to print this version in Bombay (*Christian Researches*, p. 121). This translation was superseded by versions made directly from the Hebrew and the Greek.

15 This noble manuscript is now in the Cambridge University Library. The Reverend J. L. Wyatt, no mean authority, expressed the view that it cannot have been in India for more than 200 years.

16 I think that G. B. Howard is correct in suggesting that the term 'union' as used by Buchanan meant inter-communion, a mutual and friendly recognition of one another on the part of two churches, each being acknowledged to be an independent branch of the one universal church, and nothing more (*The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies* (Oxford–London, 1864), p. 56.

17 P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, pp. 81–2, quotes from four Hindu writers, all of whom lavish unstinted praise on Munro.

18 Details in W. S. Hunt, *Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin 1816–1916* (Kottayam, 1920), p. 12; for a very interesting account of Norton, see *ibid.*, pp. 109–19.

19 The great Dionysius had died in 1808. The succession of *metrāns* is at this point extremely complicated. The details are set out in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, ch. ix: 'Mar Philoxenus and the Three Malankara Metropolitans Consecrated by him'.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

21 C. W. Le Bas, *The Life of . . . Middleton*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), vol. I, pp. 326 and 327–8. On a later visit Middleton was able to record with satisfaction that 'the Bishop assured me that nothing is done which he has any reason to complain of' (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 206).

22 This was the term constantly used at the time to express what it was hoped to accomplish in the life of the ancient church.

23 *Proceedings of the CMS 1817–18*, p. 176.

24 On the diaries and papers of W. H. Mill, see Appendix 24.

25 *Missionary Register* (1823), p. 398.

26 The missionaries seem to have been unaware of the earlier work of the Roman Catholics in this field.

27 It may be noted that one Hindu helper of Bailey in the work was so impressed by what he read that he became a Christian.

28 The whole Bible became available in 1841.

29 CMS Report; quoted in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, p. 194.

30 A full account of the method followed is J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. V, p. 395.

31 P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, p. 113. For a short visit by an Eastern prelate (Mar Athanasius in 1825), see Appendix 25.

32 A careful account is W. S. Hunt, *The Anglican Church in Travancore*, vol. I (Kottayam, 1920), pp. 80–94; on pp. 99–103 Hunt gives 'Commendations and Criticisms' from various sources.

33 Bailey returned in October 1834 and Baker in November 1835.

34 The details are confused but the central facts seem to be well established. See P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, pp. 214–17.

35 The contested doctrine seems to have been that of the perpetual virginity of the Mother of Jesus.

36 P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, p. 403.

37 See T. V. Philip and K. Baago, 'A Document from the Ecclesiastical Crisis in Kerala, 1835–36', *ICHR*, I (1967), 113–22.

38 The complete text is in J. Bateman, *Life of Daniel Wilson*, rev. edn, 2 vols. (London, 1861), vol. II, pp. 55–61.

39 Full text, in English translation, in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, pp. 390–1.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 275. The Madras government wisely disapproved the proposal that the Resident should be a trustee; that part of the agreement therefore lapsed.

41 The first baptism of a Hindu (Īzhava) seems to have been carried out by the Reverend Henry Baker, not long after the opening of the church.

42 Slavery was abolished in 1855, but this did not very much alter the conditions under which the Pulayas lived.

43 *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 407.

44 The numbers are small, but they seem to be divided into twelve or fourteen distinct tribes. See *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, pp. 407–20. A clear account of the work among the hill Arrians is W. S. Hunt, *Anglican Church in Travancore*, vol. I (Kottayam, 1920), pp. 182–94. By 1860, 775 among them had been baptised.

45 E. L. TenBrink, 'The CMS Mission of Help to the Syrian Church of Malabar 1818–1840. A Study in Protestant–Eastern Orthodox Encounter' (unpublished dissertation); quoted in C. P. Matthews and M. M. Thomas, *The Indian Churches of St Thomas* (Delhi, 1967), p. 71.

46 C. P. Matthews and M. M. Thomas, *Churches of St Thomas*, p. 72.

47 There were two *malpāns* with the name Abraham; it is the younger of the two, Palakunnathu Malpān, to whom reference is made in the following pages. A life of Abraham Malpān has been written by the Reverend M. C. George.

48 A list of the changes is given in F. E. Keay, *A History of Hindi Literature*, 3rd edn (Calcutta, 1960), p. 71.

49 Matthew was at this time a deacon. At what point the idea entered the mind of the *malpān* that his nephew might be the next *metrān* of the church seems not to have been clearly established.

50 Doubts had been raised as to the validity of the consecration of Mar Dionysius IV.

51 Abraham Malpān died in 1845.

52 If Mar Dionysius thought that by this action he was strengthening his own position, he was to be sadly disappointed. He gradually fades from the scene and seems to have died in 1855, a discontented, disappointed and frustrated man.

Mention may be made in passing of an attempt by a new patriarch in 1849 to stir up further trouble by sending to Kerala a bishop named Stephen Athanasius. The intruder failed to get a foothold or to play an important part in the affairs of the church.

53 This does not seem to be a quite correct statement of the position. The documents were genuine; the use made of them by Mar Cyril was flagrantly improper.

54 For evidence of this, see the evidence of Dr Grant quoted in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, p. 303.

12 ANGLICAN DEVELOPMENT

1 After the diocese of Calcutta had been formed.

2 Miss M. E. Gibbs, *Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), p. 25, suggests that he 'presumably exercised priestly functions on occasion'. There is no evidence for this, but it is not entirely impossible. (See Appendix 26.) But J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. IV, p. 51, notes that at the Old Mission church Brown was 'occasionally assisted by the chaplains Messrs Blanshard and Owen', presumably for celebrations of the Holy Communion.

3 The best student of the year in mathematics.

4 Biographers have dealt at length with Martyn's prolonged and endlessly frustrating love affair with Lydia Grenfell. When she finally rejected his offer of marriage, he found it hard to accept the fact that he must learn to live without her. But the candid historian has to reckon with the possibility that, if she had accepted him, life with so sentimental, neurotic, demanding and indecisive a woman might have destroyed his mind and spirit more disastrously than the pain of separation could do. See the excellent treatment of this theme in C. Padwick, *Henry Martyn* (London, 1923), pp. 113–27.

5 Quoted in G. Smith, *Henry Martyn* (London, 1892), p. 274.

6 T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), vol. I, p. 233.

7 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 232.

8 An excellent account of the beginnings of Urdu prose literature is to be found in A. Schimmel, *Classical Urdu Literature: a History of Indian Literature*, ed. J. Gonda, vol. VIII, fasc 3 (Wiesbaden, 1975), chap. II, § 5: 'The beginnings of prose literature'. The writer notes the important influence exercised by translation of the New Testament into Urdu, and shows correctly that Fort William college in its brief career was the great centre for the development of Urdu prose literature.

9 G. Smith, *Henry Martyn*, pp. 231–2. Martyn's difficulties with him are summed up in one single comment: 'think of the keeper of a lunatic, and you see me'.

10 For the ordination of Abdul Masih to the ministry, see p. 268.

11 M. E. Gibbs, *Anglican Church*, p. 39.

12 It must not be forgotten that there were evangelical chaplains in other parts of India also. In Madras the most distinguished was Marmaduke Thompson (in Madras 1806–25), who had been a schoolfellow of Charles Lamb at Christ's

Hospital. Thomas Carr, who in 1837 became the first bishop of Bombay, was also an evangelical, and a strong supporter of the CMS.

13 53 Geo. III cap. 155. All the documents relating to the Indian bishoprics have been conveniently brought together in W. H. Abbott, *A Practical Analysis . . . Bishopricks in the East Indies*, 2nd edn (Calcutta, 1845) (see Bibliography).

14 Ceylon was included in the diocese by letters patent in 1817.

15 The lengthy and affectionate address was delivered on 23 March 1813, and is printed in full in Middleton's *Sermons and Charges* (London, 1824), pp. 169–88.

16 Sir John Kaye's amusing account of the event ends with the words: 'Everything went on as usual, in spite of the bishop and his lawn sleeves, and his sermon on Christmas Day. It really seemed probable, after all, that British Dominion in the East would survive the blow' (*Christianity in India* (London, 1859), p. 290).

17 The Presbyterians won that round: the steeple of St Andrew's was and is taller than that of St John's. Bryce's own account of his clash with Middleton appears in his book *A Sketch of Native Education in India* (London, 1839), Note D (pp. 308–11).

18 Letter of 20 September 1820 (C. W. Le Bas, *The Life of Middleton*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), vol. II, pp. 402–3).

19 Letter of 8 March 1821 (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 402–3). This seems to be the only occasion on which Middleton made a joke, or at least a play on words.

20 The gravest problem of all was that Middleton had convinced himself that under the terms of the letters patent he was not entitled to ordain Indian nationals to the ministry of the church. See further on this matter, p. 267.

21 In C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. I, pp. 145–370, there is a full account of the visitation, including much information of great interest, though Middleton was not an observer of the same calibre and acuity as Heber.

22 The lengthy prayers and blessing used on this occasion are printed as an Appendix to C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, pp. 400–7.

23 Another candidate for the post had been the learned and pious professor Samuel Lee, who has come before us in another connection. The second professor, Mr Alt, was competent but could not compare in eminence with his chief.

24 This is now a very rare book; but the library of the Indian Institute in Oxford contains a copy of the first edition (1831) of books 1 and 2, with introduction, in excellent condition.

25 Mill is perhaps a little unkind in his remark that 'the same sacred history has been conveyed, but with singular adulteration, by the genius of the Jesuit Father Beschi' (p. iii).

26 *JRAS*, 4.ii (1837), 800.

27 Letter of 28 March 1828; quoted in M. A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793–1837* (Oxford, 1972), p. 153.

28 No objection seems to have been taken by Indians to this practice until a good deal later in the century.

29 C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, pp. 352–3. Even Archdeacon Barnes of Bombay, who was distressed by the bishop's levity in wearing white trousers and a white hat in public, was fain to admire 'his unreserved frankness, his anxious and serious wish to do all the good in his power, his truly amiable and kindly

feelings, his talents and piety, and his extraordinary powers of conversation, accompanied with so much cheerfulness and vivacity' (*Life of Reginald Heber*, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. II, pp. 298–9).

30 At a rather later date Victor Jacquemont may be held to rank with him.

31 A most useful shortened edition has been put out recently, with an excellent introduction by M. A. Laird, *Bishop Heber in Northern India* (Cambridge, 1971). Mrs Heber joined her husband in Bombay and was with him during the later stages of the visitation.

32 R. Heber, *Sermons Preached in India* (London, 1829), p. 18. See an even more emphatic tribute to the Indians' 'amiable qualities of intelligence, of bravery, of courteous and gentle demeanour', in a sermon preached in Bombay on Whit Sunday 1825 (*ibid.*, pp. 193–4).

33 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

34 G. D. Bearce, *British Attitudes towards India 1784–1858* (Oxford, 1961), p. 85, is in error in describing Heber as 'closely connected with the evangelical wing of the Anglican church'. In other respects his account of Heber (pp. 85–8) is friendly and accurate.

35 See J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, 2 vols. (London, 1859), vol. II, pp. 293–3.

36 *Life of Heber*, vol. II, p. 139.

37 For a vivid account of this ordination, see *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 363–4. Armenian as well as Anglican priests were present.

38 Heber did not establish any principle with regard to Anglican ordination of those who had received Lutheran orders. One or two Lutheran missionaries of their own accord asked for Anglican ordination, desiring the extension of their ministry which this would make possible. See A. Heber (ed.), *Narrative of a Journey*, 2 vols. (London, 1828), vol. II, pp. 426ff.

39 *Life of Heber*, vol. II, p. 193.

40 This subject will be dealt with in detail in chap. 16.

41 On 24 July 1827 he confirmed nearly 500 candidates. Everything of importance relating to this episcopate has been collected by J. Hough, *History*, vol. V, pp. 593–608.

42 For the events of this episcopate, see *ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 609–52.

43 The present (1981) bishop of Madras, the Right Reverend Sundar Clark, is a great-great-grandson of John Devasahāyam, and is therefore in the seventh generation in direct descent from Aaron.

44 *Letters of Arnold Christian Pears* (privately printed, Madras, 1931). Colonel Pears was inspector of schools and later postmaster-general of Madras. These letters cover the period 1838–1866, and give us some of the most vivid vignettes that we possess of missionaries of the period, from an entirely independent witness.

45 On 18 April 1832, eleven days before his consecration, Dr Daniel Wilson, bishop-designate of Calcutta, made a note: 'Visited the Archbishop and Bishop of London. Considered a scheme for creating additional Indian bishops' (J. Bateman, *Life of Wilson*, vol. I, p. 288).

46 Note that the act did not give to the bishop of Calcutta the title of archbishop,

probably because the church in India was still to be in some degree subject to the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury. Until 1947 the bishop of Calcutta was universally known and addressed as the 'Metropolitan'.

47 J. Bateman, *Life*, edn of 1860, vol. I, p. 279.

48 M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church*, p. 106.

49 Quoted in *Life*, vol. II, p. 425.

50 On his work in Madras, see F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. II, pp. 151–74. It seems that Robinson had hoped for appointment as bishop of Madras. He had been with Bishop Heber at the time of his death.

51 The letters patent for Bombay, dated 1 October 1836, departed from the Nicene principle, always and to this day rigidly observed by the Anglican churches, that three bishops are required for the consecration of a bishop, by authorising the two bishops in India to consecrate the third. But, through the untimely death of Bishop Corrie, this irregularity was avoided; Carr had to return to England, for the first time in twenty years, and was consecrated on 19 November 1837.

52 E. Eden, *Letters from India*, 2 vols. (London, 1872), vol. I, p. 101 (letter of 13 March 1836).

53 On the rapid increase of the Indian ministry during this period, see chap. 17.

54 Quoted in F. Penny, *Church in Madras*, vol. III, p. 141.

55 See D. Holmes, *Sikander Sahib* (1961), pp. 231–4, especially p. 231: 'When the Misses Eden knew him in 1838–39, he was a fervent practising Christian.'

56 C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, pp. 119–20 and 338–9. Less typical was the soldiers' meeting-house in Karnal, built entirely by the efforts of the soldiers of an English regiment, and handed over to the chaplain for permanent use. The verandah of the building was broken up into small cubicles where soldiers who desired to do so might engage in private prayer (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 341).

57 The consecration service took five hours in the burning heat of Calcutta (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 288–92).

58 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 185.

59 This interesting fact is not mentioned in E. S. Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, 2 vols. (London, 1895).

60 For the remarkable career of Solomon Caesar Malan, who for a short time was on the staff of Bishop's College, see Appendix 27.

61 For a valuable account of the Brooke dynasty, see the work of Sir Steven Runciman, *The White Rajahs: a History of Sarawak 1841–1926* (Cambridge, 1960).

62 A small island which was a British possession, and was therefore deemed suitable to give a title to a bishop of the Church of England. In 1855 Sarawak was added to the title.

63 C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, p. 356. But Wilson was quite wrong in saying that 'it is the first time that such a service has taken place out of England, since the Reformation'. He was forgetting the existence of Scotland, Ireland, Canada and the United States of America. Nevertheless the service was a notable landmark in the development of the Church of England into the worldwide Anglican communion.

64 Statement of the committee of the CMS, 14 April 1856.

65 The idea of a dual episcopate, with an English bishop controlling the white congregations and an Indian bishop in charge of the Indian congregations, was wholly unacceptable. The confused thinking of the CMS delayed the appointment of an Indian bishop by more than half a century.

66 The rigidity of English control over Indian affairs steadily increased, reaching its apogee when telegraphic communication between the two countries was established.

67 C. W, Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, p. 354.

68 The number of chaplains in the whole of India in that year was 129 – in Calcutta 68, in Madras 35, in Bombay 26 (in each case Presidency is to be understood).

69 The term 'non-Roman, non-Syrian' is much too cumbrous; the old term 'Protestant', in its proper and historical significance, is by far the most convenient locution.

70 For the first beginnings of Roman Catholic acceptance of this fact, see chap. 13.

13 THE RECOVERY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

1 A valuable summary is the chapter 'Les Caractères de la reprise de l'activité missionaire', in S. Delacroix (ed.), *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*, vol. III (Paris, 1957), pp. 169–72.

2 J. A. Dubois, *Letters on the State of Christianity in India* (London, 1823; repr. 1977), p. 72.

3 In an excellent introduction Beauchamp gives valuable information as to the life of Dubois, discusses the varied fortunes of his manuscript, and explains why a complete translation of a famous work was so long delayed.

4 J. A. Dubois, *Letters*, p. 8.

5 The full title is *Letters on the State of Christianity in India, in which the conversion of Hindoos is considered as impracticable, to which is added a vindication of the Hindoos male and female in answer to a severe attack made upon both by the Reverend [William Ward]* (1823).

6 J. A. Dubois, *Letters*, pp. 7–8.

7 J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* (Oxford, 1897), p. 72. Naturally the *Letters* of Dubois aroused furious controversy. Extensive answers were written by two Anglicans, the Reverend James Hough and the Reverend H. Townley. It would not accord with the plan of this book to allow more space to controversies now better forgotten. For Roman Catholic comments on the harm done by his writings, see A. Launay, *Histoire des missions de l'Inde*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1898), vol. I, pp. 310–18.

8 K. Burton, *Difficult Star: the Life of Pauline Jaricot* (New York, 1947); more fully, D. Lathoud, *Marie Pauline Jaricot*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937).

9 G. Goyau, *Un Grand 'Homme': Mère Javouhey* (Paris, 1929); C. C. Martindale, *The Life of Mère Anne-Marie Javouhey* (London, 1953); G. D. Kittler, *The Woman God Loved* (London, 1959).

10 A full and interesting account of this venture is to be found in A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. 333–41.

11 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 339.

12 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 340.

13 This title has also been claimed for Pius IX.

14 See J. Schmidlin, 'Gregor XVI als Missionspapst 1831–1846', *ZM* (1931), 209–27.

15 Very much lower figures are given by some authorities. Even relative certainty is not attainable.

16 Until 1836 the superior in Pondichéri, though carrying out the duties of a vicar apostolic, did not have the title. Colombo (1836) does not fall within the scope of this work. It is to be remembered that vicariates apostolic are not dioceses; the inauguration of a regular hierarchy for India had to wait for another fifty years.

17 There is a full and accurate account of all these circumstances in N. Kowalski OMI, 'Die Errichtung des Apostolichen Vikariates Madras', *NZM*, 8 (1952), 36–48, 119–26 and 193–210.

18 *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* vol. XIII (New York, 1912), pp. 382–7 (Doyle: a most valuable article) tells us that Dr O'Connor drove to the church of St Mary of the Angels, wearing cocked hat and buckled shoes, long black coat and knee breeches, a costume familiar to Anglicans but totally unknown to Roman Catholics in Madras.

19 Apparently the students had grounds for complaint. It seems that no student of the seminary in Pondichéri could hope for ordination under the age of thirty-five.

20 O'Connor and others freely used the term 'schism'. The question whether there ever really was a Goanese schism will come up for discussion later on.

21 For all this we are indebted to three able articles by N. Kowalski OMI: *ZMR*, 36 (1952), 117–27 and 187–201; 37 (1953), 207–28. See also H. Josson, *La Mission du Bengale occidental*, vol. I (Bruges, 1921), pp. 165–276. The last six words are somewhat mysterious; it may have been felt by the cardinals that lingering suspicions of the Jesuit order in the English mind might make imprudent the constitution of a formally Jesuit vicariate.

22 A valuable article by Professor K. A. Ballhatchet on the English Jesuit mission, based on original sources (*Journal of Imperial and Colonial History*, 7 (1978), 18–34) gives valuable insights into the period and some amusing additions to knowledge, without radically changing the picture as known to us from other sources.

23 N. Kowalski, *ZMR*, 36 (1952), pp. 196–7.

24 The bishop had, very unwillingly, to agree to this scheme. He was, however, able to secure in 1844 the appointment as principal of A. M. W. Christopher, later the redoubtable vicar of St Aldate's Church, Oxford (1820–1901). In 1844 Christopher was still a layman, and held the position of principal for five years. See the excellent biography by J. S. Reynolds (Abingdon, 1967). For entertaining details about the school, see pp. 28–35.

25 See H. Josson, *Mission du Bengale*, vol. I, pp. 174–6; also E. Chatterton, *A History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924), pp. 167–8.

26 It was alleged that his brother John, who is described as a hothead and an impassioned Irish nationalist, was a main source of the trouble.

27 St Leger never attained to the episcopal consecration he had so greatly desired.

On his return to Ieland he was re-appointed as vice-provincial of the Jesuits in that country. He died in Dublin in 1865.

28 See *CHI*, vol. v, p. 173.

29 From that time on her full title was the Begum Zabunissa Joanna Sumru. Zabunissa seems to mean 'ornament of her sex'.

30 *Multa Praeclare* is often wrongly referred to as a bull. It was a *breve*. Its full title is 'The apostolic letter of his holiness Pope Gregory XVI concerning the Institution of Vicars Apostolic in the East Indies'. English trans in E. R. Hull SJ, *Bombay Mission History*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1927–30), vol. I, pp. 238–44.

31 E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, vol. I, p. 249.

32 J. Metzler OMI, 'Die Aufnahme des apostolischen Breves *Multa Praeclare* in Indien', *ZMR*, 38 (1954), 295ff.

33 At the time of his consecration Louis seems to have been just thirty years old.

34 In 1839 Salsette was joined to the vicariate of Bombay. The saintly vicar apostolic Peter of Alcantara was perhaps ill advised to secure this transfer. On the other hand the British authorities had never allowed the archbishop of Goa to exercise jurisdiction in Salsette (J. H. Gense SJ, *The Church at the Gateway of India 1720–1960* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 87–9).

35 The text of the letter was long unknown, but Fr J. H. Gense SJ was able after a long search to obtain a photostat copy; this is printed in full both in Latin and in English in *The Church at the Gateway of India*, pp. 97–110.

36 The number of those whom he ordained is given as 800, but this seems to be a great exaggeration. Fr M. D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1910), vol. II, p. 167, gives a figure of 321, many of whom had long been waiting for ordination owing to the vacancy of the see. This seems a much more probable figure. Fr D'Sa writes as a strong supporter of the *padroado*.

37 E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, vol. I, pp. 353–5.

38 Fr Fulgentius OFM cap., *Bishop Hartmann* (Allahabad, 1966), p. 34.

39 Scandalous stories were circulated as to the number of and quality of those ordained by him. A careful investigation cited by E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, vol. I, p. 469, shows that there is no truth in these allegations. The number of ordinations was large, but so also was the number of trained and qualified candidates. The offence of the bishop of Macao was that he had no business to ordain anyone at all in Bombay.

40 Full text in E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, vol. I, pp. 441–5. Chap. 4 ('Execution of Probe Nostis') gives further details of the careers of the truculent priests, to whom the Portuguese government had given the title *bene meritos de patria*.

41 Legal proceedings naturally followed. The verdict of the judge was that the bishop had not made out a good case for the possession of the church, and that it must remain in the hands of the parishioners. Fr Hull SJ is hardly fair in attributing this to 'the blundering good nature of an English judge' (*Bombay Mission History*, vol. I, p. 453). English law is English law, and one declaration after another has made it plain that, except in purely spiritual affairs, Roman canon law had no status in areas under British control.

42 Details are given in Fr Fulgentius OFM cap., *Bishop Hartmann*, pp. 350–99.

43 Fr Steins was later vicar apostolic of Poona and of western Bengal (1861–78). Finally he was asked to take over the administration of the diocese of Auckland in New Zealand.

44 See, e.g., A. Jean SJ, *Le Maduré*, 2 vols. (Bruges, 1894), vol. I, p. 241: 'Legions of ministers, belonging to all the sects of the so-called Reformation, hurled themselves on India as on their prey.' In 1838 there were fewer than 200 Protestant missionaries in the whole of India; but Jean is right inasmuch as the coming of the Protestants led the Roman Catholic authorities to call in question the methods so far followed in the training of Indian priests, and to find them at a number of points gravely defective. See, further, p. 296

45 See A. Jean, *Le Maduré*, vol. I, p. 248.

46 There is a life of Mgr Canoz by Pierre Suau (Paris, 1891). It is said that at the time of his appointment there were 160,000 Christians in his vicariate. I think that this number must be much exaggerated. An accurate assessment for the Fisher Coast gives only 40,000 for that area.

47 A. Jean, *Le Maduré*, vol. II, p. 129.

48 Note that Vadakkankulam lies inland and not on the coast. This explains the presence of high-caste members in the congregation. For details of the early history of the area, and on the disorders among the Paravas, see Susan Kaufmann, 'Popular Christianity, Caste and Hindu Society' (unpublished dissertation, Cambridge, 1978).

49 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré* (Trichinopoly, 1914), pp. 479, 732–6.

50 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. II, pp. 351–7.

51 It is interesting to note that Mgr Bonnand thought it necessary to have permission from the king of France to proceed to the consecration. The letter of the bourgeois King Louis Philippe is given in A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. II, pp. 359–60.

52 The most important work of Brésillac will come before us in another connection. For a rather unfavourable estimate of him and his methods, see a letter of the future bishop F. J. Laouënan in A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, II, p. 727.

53 These French Fathers are sometimes called Salesians; this causes them to be confused with the Italian Salesians of Don Bosco, a society which was being formed about the same time (1859).

54 I have not had the English original before me, and have had to translate from the Italian of Fr J. B. Tragella, *Le Missioni Esteri di Milano nel Quadro degli Avvenimenti Contemporanei*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1950–63), vol. I, pp. 349–50.

55 Mgr Murphy left India for reasons of health in 1866; but he later became vicar apostolic of Hobart in Tasmania, and died in 1907 at the age of ninety-three. He had been a bishop for more than sixty years. His place was left vacant until 1870, when John Dominic Barbero, one of the first Italians to arrive in Hyderabad, was appointed vicar apostolic. When this good man received notice of his appointment, he supposed that this was a joke played upon him by one of his colleagues (J. B. Tragella, *Le Missioni Esteri di Milano*, vol. II, p. 150).

56 A second party was sent from Milan to work with Mgr Carew in the vicariate of Central Bengal.

57 The Irish brotherhood, founded in 1802, is to be distinguished from the older,

larger and much better-known, Institute of the Christian Brothers for Schools.

58 As there was no diocese, this cannot properly be called a diocesan synod, as was Diamper. The use of the term 'synod' may have caused some embarrassment in Rome. I note that the letter of the authorities of Propaganda dated 26 July 1845, refers to 'la réunion tenue a Pondichéri, *en forme de synode*' (A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. II, p. 292).

59 It is unlikely that the almost excessive emphasis laid on the baptism of non-Christian children *in articulo mortis* will commend itself to Christians of a later generation.

60 The energy of Fr Luquet was recognised by his appointment as coadjutor of Pondichéri and his consecration as bishop of Heshbon *i.p.i.* Unfortunately some of his suggestions regarding the ordination of Pariahs to the priesthood produced panic in the missions, and he had to resign his office almost as soon as he had taken it up.

61 A full account of these proceedings is *Mem. Rer.* 3 (1974), 388–436 (Metzler). It seems that Propaganda did take part in the negotiations but was not informed of the result until after the decision had been taken (*ibid.*, p. 423).

62 Full text in *Jur. Pontif.*, vol. I, 7, pp. 316–22 (in Portuguese and Italian).

63 E.g., A. da Silva Rêgo, *O Padroado Português do Oriente* (Lisbon, 1940), p. 200.

64 It seems doubtful whether the concordat was ever ratified by the pope.

65 Fr Bühlmann, *Pionier der Einheit* (Zurich, 1966), p. 182, shows how energetically Bishop Hartmann opposed the idea of a concordat, in a long memorandum with forty-two points in it!

66 The decree of appointment is signed as of 6 August 1858.

67 Unfortunately Mgr Bonnand was not able to complete his investigations. Death claimed him at Benares on 21 March 1861. The visitation was completed by Mgr Stephen Louis Charbonnaux, vicar apostolic of Mysore, who had been the coadjutor of Mgr Bonnand. What was revealed by the report of the visitation, and the actions taken upon it, will be discussed in a later chapter.

68 Hartmann's translation of the New Testament into Urdu should be mentioned; this seems to have been acceptable to ordinary readers, but it is doubtful whether it would have gained the approval of scholars.

14 EDUCATION AND THE CHRISTIAN MISSION

1 The listener was Alexander Duff, himself in later days a master of no mean eloquence. The life of Chalmers has been written many times, first by his son-in-law W. Hanna, *The Life and Writings of T. Chalmers*, 4 vols. (London, 1849–52).

2 Dr Bryce's book *A Sketch of Native Education in India* (London, 1839) is the authority for these proposals.

3 His Latin prize was for the best translation into Latin of Plato's *Apology*. Truly students in Scotland aimed high in those days.

4 G. Smith, 2 vols. (London, 1879), *The Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. I, p. 105.

5 Duff gave an expanded account of his views and plans in his book *India, and*

Indian Missions (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 510–73. This account is fuller than any other of the plans and of the early days of the school.

6 For a study of 'the complex development of the encounter between Western science and Hindu faith, far different from Alexander Duff's hope that the former would eventually destroy the latter', see D. L. Gosling, *Science and Religion in India* (Madras, 1976).

7 Quoted in G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. 1, pp. 108–9. This is the first use of the metaphor of the mine, which was to be constantly used in later defences of educational missions.

8 There are a number of differences, none of them of any great significance, between Duff's own account in *India and Indian Missions* and the account given in G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. 1, pp. 120ff.

9 Duff in his account does not name Rāmmohun Roy, perhaps because of the prejudice against him which was widespread in Christian circles. He gives the impression that it was he himself who used the *argumentum ad hominem* (*India and Indian Missions*, p. 541). Smith does not give references to his sources.

10 A. Duff, *India and Indian Missions*, pp. 533–4.

11 With an excellent brief biography by Dr Mahadevaprasad Saha. Lāl Behāri Day became a Christian in 1843, and was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1855.

12 G. Macpherson, *Lāl Behāri Day* (Edinburgh, 1900), p. 509.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 511–14.

14 Why was a convert of the Scottish mission baptised in an Anglican church? I think the answer is that Duff, although an ordained minister, had no status in St Andrew's church. Would the Scottish chaplain have permitted the baptism of an Indian in his church? The second convert was baptised in a lecture room in the college.

15 G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. 1, pp. 159–60.

16 A. Duff, *India Missions*, p. 653.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 654.

18 In his book *India and Indian Missions*, pp. 682–4, Duff quotes part of a long letter received from Gopee Nath Nundy, expessing his joy at having Christ always with him, and of having fellowship with him. See also chap. 18, p. 419.

19 Both of these promising young men died in 1845.

20 *Recollections of School-Days*, pp. 492–3.

21 The exact date at which Day was writing his *Recollections* is uncertain, but most probably it was after 1872, the year in which he became editor of the *Bengal Magazine* in which the *Recollections* originally appeared.

22 Missionaries of this voluntary society were later incorporated into the mission of the established Church of Scotland, and later still at their own desire into that of the Free Church of Scotland.

23 *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*, 2nd edn (1878), Essay 1 ('The European Researches'), p. 32.

24 G. Smith, *The Life of John Wilson DD, FRS* (London, 1878), p. 205.

25 He also engaged frequently in debate and discussion with learned representatives of the various non-Christian religions.

26 G. Smith, *Life of Wilson*, p. 225.
27 For Dhanjibhai Naoroji's account of his conversion, see J. Wilson, *The Parsi Religion* (Bombay, 1843), pp. 85–7.
28 G. Smith, *Life of Wilson*, p. 234.
29 The third candidate, Framji, had been removed by his relations from all contact with the missionaries. Seven months later Wilson was able to renew contact with him and found him still firm in his desire to become a Christian.
30 On the 'Anti-Conversion Memorial', and events arising from it, see J. Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, pp. 90–3.
31 See chap. 3.
32 C. Sorābji, *Susie Sorābji* (Oxford, 1932), p. 21.
33 One son became a distinguished lawyer and professor; a daughter became an outstanding educationist in Poona; another daughter, Cornelia, qualified in England as a lawyer. One who was greatly helped by Sorābji was Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922). Cornelia wrote a most moving account of her father's death, *How an Indian Clergyman Died*, quoted in part in E. Stock, *History of the CMS*, 4 vols. (London, 1899–1916), vol. III, pp. 463–4.
34 It should be noted that in 1971 Nāgpur had nearly a million inhabitants. It was long the headquarters of the National Christian Council of India.
35 See chap. 15, § 7.
36 G. Smith, *Stephen Hislop, Pioneer Missionary* (London, 1889), p. 65.
37 See *Life*, pp. 283–4.
38 G. Smith, *Hislop*, p. 229.
39 *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces left in MSS by the late Revd Stephen Hislop.*
40 *Ibid.*, pp. ii, viii.
41 *The Administration of the East India Company: a History of Indian Progress* (London, 1853), p. 614.
42 Quoted in J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows, in the Mission Field*, 2nd edn (London, 1865), pp. 54–5. See also the almost lyrical account of Anderson in Bishop Caldwell's *Reminiscences* (Madras, 1894), pp. 52–3.
43 J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*, p. 61.
44 This was not specifically a Christian school, but it was managed by European gentlemen who regarded themselves as Christians.
45 J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*, p. 152.
46 *Ibid.*, pp. 158–9.
47 This can be inferred from a photograph of considerably later date, reproduced between pp. 330 and 331 of J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*. But the habit of wearing Western dress was growing rapidly among educated Indians in Madras, and perhaps the three were less conspicuous there than they would have been in Calcutta or Bombay. W. T. Sattianādhan, by contrast, seems always to have worn Indian dress, until he went to England in 1878.
48 For an elaborate and moving account of the restoration of Rāmānjulu to the fellowship of the church, see J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*, pp. 255–60.
49 For the actions taken by the Hindus in this case, and for the decisions of the judges, see chap. 16, pp. 379–80.

50 This worked out very well; but naturally the only language in which bride and bridegroom could talk to one another was English.

51 J. Noble, *A Memoir of the Reverend Turlington Noble* (London, 1867), p. 158.

52 When Noble's disciple Jani Ali introduced the Koran into the curriculum of the school for Muslim boys in Calcutta, strong objection was taken by the CMS corresponding committee in that city. Jani Ali was in charge of Muslim work in Calcutta from 1864 to 1894.

53 There is a study of Manchala Rutnam and his friend in R. D. Paul, *Chosen Vessels (Indian Christian Pastors)* (Madras, 1961), pp. 112–37.

54 All this is faithfully chronicled in M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), p. 154; but the details need not be recorded in this account of Noble's educational work.

55 The term 'boys' has to be used. The education of girls from these well-to-do communities had still to wait for a long period.

56 *CM Intelligencer*, July 1849, p. 58. The school still exists; at the time of writing it has more than 1,000 pupils, nearly all non-Christians.

57 The Naidus are a Telugu caste; but many members are scattered far and wide through the Tamil country.

58 A highly romanticised version of the conversion of Tiruvengadam has been given by his daughter, Mrs Krupabai Sattianāthan, a ready writer both in Tamil and in English, in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* (1891), pp. 354–62 and 422–34. A more sober account can be read in the letters of T. G. Ragland, at that time secretary of the CMS in Madras, up to the point at which Tiruvengadam disappears and is replaced by William Thomas Sattianādhan. The original letters are in the CMS archives; but photostat copies are in the libraries of the Union Theological College, Bangalore, and of Serampore College.

59 For a charming pen-picture of WTS in old age and of his remarkable wife, see M. E. Gibbs, *Anglican Church*, p. 216.

60 The Veḷḷāḷas are the great land-holding class in Tamil Nādu; they are usually reckoned to stand next after the Brāhmans in the hierarchy of Hindu castes, and are the natural guardians of the great traditions of Tamil culture.

61 It is to be remembered that, in the period under review, the Roman Catholic contribution to higher education in India was in its first beginnings. Anglicans and Methodists were catching up, but were still a good way behind the Scots.

62 *Calcutta University Commission Report*, vol. V (1919), p. 40.

15 PROTESTANT EXPANSION IN INDIA

1 R. Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 2 vols. (London, 1899), vol. II, p. 136.

2 For the Bible the languages were Sanskrit, Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, Urdu, Marāthī, Gujarāti, Tamil, Malayālam, Telugu, Kanarese; for the New Testament only, Assamese, Punjābi, Sindhi, Tulū. Work was in progress in a number of the less widely spoken languages.

3 For interesting examples, see J. S. M. Hooper, *The Bible in India* (London, 1938).

4 The work of the LMS began in Salem in 1827.

5 This is recorded in chap. 17 of this volume (pp. 397–401).

6 J. Bateman, *Life of . . . Daniel Wilson* (London, 1860), p. 530.

7 J. Long, *Handbook of Bengal Missions in Connection with the Church of England* (London, 1848), p. 185.

8 See J. Long, *Handbook*, p. 162. See also the valuable work of T. Duka, *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Körös* (London, 1885). Duka, of the Bengal Medical Service, was also of Hungarian origin.

9 For the further progress of the Moravian Mission in Ladakh, see Appendix 29.

10 Quoted in R. Clark, *A Brief Account . . . of 30 Years Missionary Work . . . in the Punjab and Sindh* (Lahore, 1883), p. 9.

11 Pfander left India in 1858. After some years of work in Constantinople (Istanbul), he died there in 1865. He desired that no biography of him should be written; this request appears to have been honoured as far as the English language is concerned. The only work dealing with him in some detail that I have come across is C. F. Eppler, *D. Karl Gottlieb Pfander. Ein Zeuge der Wahrheit unter den Bekennern des Islam* (Basel, 1888).

12 There is a good account of Abdul Masih in R. D. Paul, *Chosen Vessels* (Madras, 1961), pp. 59–81.

13 See chap. 12.

14 Bishop Middleton thought, rightly or wrongly, that the letters patent under which he was sent to India did not authorise him to ordain Indians to the Anglican ministry. It was for this reason that the ordination of Abdul Masih by Lutherans was arranged. Bishop Heber, having got the matter settled before he left England, felt no hesitation in ordaining Abdul Masih according to the Anglican order. This action aroused much controversy, into the details of which it is not necessary to enter here.

15 D. Corrie, *Memoirs* (London, n.d.), p. 275.

16 *Missionary Register* (1826), p. 397.

17 Of these various enterprises the one really outstanding success was the printing press.

18 J. Long, *Handbook*, p. 59.

19 For similar problems that arose at Gorakhpur between 1824 and 1840, under a very able missionary, M. Wilkinson, see *Memorials of an Indian Missionary* (London, 1859).

20 H. Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French*, 2 vols. (London, 1895), vol. 1, p. 47.

21 First published in Persian in 1835, in English in 1867; revised edition by W. C. Tisdall, 1910.

22 H. Birks, *Life of French*, vol. 1, pp. 70–1.

23 For Pfander's account of the confrontation, see *CMI*, November 1854. See also Appendix 30. Imad-ud-dīn was baptised in 1866 and ordained deacon in the Anglican ministry on 6 December 1868.

24 The work met with a mixed reception. Among those who supported it warmly was Professor Augustus de Morgan of University College, London.

25 Chimman Lāl was one of those who perished in the great uprising. Rām Chandra was hidden by Hindu relatives and escaped with great difficulty to the British camp. After nine years his wife decided to rejoin him. He continued in various

forms of valuable service until his death in 1880. See R. D. Paul, *Triumphs of his Grace* (London, 1967), pp. 186–215.

26 C. F. Pascoe, *200 Years of the S.P.G.* (London, 1901), p. 616.

27 Duncan became Resident in Benares in 1788, and held the office till 1795, when he became governor of Bombay.

28 Jay Narain's letter to the CMS is given in full in J. Long, *Handbook*, pp. 68–80.

29 For an amusing account of Goreh's visit to Oxford in 1854, see N. C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: the Life of Max Müller* (London, 1974), pp. 292ff. Goreh opened the conversation by an eloquent greeting in Sanskrit, of which the eminent Sanskrit scholar did not understand one single word.

30 E. G. K. Hewat, *Christ and Western India* (Bombay, 1950), p. 210.

31 R. Hunter, *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland* (London, 1873), p. 238.

32 A useful short study of Seshādri is to be found in R. D. Paul, *Chosen Vessels*, pp. 168–94.

33 B. Padmanji, *Once Hindu*, trans. J. Murray Mitchell (New York, [1889?]), Appendix, pp. 151–4.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 149. Bāba Padmanji was ordained to the ministry in 1873 and was later in the service of the Bible Society and of the Tract Society of Bombay.

35 For a well-planned study of the Khāsis, and of missionary work among them, see Natini Natarajan, *The Missionary among the Khasis* (New Delhi, 1977).

36 J. H. Morris, *The Story of our Foreign Mission* (Liverpool, 1930), pp. 62–3.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 132–5.

38 There are excellent articles on Mundas and Orāons in Hastings *ERE* ss.vv.

39 L. S. S. O'Malley, *Bengal Census Report* (1911), p. 220ff.

40 In course of time, however, the small Badaga Christian community has produced a bishop.

41 Roman Catholic missionaries of foreign origin may have been about equal in number to the Protestants. There were in this period few foreign women in missionary service; the exceptions were to be found mainly in Pondichéri and Calcutta. Indian priests outnumbered foreigners, but mostly in the Portuguese dominions.

42 J. Richter, *History of Missions* (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 408–9, reckons that during the period 1851–1901 the increase in the Protestant population in each decade was about fifty-four per cent. The number of Christians increased ten-fold in the period, and the number of communicants multiplied itself twenty-fold. These figures are based on calculation rather than on guesswork.

16 INDIAN SOCIETY AND THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

1 This has been discussed on the basis of extensive knowledge of the literature of the time by K. S. Bhattacharya, 'Social and Political Thinking of Young Bengal', *Journal of Indian History*, 57 (1979), 129–61.

2 Shrewd Hindu observers realised that the real danger to Hinduism began when Christian women began to penetrate the *zenanas* and to teach those who lived in them.

3 London (1914), pp. 113–14 and 120. Note that Devendranāth was the son of Dwarkanāth, but in many matters did not agree with his father.

4 Briefly on Dwarkanāth, R. Murphey, *The Outsiders: the Western Experience in India and China* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1977), pp. 73–6. See also Bibliography, p. 560

5 On Dwarkanāth's rather pronounced hostility to those whom he called the 'black-coated Brahmins', meaning the Anglican clergy and missionaries, see N. C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: the Life of Max Müller* (London, 1974), pp. 50–1.

6 Rāmmohun Roy was given the title *rājā* by the Mughul emperor at whose behest he carried out the journey to London which led to his death.

7 It is said that he spent four years in Benares, but this statement rests on no satisfactory evidence.

8 Among the writings of Rāmmohun Roy is a translation of the Kena *Upaniṣad*, together with a summary of the teaching of the *Veda* in English, Bengali and Hindustani. This was reprinted in London in 1817.

9 *The Father of Modern India: Centenary Celebration* (Calcutta, 1935), p. 199.

10 From a letter to John Digby in England, almost certainly of the year 1817. See S. D. Collett, *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* (London, 1900), p. 37. Rather surprisingly, Roy continued to attend St Andrew's church, Calcutta, almost to his life's end.

11 P. K. Sen, *Biography of a New Faith*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1950), vol. 1, p. 87.

12 S. D. Collett, *Life and Letters of Roy*, p. 61.

13 As reprinted in the *English Works* (Calcutta, 1885). It seems that much of the *Final Appeal* was contributed by Roy's friend William Adam, the former Baptist missionary. For a very acute study of the whole story, see O. Wolff, *Christus unter den Hindus* (Gütersloh, 1965), pp. 10–47.

14 *Rajarshi Rom Mohun Roy* (Rajkot, 1927), p. 50. Why did they not remember the word of the Lord, 'He that is not against us is on our side'?

15 P. K. Sen, *Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 111–12.

16 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 127. William Adam was the Baptist missionary whose conversion to Unitarianism had caused scandal in the Christian ranks. Roy had written hopefully of Adam's work in 1822 (*English Works*, p. 880) and again on 9 December of that year (*ibid.*, p. 990); but these hopes all came to nothing. Adam died in England in 1853.

17 From the Introduction to the translation of the *Īsopaniṣad*. See P. K. Sen, *Biography*, vol. 1, p. 67. The whole chap. 4 'Rammohun the Interpreter of Hindu Theism' (pp. 62–84), is excellent. The constant reference to the use of reason is characteristic of Roy's approach. Max Müller, though yielding to none in his admiration of Roy, was sceptical of his competence as an expounder of the *Veda*: 'Vedic learning was then at a low ebb in Bengal, and Rammohun Roy had never passed through a regular training in Sanskrit' (*Biographical Essays* (London, 1884), pp. 18–19).

18 There is a bewildering variety in the spelling of this name.

19 This extremely prolix document, replete with legal phraseology, is printed in full in P. K. Sen, *Biography*, vol. 1, Appendix IV (pp. 363–71).

20 J. N. Farquhar goes so far as to say that 'the form of the service arranged by Rām Mohun Roy is Christian' (*Modern Religious Movements* (London, 1915), p. 39). This, I think, goes too far. It is important not to forget the influence on the mind of Roy of his Muslim contacts; Islam is like Christianity and unlike Hinduism in having regular congregational worship.

21 Roy has been called the father of the Indian national movement. This is a little anachronistic. But he was very conscious of the inherited dignity of the Indian people, and anxious that they should assert it (as he asserted it in his protests against the law limiting the freedom of the press) (S. D. Collett, *Life and Letters of Roy*, pp. 100ff.).

22 J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements*, pp. 37–8, draws an interesting contrast between the original principles of the Samāj and the definition of the nature of worship given in *The Religion of the Brahmo Samāj*, a manual used in that section of the movement which came to be known as the Sadhara Brāhma Samāj.

23 P. K. Sen, *Biography*, vol. 1, p. 191.

24 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 191–3.

25 *Autobiography of Tagore* (Calcutta, 1909), p. 72. This delightful book introduces the reader to the very heart of the reforming movement in Hinduism.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 89–90.

27 *Calcutta Review*, 2 (1844), 267.

28 *Christian Herald*, 31 December 1844, p. 207. It seems that the chief contributors on the Christian side were Alexander Duff and Joseph Mullens of the LMS.

29 *Autobiography of Tagore*, p. 5. This is in the introductory chapter by Satyendranāth Tagore. It is a summary of a process which extended over a considerable period. A number of different stages can be identified.

30 This translation direct from the Bengali is given by Dr M. M. Ali, *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities* (Chittagong, 1965), p. 30. Another rendering is 'filled with the light of intuitive knowledge'.

31 *Autobiography of Tagore*, p. 13. But Devendranāth probably owed more to Jesus Christ than he knew or recognised.

32 It must have been highly disturbing to him when a cousin of his own, Babu Gyandranāth Mohun Tagore, became a Christian (*C. M. Intelligencer*, December 1851, p. 269). This conversion seems to have taken place without the intervention of any missionary, and after ten years of searching.

33 *Autobiography of Tagore*, p. 99.

34 In this Devendranāth was mistaken. The flow of conversions may have become less, but young men did not cease to look for a new life in Christ. In 1851 five of the pupils of the LMS Institution at Bhowānipur came forward as enquirers. See *CCO*, May 1851, pp. 226–31: 'A narrative of events connected with five enquirers in connection with the London Missionary Society's Institute Bhowānipur.'

35 For fuller information on these answers, see Appendix 32.

36 It is to be noted that the Dharma Sabhā was as much opposed to those whom it regarded as disloyal Hindus as it was to government or to the missionaries. Throughout this history three parties were involved – orthodox Hindus, 'young

Bengal' and the missionaries. Each of these parties was vigorously opposed to the other two.

37 See chap. 18, pp. 414–15.

38 Quoted in M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 125. The tribute paid to the impartiality of government is notable.

39 *CCA*, 21 June 1845.

40 For a complete list of the periodicals, Christian and non-Christian, in which this warfare was carried on, see M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, pp. 220–1.

41 Morton had joined the LMS in 1837 but had previously worked with the SPCK.

42 See M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 38.

43 M. A. Sherring, *The History of Protestant Missions in India from their Commencement in 1706 to 1871* (London, 1875), p. 112. Sherring refers also to *The Enquirer*, conducted by an educated Hindu and vigorous in its attacks on Hindu superstition; but only six numbers of the paper seem to have appeared, all in 1835. It appears that this educated Hindu was none other than K. M. (later the Reverend K. M.) Banerjea. See chap. 14, p. 310–11.

44 This is discussed by M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, pp. 94–100 ('Readmission of Apostates into Caste').

45 I have not found any record of the names of these six applicants.

46 *CCA*, 4 September 1852, p. 424.

47 On the law covering such matters, see J. D. Mayne, *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, 7th edn (Madras, 1906), pp. 272–83.

48 J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows in the Mission Field* (London, 1862), pp. 310ff.

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 341–2.

50 In 1854 the Hindus hoped to obtain a contrary judgement from the chief justice, Sir Christopher Rawlinson, who was believed to be unfavourable to the Christian cause. But, after careful questioning of the young men involved, Sir Christopher stood by the principle of free choice accepted by his distinguished colleagues.

51 J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*, p. 350.

52 The case is fully reported by M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, pp. 87–8, from the *CCO* for 1837.

53 The case was reported in *The Friend of India* for 1841.

54 *The Friend of India*, 8 (1841), 356. See M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 141, n. 4.

55 J. C. Page, 'The Zemindary System and Christianity', in *Proceedings of the General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries, 1855*, p. 108; quoted in M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 161.

56 See 'Prospectus of the Native Christian Protection Society', *CCO*, 7 (1839), 409.

57 *The Friend of India*, 8 (1841), 115.

58 See M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 151.

59 Reported in *C. M. Intelligencer*, 3 (1852), 254–5.

60 The story of the indigo-planters is told in distressing detail in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. IX, pp. 914–38. He quotes the saying of a British official that 'not a chest of indigo reached England without being stained with human blood'.

61 The petition is printed in *Parl. Papers H/C 1852—3*, vol. XXVII, paper 426, pp. 416–19. The European Community and the British India Association sent petitions at the same time, taking up positions wholly different from those of the missionaries. The petitions were referred to a select committee of both houses but no action was taken on any of them.

62 *Parl. Papers H/C 1857*, session 1, vol. II, pp. 8–11. It should be said that such complacent ignorance was rare among the higher ranks of the British civil service in India.

63 *DNB* (s.n.) notes that, when in the House of Commons, he spoke often of Indian affairs of which he had a special knowledge. His speech of 11 May 1857 was separately printed and widely circulated.

64 M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 187. We shall have to return again in another context to the saga of the missionaries and the indigo-planters.

17 TOWARDS AN INDIAN CHURCH

1 See chap. 4.

2 It should be noted that there was some teaching, rather amateurish, of Asian languages.

3 One of the merits of Karl Graul was that he desired to have only university graduates as missionaries; but he was able only in part to give effect to this excellent intention (H. Hermelink, *Des Christentum in der Menschheitsgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1951–5), vol. II, p. 509).

4 As he never married, under the old regulations he was able to hold his fellowship until the day of his death (see T. T. Perowne, *A Memoir of T. G. Ragland* (London, 1861)).

5 See H. Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French*, 2 vols. (London, 1895).

6 He could not take up the scholarship awarded to him, on the ground that he had been born in Ireland and not in Great Britain.

7 This is two years after the end of the period assigned to this volume; but Thomas had been at Megnanapuram since 1838, and this picture could have been drawn at any time between 1845 and 1860.

8 *Letters of Arnold Christian Pears* (Madras, 1931), p. 128. Mrs Thomas was an exceptionally good manager. Eighty years later the garden at Megnanapuram was still famous.

9 This was a principle accepted in all the English-speaking missions; much less so in those from the continent of Europe.

10 The habit of parting with children at an early age seems to have grown up only after the introduction of steam navigation.

11 Of the great dynasty of the Scudders in Arcot, the majority seem to have been educated in America.

12 A few, such as Alexander Duff and T. V. French, had by reason of serious ill-health to break their service in India by long periods of service in the West.

13 Quinine had long been known as the specific remedy for malaria; but the secret of the transmission of malaria through the anopheles mosquito was revealed by Sir Ronald Ross only in 1897/8.

14 This information we owe to the diligence of Dr K. Ingham, *Reformers in India* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 125–32. Dr Ingham rightly claims that 'there has never been, hitherto, any similar compilation' (p. 14). Dr. K. P. Sen Gupta, in *The Christian Missionaries in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1971), pp. 195–201, has made use of Dr Ingham's information, as far as Bengal is concerned, with some additional information. For the period 1706–93, full information is in J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (Tranquebar, 1863), pp. 312–20. Fenger makes it clear that of fifty-four missionaries sent out by the Danish society forty-one died in India, but some of these after many years of service.

15 Absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed, as the missionary societies were not always agreed as to the connotation of the term 'missionary'. In some cases, but not in others, printers, schoolmasters and other helpers were included. But in any case the number of these was not very large.

16 The development of hill stations such as Darjeeling and Ootacamund made such permanent residence easy. Evidence for this is to be found in the graveyards of such stations.

17 I have come across only one case of sexual irregularity, though probably there were others which remained concealed. I have noted two clear cases of alcoholism. J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, p. 319, describes one missionary sent out in 1799 as a vicious man and gives (pp. 296–7) a rather hair-raising account of his misdemeanours. More often the trouble was financial mismanagement; this was usually dealt with by replacing the offender by one more skilled in the commerce of mammon.

18 This expression is actually used by L. Besse SJ in his *Life of Beschi* (Trichinopoly, 1918).

19 See chap. 13, pp. 283–4.

20 But Noble had been provocative in going against what the chaplains regarded as their rights.

21 Deacon 1851, priest 1853, Lambeth DD 1880, d. 1884 (see F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. III, pp. 372–3).

22 The first general missionary conference seems to have been that held in Calcutta in 1855.

23 It was of this book that the philosopher C. D. Broad, who was not a believer, remarked that it would convince any jury.

24 G. Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, 2 vols. (London, 1879), vol. I, p. 161–2.

25 On this, see, interestingly, O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols. (London, 1966), vol. I, p. 539.

26 Quoted in J. M. Todd, *African Mission* (London, 1962), p. 19.

27 Only a small minority of the priests in France held the position of *curé*. The great majority were either curates, or *desservants*, priests in charge of a chapel of ease.

28 J. M. Todd, *African Mission*, p. 22.

29 Brésillac's later heroic enterprise in Sierra Leone and his death in Freetown in June 1859 do not belong to the history with which this chapter deals. They are

recorded by J. M. Todd, *African Mission*, pp. 33–8.

30 In point of fact both John's son and his son-in-law were ordained to the priesthood.

31 A. H. Grey-Edwards, *Memoir of the Rev John Thomas* (London, 1954), surprisingly, does not deal in detail with this, the greatest of all his achievements.

32 The names of those in the first group were: Paramānandam Simeon, Muthusamy Devaprasādam, Madurendran Savarināyagam, Sreenivāsagam Mathuranāyagam, Abraham Samuel. George Pettitt came over from Ceylon to preach the ordination sermon (see P. Appasamy, *Centenary History of the CMS* (Palamcottah, 1923), pp. 118–20).

33 E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 4 vols. (London, 1899–1916), vol. II, pp. 183–8. Paul Daniel died in 1860. Both his sons entered the ordained ministry. Samuel Paul was one of three Anglican clergy honoured by government with the title Rāo Sāhib; the others were the Reverend M. Asirvātham and the Venerable R. V. Asirvādam.

34 G. Smith, *Life of . . . Wilson* (London, 1878), p. 403.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 404–5.

36 G. Macpherson, *Life of Lāl Behāri Day* (Edinburgh, 1900) p. xvii. Macpherson's account is on pp. 70–1, and is less clear. The missionaries may well have been constitutionally in the right; they might have saved themselves a good deal of trouble if they had not stood so strictly on the legal point.

37 G. Macpherson, *Life of Day*, pp. 96–7.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50. This lecture was not delivered until 1871, but it is clear that ideas expressed in it had been in the mind of Day, at least in rudimentary form, at a considerably earlier date.

39 This was certainly the case in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Vaḍakkankulam; in each of these centres the removal of the wall was carried out in the face of intense opposition from the high-caste section of the community.

40 G. Goyau, *La France missionaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1948), vol. I, p. 404. Note the remarkable expression, 'Le bruit courut que les prêtres des Missions Etrangères voulaient tout parianiser'.

41 In the twentieth century the use of caste titles has spread in South India to all sections of the population.

42 The statement is printed in full in the *Life of Reginald Heber*, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. II, pp. 222–8.

43 Letter of 5 July 1833 (J. Bateman, *Life of Daniel Wilson*, rev. edn, 2 vols. (London, 1861), vol. I, pp. 437–43). Some concessions in favour of older Christians were to be permitted.

44 J. Bateman, *Life of Wilson*, vol. I, p. 453.

45 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 452.

46 The movement initiated by E. V. Ramaswami Naicker will come before us at a later point in the narrative.

47 J. Richter, *Protestant Missions* (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 270. Richter gives a well-informed and judicious discussion of the question on pp. 166–73 and 255–6 of his work.

48 Quoted in J. Richter, *Protestant Missions*, p. 260. See especially K. Graul,

Explanations Concerning the Principles of the Leipzig Society with Regard to the Caste-Question (Madras, 1851); and *RE*, vol. VII, pp. 70–4.

49 See M. A. Sherring, *Protestant Missions in India*, 2nd edn (London, 1884), p. 357.

50 On Venn, see M. A. C. Warren, *To Apply the Gospel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970), and T. E. Yates, *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad* (London, 1976), especially pp. 28–43.

51 This independence extended far down into the British system of government in India. Lord Trevelyan has written amusingly and aptly of the position of the district magistrate as it existed in the days of his great-uncle, C. E. Trevelyan.

52 See, for details, S. Gopal, *British Policy in India, 1858–1905* (Cambridge, 1965). Gopal shows the working out of tendencies which had been set in motion before 1858.

53 The controversy is recorded in M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), pp. 121–5, and in J. Bateman, *Life of Wilson*, vol. II, pp. 10–24. See also, for details, T. E. Yates, *Venn*, pp. 28–43, and, for Lord Chichester's letter to Bishop Wilson, especially p. 32.

54 Graul is highly respected in Germany as the founder of missiology and as the first professor of missions in a German university. This aspect of his work is dealt with by O. G. Myklebust, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education*, vol. I (Oslo, 1955), pp. 93ff.

55 R. Pierce Beaver, *To Advance the Gospel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967) gives a good selection from the writings of Anderson.

56 An exception were the churches built by the wealthy Begum Sumroo of Sardhana.

57 Many examples are recorded in older books, such as G. Pettitt's *The Tinnevelly Mission of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1851).

58 Roman Catholics naturally tended to adopt or adapt a Portuguese model.

59 Oriya is the principal language of Orissa, but Telugu is widely spoken in the southern part of that province.

60 See an excellent article by R. Joseph, 'The Christology of an Indian Christian', *Bangalore Theological Forum* (1982), 69–81. Joseph refers to the *Andhra Christian Hymnal* (ed. 1967), and to a life by Babu John Choudhari, *Rev. Purushottam Choudhari* (Kakinada, 1935).

61 R. Joseph, 'Indian Christian', pp. 78–9.

62 It is interesting to note that Kai Baago, in his work *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity* (Bangalore–Madras, 1960), does not include any of the poets among the pioneers.

18 THE GREAT UPRISING

1 Sir James Andrew Broun Ramsay, 10th Earl and first Marquess of Dalhousie (1812–60); governor-general of India 1847–56. He pronounced the name 'Dalhoosie', and not as it has come to be pronounced in common usage in India.

2 The actual text is: 'So much of any law or usage now in force . . . as inflicts upon any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or

affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the Courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter in the said territories.'

3 W. Lee-Warner, *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie KT* (London, 1904) vol. I, p. 298. The memorialists imprudently add: 'we doubt not that in future and not distant years the wisdom and the righteousness of your policy will be acknowledged by all men'. They were wrong.

4 On the *śrāddha* ceremonies, see, conveniently, Hastings, *ERE*, vol. I, pp. 452–4 (W. Crooke).

5 For a clear statement of the principles involved, see W. Lee-Warner, *Life of Dalhousie*, vol. II, pp. 152–67.

6 For a first-hand account of Kulinism, see 'The Kulin Brahmins of Bengal', *Calcutta Review*, 2 (1844), 1–32. The editor's note on p. 31 makes it clear that the writer was a Christian clergyman, the Reverend Krishna Mohun Banerjea, who before his conversion had been a member of the Kulin brotherhood. The accuracy of his delineation has never been challenged.

7 See W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism* (London, 1857), p. 189. The whole chapter, 'Kulinism and Polygamy' (pp. 178–90) is valuable. Note especially Wilkins' remarks on polygamy in India (pp. 179–80).

8 W. Lee-Warner, *Life of Dalhousie*, vol. II, pp. 298–9.

9 Indian writers generally attribute the impoverishment of Oudh to the system imposed by the British.

10 Printed in London in 1858, with an introduction and private correspondence relating to his appointment and journeys. In 1971, an abridged edition, *Sleeman in Oudh*, was published by the Cambridge University Press, with an introduction of exceptional value by P. D. Reeves.

11 For a rather damaging picture of Sleeman, and an unfavourable opinion of his work, see J. Pemble, *The Raj, the Indian Mutiny and the Kingdom of Oudh 1801–1859* (Hassocks, 1977), pp. 96–107.

12 F. J. Goldsmid, *James Outram: a Biography*, 2 vols. (London, 1880), vol. II, pp. 105–7. J. Pemble writes that 'he merely rummages in the vast ragbag of his predecessor's reports and despatches' (p. 104).

13 W. H. Sleeman, *Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1849–1850*, 2 vols. (London, 1858), vol. I, pp. xliv–xlv. See also pp. xxi and xxii.

14 J. W. Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*, 3 vols. (London, 1864), vol. I, p. 15.

15 Not long after the events recorded here a work was published anonymously and without date under the title *Dacoitee in Excelsis: or, The Spoliation of Oude by the East India Company* (Indian Reprint, Lucknow, 1971). This seems to be part of the campaign carried on in England by the king of Oudh for the restoration of his rights; the worst possible interpretation is put upon all the actions of the British. Many later writers have been prone to make use of the book without the necessary critical investigation.

16 Lord Canning rightly understood this aspect of the uprising: 'The struggle which we have had has been more like a national war than a local insurrection. In

its magnitude, duration, scale of expenditure, and in some of its moral features, it partakes largely of the former character' (letter to Sir Charles Wood, dated 8 August 1859).

17 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. IX, pp. 422–3.

18 Quoted in M. Maclagan, *"Clemency" Canning* (London, 1962), p. 68.

19 Canning to Granville, 9 April 1857 (E. G. P. Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower*, 2 vols. (London, 1905), vol. I, pp. 245–6). For all that, Wheler was an efficient soldier. His Christian eccentricities did not interfere with his career; he reached the rank of major-general, and died in India in 1865.

20 For further details, see R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. IX, p. 629, with a quotation from the *Englishman* of Calcutta of 2 April 1857: 'It was no wonder, therefore, that the men should be in an excited state specially when such efforts at conversion are openly avowed.' See also S. B. Chaudhuri, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 3.

21 Quoted in E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 37, from *Circular Letters*, vol. II (December 1809), 120. One might add, from the charge delivered to the Reverend C. A. Jacobi by the Venerable T. F. Middleton (later the first bishop of Calcutta) on 23 March 1813, the sage advice 'To knowledge and learning you will add discretion' (*Annual Reports and Correspondence of the SPCK* (1874), 678–9).

22 R. Temple, *Men and Events of my Time in India* (London, 1882), p. 31.

23 For a devastating account of the extreme impropriety of his actions in relation to Canning and India in 1857–8, see M. Maclagan, *"Clemency" Canning*, pp. 196–9.

24 Canning to Granville, 2 July 1857; quoted in M. Maclagan, *"Clemency" Canning*, pp. 114–15.

25 Quoted by E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 4 vols. (London, 1899–1916), vol. II, p. 223, from a pamphlet written by Dr A. Duff.

26 Other aspects of Indian opinion on Christian missions will be dealt with in another chapter.

27 G. Smith, *Life of Alexander Duff*, 2 vols. (London, 1879), vol. I, pp. 182–3 and 283.

28 M. A. Sherring, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion* (London, 1859), pp. 184–5.

29 Later, Hindus discovered that silk is a non-conductor of defilement, and that therefore those wearing silk garments could travel without anxiety.

30 Quoted in S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Delhi, 1957), p. 15 and n. 20.

31 E. Stokes makes the interesting suggestion that 'the British with their General Service Enlistment Act of 1856 and the use of greased cartridges for their new rifle threatened the monopoly of the traditional high-caste Rajput and Brahmin warrior castes in recruitment to the army, and resentment boiled over in the Mutiny of 1857' (*The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 44; a most important book).

32 J. W. Kaye, *Sepoy War*, vol. I, p. 490.

33 Letter of 22 February 1857 (to Vernon Smith).

34 R. B. Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, 2 vols. (London, 1883), vol. II, p. 323. See also p. 316 to Edwardes: 'if anything like compulsion entered into our system of diffusing Christianity, the rules of that religion itself are disobeyed, and we shall never be permitted to profit by our disobedience'.

35 J. A. B. Palmer, *The Mutiny Outbreak at Meerut in 1857* (Cambridge, 1966).

36 See *ibid.*, p. 155. In Meerut 'Chapel Street was named after and contained the Roman Catholic chapel, for this was near the wooden bridge. This chapel served not only the local English, Eurasian and Indian [Roman] Catholics, but also the very large population of Irish in the Queen's regiments' (*ibid.*, p. 54). Palmer does not mention the nationality of the priest who served this chapel.

37 H. B. Edwardes and H. Merivale, *The Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, 2 vols. (London, 1872), vol. II, pp. 322–3.

38 Commenting on this unexpectedness, the great scholar Max Müller notes the extent to which the later generation of officers of the armies in India was ignorant of Indian languages: 'a man need not have been in India to see that in order to govern a people, and to gain the confidence and goodwill of a conquered people, it is necessary to know their language' (N. C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: the Life of Max Müller* (London, 1974), p. 183). On the value of the older generation of British officer, see the judgement of a writer not generally favourable to the British in India: 'These men became sublimely brave, and capable at once of the leadership that makes men devoted and the chivalry that gives even war nobility' (J. Pemble, *The Invasion of Nepal: John Company at War* (Oxford, 1971), p. 357).

39 Many good observers, however, judge that the march on Delhi had been planned from the start.

40 S. Wolpert, *New History of India*, 2nd edn (New York, 1982), p. 235.

41 E. Stock, *History of the CMS*, vol. II, p. 226.

42 The details are given in M. A. Sherring, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion* (London, 1859), pp. 17–20. Sherring made a careful study of all the available records. His facts have, I think, never been doubted, though some of his interpretations may be open to question.

43 Mr Owen was one of those who escaped with his life.

44 I have not found any similar study of the fate of Roman Catholic missionaries during the rising, perhaps because Roman Catholics were at the time few in the area most deeply affected by the troubles. E. D. Maclagan notes (*The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), p. 371, n. 9) that 'the Roman Catholic bishop of Agra sent in a long list of complaints, of which some were manifestly unreasonable'.

45 The whole narrative is given in M. A. Sherring, *Indian Church*, pp. 185–200.

46 *Ibid.*, pp. 313–14.

47 This theme will be dealt with at greater length at a later stage in our narrative.

48 The Memorial Hall in Madras is perhaps the only building in the world put up to commemorate the event which did not happen; it was erected in thankfulness that Madras had been spared the bloodshed and destruction to which other parts of India had been subjected.

49 M. Maclagan, *"Clemency" Canning*, p. 220. See also Sir John Smyth, *The*

Rebellious Rani (London, 1966), and D. V. Thamankar, *The Ranee of Jhansi* (London, 1958).

50 For Canning's famous Resolution of 31 July 1857, which earned him the nickname 'Clemency' Canning, and the frenzied outburst of hostility in which it resulted, see M. Maclagan, *"Clemency" Canning*, pp. 324–7 and 132–43.

51 Queen Victoria wrote to Canning on 9 September 1861: 'It is most gratifying to the Queen to see how peaceful her Indian Dominions are, and considering the very alarming state of affairs during the years '57, 58 and even '59, it must be a source of undoubted satisfaction and pride to Lord Canning to witness this state of prosperity at the end of his Government.'

52 J. W. Kaye, *Sepoy War*, vol. I, p. 328.

53 A careful study of Nānā Sāhīb is P. C. Gupta, *Nana Sahib and the Rising at Cawnpore* (Oxford, 1963). Gupta's considered judgement is that 'it is difficult to see how he can be absolved from responsibility' (p. 120).

54 Here I can write with absolute certainty from memories of my own boyhood.

55 The evidence has been diligently, but not quite impartially, collected by E. Thompson, *The Other Side of the Medal* (London, 1925).

56 The main areas covered by such allegations were the annexation of the Punjab, and the treatment of both *talukdars* and peasants in Oudh.

57 Memorandum of Henry Venn, printed in the *C.M. Record*, November 1857.

58 Quoted in E. Stock, *History of the CMS*, vol. II, p. 227.

59 I have deliberately put in the word 'almost': I cannot be certain that there were no exceptions.

60 This information is found in H. Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French*, 2 vols. (London, 1895), vol. I, pp. 86–124.

61 Also grandfather of the famous Knox brothers – Ronald, Dillwyn, Edmund ('Evoe') and Wilfred.

62 H. Birks, *Life of French*, vol. I, p. 91.

NOTES TO APPENDICES

1 See, further, *CHI*, vol. V, p. 115.

2 Quoted in H. Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1976), p. 222.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 225. *Rival Empires* is the most notable and reliable of all books on European trade in the East in the period dealt with in this volume. Especially notable is a passage on p. 321 of Furber's work: the principle laid down by the English Company was that 'redress should be promptly made on the spot in cases of injuries done to the "inhabitants or black merchants", and that those accused of such injuries should remain in India until they have given full satisfaction for the same'. Furber's much earlier work, on Sir John Shore, *The Private Records of an Indian Governor-Generalship* (Princeton, NJ, 1923) is also illuminating, and also rather unusual in expressing profound admiration for the subordinate officials and clerks who guided the machinery of government in those difficult days.

4 A recent American writer, S. Wolpert, remarks that 'irreparable damage to

Anglo-Indian relations was, nonetheless, done by the impulsive *nawab*'s underlings' (S. Wolpert, *A New History of India* (New York, 1977), p. 179).

5 The Portuguese authorities did not accept this understanding of the situation. As we shall see, at a later date Archbishop Silva Torres tried to revive the full Portuguese claim, and to extend his own authority over all the vicars apostolic.

6 The new prelate was an Austrian from Salzburg. His personal name was Joseph Jacob Geisilmayer.

7 The question never actually arose, since Angelino died on the way to India on 12 July 1786. The materials for a complete study of this complex question have been collected by J. Metzler SJ in a lengthy article, based on familiarity with all the documents issued by Propaganda: 'Propaganda und Missionspatronat in 18 Jahrhundert', *Mem. Rer.*, 2 (1973), 180–235. Reference may also be made to the older work of D. Jann OMC, *Die katholischen Missionen in India, China and Japan* (Palambar, 1915).

8 Fr F. Vannini, *Christian Settlements in Nepal during the Eighteenth Century* (New Delhi, 1977), p. 66.

9 Fr Anselm of Ragusa, in a letter written from Kathmandu on 7 October 1756, refers to 'more than 9,000 infants who took their flight to heaven after baptism given to them *in articulo mortis*' (*NR*, vol. II.2, p. 192). The total up to 1769 seems to have been rather more than 12,000.

10 In 1900 there were 1,302 Christians, almost all Roman Catholics (*Imperial Gazetteer*, 8 (1900), 6). See also W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 3rd edn, with notes by V. A. Smith (London, 1915), pp. 11–13.

11 The facts have been collected by H. B. Hyde and are set forth on pp. 155–6 of his work *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901). See also J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. IV, pp. 19–34.

12 *Patres S.J. Provinciae Malabariae discedere . . . ab ore Piscariae neque coguntur neque cogitant.* Letter from Quilon dated 15 December 1766; quoted by A. Meersman, 'The Fisher Coast under the Portuguese Patronage during the Years 1759–1838', *ICHR* (1977), 223–4.

13 The last of them, Fr Falcão, seems to have died at Manappādu in 1795 (A. Meersman, 'Fisher Coast', p. 226).

14 J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 3 vols. (Madras, 1873), vol. II, pp. 578–82. See also M. Edwardes, *British India 1772–1947* (London, 1967) pp. 56 and 83.

15 E. Hodder, *Life of . . . Shaftesbury*, 3 vols. (London, 1886), vol. I, pp. 466 and 475. The speech made by Shaftesbury on this occasion took up seven columns of *The Times*.

16 The best collection of the evidence known to me is that in E. J. Thompson, *Suttee* (London, 1928), pp. 82–126.

17 Sir Francis Tuker, *The Yellow Scarf: the Story of the Life of Major-General Sir William Henry Sleeman KCB 1788–1856*, 2nd edn (London, 1971) p. 46, n. 1, notes that 'British newspapers of 20th October 1954 reported that on 19th October the widow of Brigadier Jabbar Sing, comptroller of the Household of the Maharajah of Jodhpur, committed suttee on her husband's funeral pyre'.

18 J. Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay* (Oxford, 1973), p. 377: 'No essential

benefit can be derived by the student of the Meemangsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Veds.' Exact text in H. Sharp, *Selection from Educational Records, Part I: 1751–1839* (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 100–1 (address to Lord Amherst, of 11 December 1823). Sharp also prints Macaulay's minute (pp. 107–17), and H. T. Prinsep's Note, dated Sunday, 15 February 1835, on Macaulay's minute, with Macaulay's marginal comments (pp. 117–29).

19 Quoted by A. I. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India* (London, 1929), p. 144.

20 He was a son of the governor-general, Sir John Shore.

21 F. J. Shore, *Notes on Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (London, 1837), vol. 1, p. 518.

22 W. Ward, *Manners and Customs*, vol. 1, pp. 80 and 285.

23 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. xx and xxxvi–xxxvii.

24 For views of Hindus on the Hinduism of that day, see E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 7 and n. 2.

25 Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the *Farewell Letters to a Few Friends in Britain and America on returning to Bengal in 1821*, which he wrote hastily and published in that year. For a critical estimate of this work, see Appendix 19.

26 G. Smith, *Henry Martyn* (London, 1892), p. 170. Martyn seems to have misunderstood Carey: the proposal was for a decennial, not an annual, meeting of missionaries.

27 Exactly the same objection was raised to the proposal that a meeting over questions of Faith and Order should be held in 1927.

28 Here Miss Rouse has slipped: Kohlhoff's name was John Caspar; he had been ordained in 1790.

29 Here I think Miss Rouse is wrong. Sattianadhan's ordination sermon was *printed* in English, but as a translation from Tamil.

30 Among these is David Kopf, who works out his ideas on pp. 263–72 of his book *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969); and see the criticism of Kopf by J. Rosselli, *Lord William Bentinck* (Brighton, 1974), pp. 218–19 and 223–5.

31 See D. Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969), pp. 271–2. Further attention will be directed to the anti-Western reaction, in chap. 17, which deals with the Indian reaction to the West, and in particular the attitude towards Christian proselytisation.

32 But there may be something to be said for the view of S. B. Chaudhuri: 'Who knows that the inception of the nationalist movement was not contained in the rising of 1857 after the fashion of the oak in the acorn? Because the revolt of 1857 was not merely anti-British but a movement expressing profound desires for freedom' (*Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 291). For a serious and temperate consideration of the use of the terms 'nation' and 'national', see W. von Pochhammer, *India's Road to Nationhood* (New Delhi, 1981), chap. 40 ('The Concept of "Nation" in India').

Select Bibliographies

OUTLINE OF A BIBLIOGRAPHY

The writing and rewriting of Indian history, under every aspect, has become a major industry. Any attempt to produce a complete bibliography of Christianity in India would be self-defeating; Bishop Brown's book on the Thomas Christians alone has a bibliography of seven crowded pages.

What has been attempted here is to list a limited number of books which appear to be important and to be relevant beyond the period at which they were written, and almost all of which have extensive bibliographies in a number of languages. It is hoped that, with the system of classification adopted, readers who wish to pursue any subject in greater detail, may be able to find guidance that will lead them to further studies.

Books and articles which have been referred to only once in the text or notes have not in most cases been noted in this bibliography.

GENERAL

Works of Reference

World Christian Encyclopedia, ed. D. B. Barrett (Oxford, 1982)
deals primarily with contemporary situations but contains also historical data of value.

Hastings, J. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908–26)
is still valuable for articles on Indian peoples, religious movements and sects, some of which have never been surpassed.

The St Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India, ed. G. Menachary (Trichur, 1982), vol. 1,
pp. 1–215, deals with the history of the church, mainly from the Roman Catholic point of view. The bibliographies in a number of cases serve as a useful supplement to bibliographies available elsewhere.

Histories of India

For general histories of India in the period 1707–1858, we shall turn first to
The History and Culture of the Indian People, ed. R. C. Majumdar, vols VIII and IX (London, 1977 and 1963)
This is full, accurate and generally impartial, though inclined to be weighted on the Hindu side of Indian history.

We now have to reckon with another immense collective work:
A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. IX: 1712–1772 (Delhi, 1978)
The first volume has not yet appeared. The aims of the Indian History Congress in undertaking this very large work have not yet been made quite clear.

The Cambridge History of India, vols. V and VI (Cambridge, 1929 and 1932) continues to be indispensable. Some chapters are already out of date; but others are of permanent value.

Of the short histories of India the best is without doubt
Spear, P. *A History of India*, 2nd edn, vol. II (Harmondsworth, 1968)
Based on long residence in India, a deep love for the land, the people and the culture, together with an unusually extensive knowledge of the relevant literature, this work can confidently be recommended to the reader who wants to make the acquaintance of the Indian sub-continent.

Wolpert, S. *A New History of India*, (New York, 1977; 2nd edn New York, 1982), based on a fairly extensive acquaintance with the secondary literature, and with only moderate anti-British prejudices, is pleasantly written and includes a number of references to Christianity.

van Pochhammer, W. *India's Road to Nationhood: a Political History of the Subcontinent* (1973), Eng. trans. (Bombay, 1981)
by a German diplomat long resident in India, sticks to the theme indicated in its title, and represents what may be called a cross-bench position. The dry comments of the writer on the errors of both British and Indians are refreshing, but he has little to say about Christianity.

Histories of Missions

In general histories of missions, India is dealt with in
Latourette, K. S. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. III (*Three Centuries of Advance*), (London, 1940), pp. 247–84
vol. VI (*The Great Century AD 1800 - AD 1914 in Northern Africa and Asia*), (London, 1945), pp. 65–215
Latourette is indispensable for reference, both in the footnotes and in the bibliography; but his work is based almost entirely on books, with few references to periodicals.

Histoire universelle des missions catholiques, ed. Mgr S. Delacroix, vol. III (*Les Missions contemporaines 1800–1957)* (Paris, 1957)
is disappointing, giving in chaps. 1, 4 and 7 only a sketch of developments.

Christianity in India

Hough, J. *History of Christianity in India*, vols. III–V. (London, 1845–60). Vol. V with a valuable memoir of the writer by his son.
Hough displays an astonishing mastery of the sources up to the time of writing. He can rarely be faulted on the facts, but his strong anti-Roman prejudice at times distorts the presentation of the story.

Richter, J. *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, 2nd, much improved, edn (Gütersloh, 1924). There is an English translation of the 1st edn, *A History of Protestant Missions in India* (Edinburgh, 1908)
Richter sticks to his title, and has little to say about Roman Catholic missions, or about the Thomas Christians. He is generally sound and well informed.

No book of equal value from the Roman Catholic side can be listed, but reference may be made to
Piolet, J. B., and Vadot, C. L. *L'Eglise catholique aux Indes*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1907) and to
Jann OMC, D. *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China, und Japan* (Paderborn, 1915),
which deals mainly with the hierarchical organisation of the missions.

Two older works deserve mention:
Kaye, J. W. *Christianity in India* (London, 1859)
Smith, G. *The Conversion of India* (London–Edinburgh, 1893)
Firth, C. B. *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 2nd edn (Madras, 1961)
is an admirable short introduction to the subject.

Thomas, P. *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan* (London, 1954)
by an Indian Christian, is less useful than might have been hoped, by reason of its strong anti-Western prejudice.

The Indian Church History Association has promised us a six-volume *History of Christianity in India.*

So far only vol. II, covering the period 1542–1700, has appeared, and no information has been forthcoming as to when further volumes may be expected. It seems likely that the series will supply us with the very detailed mission history which it is not the aim of this present series to provide.

We now come to the period of the great histories of individual missionary societies.

On the Roman Catholic side no one can compare with Launay. Though he deals with only one society, his extensive quotations bring the reader to the very heart of Roman Catholic missions and their problems:

Launay, Adrien *Histoire générale de la Société des Missions-Etrangères*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1894)

Launay, A. *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde, Pondichéry, Maissour, Coimbatour*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1898)

In the English language, pride of place must be given to the massive

Stock, Eugène *The History of the Church Missionary Society: its Environment, its Men and its Work*, 4 vols. (London, 1899–1916)

Stock's work is selective and slanted (in spite of its title it has a great deal to say about women!); but its scope is not limited to the CMS, and it contains a great deal of information not readily available elsewhere.

Also on the Anglican side,

Pascoe, C. F. *200 Years of the S.P.G. 1701–1900* (London, 1901)

is a miniature encyclopaedia in itself, unreadable but invaluable for reference.

On a smaller scale

Thompson, H. P. *Into All Lands: the History of the [SPG] 1701–1900* (London, 1951)

is commendable.

Also, on a smaller scale,

Hewat, E. G. K. *Vision and Achievement 1796–1956: a History of Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland* (London, 1960)

gives a good overall picture.

Findlay, G. G., and Holdsworth, W. W. *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, 5 vols. (London, 1921–4)

deals with Methodist missions in many lands, but gives adequate space to India.

Lovett, Richard *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895*, 2 vols. (London, 1899)

Particularly well written, and with a sympathetic understanding of missionary problems. The sequel, dealing with the period subsequent to 1905, by N. Goodall, rivals Lovett in excellence.

From the American side, out of many books two may be selected:

Goodsell, F. F. *Ye shall be my Witnesses* (Boston, Mass., 1959)

Torbet, R. G. *Venture of Faith: the Story of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Women's American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society* (Philadelphia, Pa, 1955)

Germany naturally makes a substantial contribution:

Nottrott, L. *Die gossnersche Mission unter den Kolhs*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1874 and 1888)
Schlatter, W. *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815–1915*, 3 vols. (Basle, 1916)

For Bible translation,

North, E. M. *The Book of a Thousand Tongues . . . translation into more than a Thousand Languages and Dialects* (New York, 1938)

is still authoritative for the period which it covers. See also

Hooper, J. S. M. *The Bible in India* (London, 1938; 2nd edn 1963)

This is also the era in which periodical literature on all kinds of missionary subjects flourished.

The publications connected with the Danish–Halle mission have been mentioned elsewhere (chap. 2).

Of the periodicals published in England the most important was the *Missionary Register, 1813–1855*. This, edited by a Secretary of the CMS, dealt with the missionary cause through the world, and is the only source for many original records nowhere else available.

The Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1849 onwards, is also indispensable to the student of the period.

On the continent of Europe, the most outstanding periodical was the *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin* of the Basel Mission, which from 1816 produced articles on a vast range of missionary subjects.

The beginnings of extensive publication in India belong to this period.

Most notable of all was *The Friend of India*, put out by the Serampore missionaries as a monthly from 1818 to 1820, as a quarterly from 1820 to 1825. This was revived in 1835 as a weekly by J. C. Marshman and had a long history; it still exists under its changed title *The Statesman*.

Even secular publications, such as the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1806 onwards), a vast repertoire on all kinds of subjects, published from time to time articles on religious subjects by no means unfriendly in tone.

For extensive bibliographies for Bengal, see the books of Dr Sen Gupta, Dr Mohammad Ali, and the Reverend J. Long, listed in the bibliography.

Already for the year 1846, six other journals are recorded as being in circulation in Bengal:

Calcutta Christian Advocate (weekly),
Bengal Catholic Herald (weekly),
Christian Observer (monthly),
Christian Intelligencer (monthly),
Free Churchman (monthly), *Oriental Baptist* (monthly).

Madras and Bombay also were centres of religious publications; I have not found any complete bibliography of Christian periodicals put forth in these centres.

Almost all the missionary societies put out periodicals in the Indian languages for evangelistic and educational purposes.

As usual the Baptists in Serampore were in the forefront with their *Dig-Darshan*, ('the *Signpost*').

Of special interest to me is the *Narpodakam* ('*Good Teaching*'), put out in Tamil by the Anglican missionaries in Tirunelveli, of which my predecessor Bishop F. Western was able to secure a complete set for the Bishop's library in Pālayankoṭṭai. This maintained a high standard, and was specially notable for the translation into Tamil of English theological classics.

This vast literature has never been surveyed and appears as an endless field for the researches of Indian scholars. Their results may not bring about very extensive changes in the general picture of Christian missions, but will certainly fill in many gaps and add to our understanding of the Indian point of view in this creative period of Indian Christian history.

One modern periodical published in India demands special mention: *The Indian Church History Review* (1967–) is growing in competence and value, but the majority of its contributors are still foreigners.

Of the innumerable periodicals published in the West, two may specially be mentioned: *The International Review of Mission(s)* (1912–68; since 1939, *of Mission*) famous for its regular bibliographical summaries. *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* (1945–) perhaps the best missionary research journal in the world.

CHAPTER I INDIA AND POLITICAL CHANGE, 1706–86

The decline of Mughul power has been sympathetically delineated in

Spear, T. G. P. *Twilight of the Mughuls: Studies in late Mughul Delhi* (Cambridge, 1951)

This carries on the story up to the removal of the last of the Mughuls, Bahadur Shāh, from Delhi in October 1858.

Sarkar, J. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 2nd edn, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1949)

is a classic from the Indian point of view.

For the story of the British advance in India, the basic reading must always be the classic work of

Orme, Robert *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indoostan from the Year MDCCXLV*, 3 vols. (London, 1763–68; many times repr.).

As a background to the entire history of the European penetration of India, one book stands out above all others:

Furber, H. *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1976)

This book, based on a lifetime of research, and dealing with a wider area than India, cannot be too highly commended.

Of the innumerable lives of Robert Clive, much can be said on behalf of
Chaudhuri, N. C. *Clive of India: a Political and Psychological Essay* (London, 1975)
This well-informed study by an Indian scholar almost goes out of its way to be fair to all concerned. It is to be regretted that it lacks references and bibliography.

On Warren Hastings, most English readers will be content with
Feiling, K. *Warren Hastings* (London, 1954)
This work of a well-practised historian, though not altogether easy to read, contains all that is essential in the study; but with this should be read
Monckton-Jones, M. E. *Hastings in Bengal 1772–1774* (Oxford, 1928)

For Dundas, a secondary but still important figure in the history, a reference to
Furber, H. *Henry Dundas: First Viscount Melville* (Oxford, 1931)
will suffice.

A general work, pleasantly and competently written, is
Thompson, E., and Garrett, G. T. *Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India* (Allahabad, 1958)
For the nature of British society in Calcutta, no better guide can be recommended than the Memoirs of the rather irreverent lawyer William Hickey: 4 vols. (London 1918–25); new edn by P. Quennell (London, 1960)

Sen, S. P. *The French in India* (Calcutta, 1958)
gives all that is essential from the French point of view.

The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century, ed. P. J. Marshall (Cambridge, 1970)
is a valuable selection of essays by eighteenth-century writers.

Two notable biographies will add vividness to the picture.
Rocher, R. *Orientalism, Poetry and the Millennium: the Checkered Life of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed 1751–1830* (Delhi–Varanasi, 1983)
Cannon, G. *Oriental Jones: a biography of Sir William Jones (1746–1794)* (New York, 1964),
with excellent bibliography.

To this may be added, from the Indian side,
Mukherjee, S. N. *Sir William Jones: Eighteenth-Century British Attitudes to India* (Cambridge, 1968)

CHAPTER 2 THE TRANQUEBAR MISSION

The Tranquebar Mission is exceptionally well documented, partly by the extensive reports sent by the missionaries to Germany, a number of which were translated into English, partly through carefully written modern works.

Among these modern works pride of place must be accorded to
Lehmann, A. (†1984) *Alte Briefe aus Indien. Unveröfftentliche Briefe von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg 1706–1719* (Berlin, 1937)
Professor Lehmann has also produced
It Began at Tranquebar (Madras, 1956),
a popular but reliable account of what happened in South India.

An older work,
Fenger, J. F. *Den Trankebarske Missions Historie* (Copenhagen, 1843); English translation, somewhat abridged, *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (Tranquebar, 1863),
is based on excellent original sources.

A great debt is owed to W. Germann for a series of deeply researched studies and reliable biographies:
Germann, W. *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau. Gründungsjahre der Trankebarschen Mission* (Erlangen, 1868)
Germann, W. *J. P. Fabricius* (Erlangen, 1865)
Germann, W. *Missionar Christian Friedrich Schwartz. Sein Leben und Wirken aus Briefen der Halleschen Missionsarchiven* (Erlangen, 1870)
To these may be added
Pearson, H. *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Reverend Christian Frederick Swartz*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (New York–London, 1835)
A biography of Schwartz, on more modern methods, would probably be very rewarding.

W. Germann has rendered further service by disinterring Ziegenbalg's pioneer work.
The Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods (German original, Madras, 1867; English translation, modified, Madras, 1869)
A. Lehmann has added to his merits a further work
Alte Indiens Post. Briefe der Maria Dorothea Ziegenbalg (Halle, 1959)

CHAPTERS 3 AND 11 THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS

As before, the best authority is
Brown, L. W. *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1981)
Bishop Brown has the advantage of knowing Malayālam, and thus having access to the Malayālam writings, few of which, however, have any critical value.

Two Roman Catholic works throw light on the story at certain points:
Malancharuvil OIC, C. *The Syro-Malankara Church* (Alwaye, 1973),
which is specially valuable for its citation of original documents not previously available, and
Pallipurathkunnel, T. *A Double regime in the Malabar Church 1663–1716* (Alwaye, 1982)

At certain points the unpublished dissertation (Cambridge, 1979) of
Kaufmann, Susan 'Popular Christianity, Caste, and Hindu Society in South India: a Study of Travancore and Tirunelveli',
is illuminating.

When we come to Anglican–Thomas Christian relationships, the classic is
Cheriyan, [Judge] P. *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816–1840* (Kōṭṭayam, 1935)
'The book is a model of its kind' – Bishop L. W. Brown. The work needs revision in the light of documents recently made available, but it still takes rank as the first serious contribution by an Indian Christian [layman] to church history.

From the Anglican side
Buchanan, Claudius *Christian Researches in Asia*, 8th edn (Cambridge, 1811)
first drew the attention of the English reading public to the Thomas Christians.
Hunt, W. S. *The Anglican Church in Travancore 1816–1916*, vol. I (Kottayam, 1920), especially pp. 54–108,
is temperate and accurate.

Mackenzie, [Col.] G. T. *State of Christianity in Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1901)
is a well-informed statement, by an official who had access to many official papers.

CHAPTERS 4 AND 13 ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Reference may be made to the general histories listed in the introduction to this bibliography. Especially valuable in this connection, though brief, are:
Schwager, A. *Die katholische heiden Mission der Gegenwart* (Steyl, 1907)
Schmidlin, J. *Katholische Missionsgeschichte* (Steyl, 1924); English translation, *Catholic Mission History* (Techny, Ill., 1933),
both with good bibliographies up to the date of publication.
Mulders, A. *Missie Geschiedenis* (Antwerp, 1957; German translation 1960)
is remarkably well balanced.

A full and historically reliable study of the great period of Roman Catholic recovery is still lacking. Much of the material has to be pursued in journals and in the histories of the various religious orders.
For Madura and the far south, we have
Besse SJ, L. *La Mission de Maduré* (Trichinopoly, 1914),
based on original records, but from a strictly Jesuit point of view.

The older book of
Bertrand SJ, J. *La Mission de Maduré*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1847–54) is still indispensable.

Jean SJ, S. *Le Maduré*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1894)
contains much valuable material, but is marred by anti-Protestant polemic in too many of its pages.

For the French missions,
Launay, A. *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde* (*see under* 'Christianity in India') still ranks high as an authority.

For a biography of one of the most distinguished Roman Catholic bishops of the period, the reader should turn to
Suau, P. *Life of Mgr Canoz* (Paris, 1891)

For Bengal, the best authority is
Josson SJ, H. *La Mission du Bengale occidental*, vol. 1 (Bruges, 1921)

For Bombay and Goa, and the tangled story of the 'Goa schism', the literature is abundant.
Hull SJ, E. R. *Bombay Mission History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1927 and 1930), and
Gense SJ, J. H. *The Church at the Gateway of India* (Bombay, 1961)
both attempt to give a fair account of the proceedings of this tumultuous and distressing period.

For the great Bishop Hartmann, the primary source is:
Monumenta Anastasiana: Documenta, Vita et Gesta Servi Dei Anastasii Hartmann OFM cap. Episcopi (1803–1866), 5 vols. (Lucerne, 1939–48)

Popular lives are:
Bühlmann OFM Cap., W. *Pionier der Einheit. Bischof Anastasius Hartmann* (Zurich, 1966)
Fr Fulgentius OFM Cap. *Bishop Hartmann* (Allahabad, 1966)

For a broad survey of the Roman Catholic church in India at the very end of the period now under survey
Waigand, G. *Missiones Indiarum Orientalium S.C.P.F. concreditae, juxta visitationem apostolicam 1859–1862* (Budapest, 1960)
is authoritative.

CHAPTERS 5 AND 12 ANGLICANS AND OTHERS

The general scene is surveyed by two books, neither of which is entirely satisfactory.
Chatterton, E. [Bishop of Nāgpur] *History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924)
is anecdotic, but suffers from lack of precision, of adequate references, and of bibliographical detail.
Gibbs, M. E. *The Anglican Church in India 1600–1970* (London, 1972)
is more robust. Miss Gibbs had seen a great many records never previously made accessible to anyone; but the accumulation of detail makes it difficult to see the sweep of development, and to sense the encounter between different cultures.

The defects in these books are compensated for by the wealth of biographical and other material elsewhere available.

Three writers have gathered together the evidence concerning the three great presidencies:
Ashley-Brown, W. *On the Bombay Coast and Deccan* (London, 1937)
has shown that Bombay was more than a dim shadow of Calcutta.
Hyde, H. B. *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901)
has brought to life the great city which grew up on the mudflats of the Hūglī.
Penny, F. *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22)
has done justice to the strange and varied species of missionaries and chaplains, throughout the period covered by this volume.

Three bishops come out of it not too badly.
Le Bas, C. W. *The Life of The Right Reverend Thomas Fanshaw Middleton D.D. late Lord Bishop of Calcutta*, 2 vols. (London, 1831)
portrays rather solemnly a rather solemn bishop. The bishop's sermons and charges are also printed separately.

There is quite a literature about Bishop Reginald Heber. First,
The Life of Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830);
then, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay 1824–5 (with notes upon Ceylon; an account of a journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces 1826)*, ed. Amelia Heber, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1828)
One of the best travel books ever written, and the best ever written about India. A quite excellent abridgement of this work is
Bishop Heber in Northern India: Selections from Heber's Journal, ed. M. A. Laird, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971)
Smith, George *Bishop Heber* (London, 1890)
fills in all the gaps in the other works.

Bateman, J. *The Life of Daniel Wilson D.D. Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India*, 2 vols. (London, 1860; 2nd edn, revised and corrected, 1861)
This crusty and at times almost frenetic evangelical, called to India at the age of fifty-four, is vividly brought to life in this detailed account by his son-in-law.

The pious chaplains also do not fare badly:
Simeon, C. *Memorial Sketches of the Rev David Brown, with a Selection of his Sermons* (London, 1816)
Pearson, Hugh *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev Claudius Buchanan*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1817).
Memoirs of the Rt Rev Daniel Corrie, compiled by his brothers (London, 1847)
MacNaughton, A. *Daniel Corrie, his Family and Friends* (London, 1969)
Sargent, J. *Life of the Rev T. Thomason* (London, 1833)

On Henry Martyn there is a large literature:
Sargent, J. *Life and Letters of Henry Martyn*, 3rd edn (London, 1819)
Smith, G. *Henry Martyn* (London, 1892)
Wilberforce, S. *Journal and Letters of Henry Martyn*, 2 vols. (London, 1837)
And a much shorter but admirable work –
Padwick, C. E. *Henry Martyn, Confessor of the Faith* (London, 1922)

The official documents relating to the Indian dioceses have been conveniently collected in
Abbott, W. H. *A Practical Analysis of the Several Letters Patent of the Crown relating to the Bishopricks in the East Indies with a few Forms and some Instructions*, 2nd edn (Calcutta, 1845)

It may be objected that this is a very English list. But Indians, both Christian and non-Christian, will appear in other chapters. In the meantime, it is worth noting that, in four volumes, a distinguished Indian Christian, Rājaich D. Paul, has rescued a number of Indian Christians who were in danger of being forgotten:
Paul, R. D. *Chosen Vessels* (Madras, 1961); *Triumphs of his Grace* (Madras, 1967); *They Kept the Faith* (Lucknow, 1968); *Lights in the World* (Lucknow, 1968)
Not all these lights were Anglican.

CHAPTER 6 THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

The most recent study in English of the suppression is
Chadwick, O. *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford, 1981), chap. 5, 'The Fall of the Jesuits', (pp. 346–91), with ample bibliography.
Chadwick remarks that 'no adequate history of the suppression exists . . . The best of the general histories is Pastor's volumes on Pope Clement XIV . . . but even he was not able to put the suppression in a general perspective.'

Pastor, L. *History of the Popes*, English translation, 40 vols. (London–St Louis, 1924–53), vols. XXXVII, XXXVIII and XXXIX).

Note the criticisms by
Kratz W., and Leturia, P. *Intorno al 'Clemente XIV' del Barone von Pastor* (Rome, 1935)

For the story of the Jesuits in India after the suppression, the best authority is
Ferroli SJ, D. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51), vol. II.
But, as elsewhere noted, this work suffers from the lack of references to authorities.

For attempts to replace the expelled Jesuits, reference may be made to
Launay, A. *Histoire des missions de l'Inde* (*see under* 'Christianity in India'), vol. I.

CHAPTER 7 THE NEW RULERS

For Cornwallis and his period, we are fortunate in having an excellent modern biography:
Wickwire, F. and M. *Cornwallis: the Imperial Years* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980)
Some of the measures passed by Cornwallis became the subject of almost frenzied controversy, but no one had any doubt of the essential integrity of the man.

Embree, A. T. *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (London, 1962)
sets Charles Grant in the very centre of the historical picture, and largely replaces the earlier
Morris, H. *The Life of Charles Grant* (London, 1904)
But a full-scale Life of Grant is perhaps still needed.

The researches of
Furber, H. (ed.) *Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship, being the Correspondence of Sir John Shore* [Lord Teignmouth] (Cambridge, Mass., 1933)
have done a good deal to restore the reputation of a modest but perhaps underestimated ruler of India.

Hutton, W. H. [Dean of Winchester] *The Marquess of Wellesley*, Rulers of India Series (Oxford, 1893)
has given a compact representation of the 'glorious little man'; while his brother Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington, comes to life in the vivid pages of
Longford, Elizabeth *Wellington: the Years of the Sword* (London, 1969)
Woodruff, Philip *The Men who Ruled India, Vol. I: The Founders of Modern India* (London, 1953)
has given a series of pleasant vignettes of those who were distinguished in their day.

It is difficult to form a clear idea of British society in India in the late eighteenth century. Here the guide *par excellence* is
Spear, T. G. *The Nabobs* (London, 1963),
which includes a useful section on the chaplains, a factor neglected in most of the other books on the period.

The four great administrators of the early nineteenth century have been the subject of biographies typical of their age, and excellent of their kind:
Kaye, J. W. *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm GCB*, 2 vols. (London, 1856)
But see also, more popularly,
Pasley, R. *'Send Malcolm': the Life of Major General Sir John Malcolm 1769–1833* (London, 1982)
Colebrooke, T. E. *Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 2 vols. (London, 1884)
Gleig, G. R. *Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Munro*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1831; 3rd edn, in 1 vol., 1849)

Kaye, J. W. *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, 2 vols. (London, 1858)
See also
Thompson, E. J. *Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe* (London, 1937)

Tipu Sultan has found a somewhat belated and somewhat laudatory biographer in Forrest, Denys *Tiger of Mysore: the Life and Death of Tipu Sultan* (London, 1970): 'By the favour of God . . . all the irreligious Christians will be slain' (p. 212).

Inevitably this chapter has dealt mainly with the British (and ostensibly Christian) invaders of India. It must not, however, be forgotten that this period (1768–1830) was also that in which Indian opinion began to be vocal in English and to be mobilised in criticism of the government, though not all were radical in opposition to it. One such, born in 1790 and a founder of the British-India Society, has become known to us in a carefully researched biography:
Kling, B. B. *Partner in Empire: Dwarkanath Tagore and the Age of Enterprise in Eastern India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976)
Other Indian reformers are dealt with in chap. 16.

CHAPTER 8 GOVERNMENT, INDIANS AND MISSIONS

For the subject treated in this chapter, a convenient overview, not completely reliable, and inadequately supplied with references to authorities, is provided by
Mayhew, A. I. *Christianity and the Government of India* (London, 1929)
Lord William Bentinck is now very well recorded in
Rosselli, J. *Lord William Bentinck: the Making of a Liberal Imperialist* (Brighton, 1974)
Philips, C. H. (ed.) *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1977)

For Macaulay and his influence on Indian education, by far the best source now is the admirable biography by
Clive, J. *Thomas Babington Macaulay: the Making of a Historian* (Oxford, 1973), with comprehensive bibliography.
This gives the clearest analysis known to me of the various trends and opinion on education that existed in Bengal between 1800 and 1835.

For some penetrating insights into the history of the period, see
Stokes, E. *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford, 1959)
The evidence relating to *satī* and its abolition has been well collected and set forth by
Thompson, E. *Suttee* (London, 1928)
See also
Potts, E. D. *British Baptist Missionaries in India (1793–1837)* (Cambridge, 1967)

Less favourable to Bentinck is

Kopf, D. *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: the Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773–1854* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1969)

On *thags* and *thagi*,

Sleeman, W. H. *Ramaseeana: or, A Vocabulary of the Language used by the Thugs, with an Appendix Descriptive of the Fraternity* (Calcutta, 1836)

This is now a very rare book.

Sleeman, W. H. *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1844; 3rd edn 1915)

On the meriahs,

Campbell, J. *Personal Narrative of Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan* (London, 1864)

But see also

Thurston, E. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. III (Madras, 1909), pp. 356–415, with bibliography

On other beneficent activities of the British government in India, see

Ingham, K. *Reformers in India: an Account of the Work of Christian Missionaries on Behalf of Social Reform, 1793–1833* (Cambridge, 1956)

Smith, D. E. *India as a Secular State*, 2nd edn (Princeton, NJ, 1967)

On slavery, a comprehensive study by an Indian writer is

Banaji, D. R. *Slavery in British India* (Bombay, 1933):

see especially pp. 202–3, for estimates of the number of slaves in India.

CHAPTER 9 BENGAL, 1794–1833

The literature is almost overwhelming in its extent and variety. An extensive and reliable bibliography is provided in

Potts, E. D. *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793–1837* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 248–67 (classified but not annotated).

Lives of William Carey are innumerable. Indispensable is

Marshman, J. C. *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward. Embracing the History of the Serampore Missionaries*, 2 vols. (London, 1859)

This traces out the story year by year.

Carey, E. *Memoirs of William Carey* (London, 1836)

is much less satisfactory.

Carey, S. P. *William Carey D.D. Fellow of the Linnaean Society* (London, 1923; and after repr.)

contains original material not elsewhere available.

Oussoren, A. H. *William Carey: Especially his Missionary Principles* (London, 1945)

deals independently with a number of important issues.

Laird, M. A. *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793–1837* (Oxford, 1972)
is a thoroughly competent study of the entire subject.
Ware, H., and Adam, W. *Queries and Replies respecting the Present State of the Protestant Missions in the Bengal Presidency* (Calcutta, 1824)
deals with the subject from an independent and not specifically missionary point of view.

Mullens, J. *Brief Memorials of the Reverend Alphonse François Lacroix* (London, 1862)
is a biography of exceptional value

Long, J. *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions in Connexion with the Church of England* (London, 1848)
is encyclopaedic up to the date of publication.

From the Hindu point of view
Sen Gupta, K. P. *The Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793–1833* (Calcutta, 1971)
is most valuable. (See Appendix 20.)

For the seminal work
Ali, M. M. *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities, 1833–1857* (Chittagong, 1965), see also bibliography to chap. 16.

CHAPTER 10 NEW BEGINNINGS IN THE SOUTH

For the general background,
Caldwell, R. *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly, in the Presidency of Madras* (Madras, 1881)
is still unsurpassed.
A competent survey, with excellent bibliography, is
Frykenburg, R. E. 'The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform upon Society in South India during the late Company Period . . . with special reference to Tinnevelly',
in
Philips, C. H., and Wainwright, M. D. *Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernization* (London, 1976), pp. 187–243

For the community most affected by Christian propaganda, see
Hardgrave, R. *Nadars of Tamilnadu* (Berkeley, Calif., 1944)

On the missionary propaganda,
Caldwell, R. *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission* (Madras, 1881), painstakingly researched in the light of all the then available documents, is indispensable.
This may now be supplemented by

Western, F. 'The Early History of the Tinnevelly Church' (typescript, Archives of the SPG, London, n.d.),
an equally careful piece of work, making use of documents not available to Caldwell.

Appasamy, P. *The Centenary of the CMS in Tinnevelly* (Palamcottah, 1923)
needs to be checked against other sources.

For the Rhenius incident, the primary source is naturally
Memoirs of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius, Comprising Extracts from his Journal and Correspondence, by his son (London, 1841)
For other sources, see Appendix 23.

Pettitt, G. *The Tinnevelly Mission of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1851),
by one who had taken a leading part in the events recorded, is full and charitable.

Perowne, T. T. *A Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Gajetan Ragland* (London, 1861)
gives moving details of a valiant pioneer enterprise.

For the work of the London Missionary Society, the most recent study, based mostly on primary sources, is
Yesudas, R. N. *The History of the London Missionary Society in Travancore 1806–1908* (Trivandrum, 1980)
Dr Yesudas is on the whole very favourable to the missionaries and their work.

Of older books,
Hacker, J. H. *A Hundred Years in Travancore, 1806–1906* (London, 1908),
Mateer, S. '*The Land of Charity*' (London, 1871) and
Robinson, W. *Ringeltaube the Rishi* (London, 1908)
are all valuable.

CHAPTER 11: *see under* CHAPTER 3

CHAPTER 12: *see under* CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 13: *see under* CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 14 EDUCATION AND THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

For a long time Protestants, and among Protestants Presbyterians, took the lead in Christian education on the higher levels in India. But all non-Roman missions in India had from the start taken the view that faith and education must go hand in hand. The extent of their achievement is clearly shown in an admirable study:

Laird, M. A. *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793–1837* (Oxford, 1972)
With this should be read
Adam, W. *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal*, ed. A. M. Basu (Calcutta, 1941), and
One Teacher, One School: the Adam Reports on Indigenous Education in 19th Century India, ed. and introd. Joseph DiBona (New Delhi, 1983)
I do not know of any equally well-informed study of Christian education in other parts of India.

The breakthrough came with the determination of Alexander Duff to make Calcutta the centre of Christian higher education in English. The prior authority on this is
Duff, A. *India, and India Missions* (Edinburgh, 1839)
This differs only in some detail from the full account of the pioneer work given by
Smith, G. *The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., Ll.D.*, 2 vols. (London, 1879)
For a judicious estimate of the work of Duff, with bibliography, see
Laird, M. A. 'The Legacy of Alexander Duff', *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 3 (1979), 146–9
With these should be read an admirable but shorter account,
Paton, W. *Alexander Duff* (London, 1923)

Many of those converted under Duff's influence have left records of their experiences; notable among these are
Day, L. B. *Recollections of Alexander Duff DD, Ll.D.* (London, 1879)
Further information is in a biographical volume on Day, published in Calcutta in 1969; and see also
Macpherson, G. *Life of Lāl Behāri Day* (Edinburgh, 1900)

The career of K. M. Banerjee will come before us in another connection.

A near rival of Duff, though a better scholar than he, was John Wilson of Bombay, equally fortunate in his biographer:
Smith, G. *The Life of John Wilson D.D., F.R.S.* (London, 1878)
Wilson laid greater stress than Duff on the use of the Indian languages in education.

Braidwood, J. *True Yokefellows of the Mission Field: the Life and Labours of the Rev. John Anderson and the Rev. Robert Johnston traced in the Rise and Development of the Madras Free Church Mission* (London, 1862)
carries the story to the south of India.

Central India was not left far behind the rest:
Smith, G. *Stephen Hislop, Pioneer Missionary* (London, 1889)
tells the story of pioneer work in Nāgpur. Hislop, who died young, had the distinction of being the most notable among the missionaries as a scientist and ethnologist.

For the remarkable work of the blind educationist William Cruikshanks in Tirunelveli, it is necessary to turn to

Appasamy, P. *The Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly* (Palamcottah, 1923)
but also to many issues of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for fuller details of his work.

Among the innumerable works on education in India, one general and thoughtful study, by one who had been engaged in the process at a high level, is
Mayhew, A. I. *The Education of India* (London, 1926)

It is to be noted that the Roman Catholics entered the field of higher education later than the Protestants; notice is taken of their work in chap. 4, which deals specifically with the Roman Catholic missions.

CHAPTER 15 PROTESTANT EXPANSION IN INDIA

The extremely rapid spread of Anglican and Protestant Christianity in India in the period between 1858 and 1905 is best followed, chronologically, in
Latourette, K. S. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. VI (London, 1945), pp. 99–200, with extensive bibliographical information;
and in the histories of the individual missionary societies listed in the general bibliography.

As a general history,
Sherring, M. A. *History of Protestant Missions in India 1706–1871* (London, 1875; 2nd edn 1884)
is accurate and useful, though written from a rather definitely Protestant point of view.

In recent years a number of valuable studies have been produced, giving more attention than has usually been given in the past to the sociological and economic factors in the process of Christian expansion. Special attention may be drawn to a series of articles by the Reverend James Alter (†1984) in the *Journal of the Indian Church History Association*, dealing with Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist approaches to the missionary problem in three cities of North India.
Webster, J. C. B. *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India* (London, 1976), pp. 1–131,
is a good example of this more modern approach to the missionary problem.

Special interest attaches to a detailed study made by an Indian writer:
Natarajan, Naline *The Missionary among the Khasis* (New Delhi, 1977)
We may look hopefully for many studies of this quality and calibre from the pens of Indian writers, both Christian and non-Christian.

CHAPTER 16 INDIAN SOCIETY AND THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

The classic work in this field is
Farquhar, J. N. *Modern Religious Movements in India* (London, 1915)

A number of plans have been put in hand for a revised edition of this learned and sympathetic book; but these have not yet apparently been attended by success.
Thomas, M. M. *The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance* (London, 1969),
written in part at least as a supplement to R. Panikkar's book *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism*, is a valuable survey of a number of Indian approaches to Christianity; only the first two chapters are relevant to the period covered by this book.

There is an extensive literature relating to Rājā Rāmmohun Roy:
The collected *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* were published in one volume at Allahabad (1906), and again, edited by K. Nag and D. Burman at Calcutta (1945–58).
Collet, S. D. *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* (London, 1900)
is an indispensable source.
The full title of Roy's famous book is *The Precepts of Jesus: the Guide to Peace and Happiness, Extracted from the Books of the New Testament, Ascribed to the Four Evangelists (with translations into Sanscrit and Bengalese)* (Calcutta, 1820)
For an Indian Christian assessment of Roy, see
Parekh, M. C. *Rajamshi Ram Mohan Roy* (Rajkot, 1927)

For the later history of the Brāhmo Samāj, see
Sen, P. K. *Biography of a New Faith*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1950),
full and impartial.
The Autobiography of Debendranath Tagore, transl. by his son (Calcutta, 1909)
is a delightful and intimate work.

Of
Wolff, O. *Christus unter der Hindus* (Gütersloh, 1965)
only the first and last chapters are relevant to the period under study in this volume.

For Hindu and Muslim reactions to Christian work in Bengal, see
Ali, M. M. *The Bengali Reaction* (*see under* chap. 9)

For an interesting example of intellectual reaction and dispute, see
Young, R. F. *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on anti-Christian Apologetics in Early Nineteenth Century India* (Vienna, 1981)
This has opened up the details of a controversy which was known in general outline before.

CHAPTER 17 TOWARDS AN INDIAN CHURCH

It is significant that it has not been found possible to include in this bibliography under this heading a single work dedicated directly to the question of an Indian church, though it is clear that the subject was frequently discussed among both missionaries and their supporters in the West.

In the section on the Malabar rites, it has been recorded that in 1744 Rome put an end to any desire or impulse to depart at any point from the exact Roman order.

Dr K. Baago, who has an almost fanatical desire to identify 'indigenous' movements, has only been able to identify in his book,

Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity (Bangalore–Madras, 1969),

just at the end of the period under review in 1858, a single schism in the Tirunelveli area, which took to itself the title 'The Hindu Church of the Lord Jesus'. Details are in

Hardgrave, R. L. *The Nādārs of Tamilnad* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1969), pp. 75–90.

But the idea of the church was being well ventilated. Rufus Anderson (1796–1880), foreign secretary of the ABCFM from 1832 to 1866, was working on the idea of churches which should be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating, and which should themselves engage in foreign missions. See

Beaver, R. P. *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967)

At almost exactly the same time Henry Venn (1796–1833) chief secretary of the CMS in London from 1841 to 1872, was putting forward almost exactly the same ideas. See

Warren, M. *To Apply the Gospel – Henry Venn* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970)

The writings of these two men were disseminated far and wide in missionary circles.

The unsuccessful attempt of Mgr de Marion Brésillac to create an Indian priesthood in India is described in

Le Gallen, L. *Vie abrégée du noble prélat, Mgr de Marion Brésillac, Evêque de Prusa, fondateur des Missions Africaines de Lyon 1813–1859* (Lyons, 1927);

and, more briefly, in

Todd, J. M. *Africa Missions* (London, 1962)

The successful attempt of John Thomas to create an Indian village priesthood in Tirunelveli is nowhere adequately described, though referred to in

Appasamy, P. *Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly* (Palamcottah, 1923), pp. 103–5 and 117–20, and in

Stock, E. *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. II, pp. 182–6.

These ideas of an Indian church were germinating, though their development was to be seen only at a later period of this history.

CHAPTER 18 THE GREAT UPRISING

For the political side we are now well served by an excellent biography:

Maclagan, M. *"Clemency" Canning: Charles John, 1st Earl Canning, Governor-General and Viceroy of India 1856–1862* (London, 1962)

A worthy account of 'that great, just and courageous man Lord Canning' (Lord Granville in the House of Lords on 17 June 1862).

Histories of 'the Mutiny' are extremely numerous; only a few can be mentioned here.

Kaye, J. W. *History of the Sepoy War in India*, 3 vols. (London, 1864; frequently repr.)

is universally recognised as being full, accurate and impartial.

Rolleson, G. B. *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 3 vols. (1878–80)

has not won quite equal approval, perhaps because of the change in attitude indicated by the change in title.

Forrest, Sir George *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 3 vols. (London, 1904)

supplements the older works from original documents, official and unofficial, which were not available when the earlier writers were at work.

As a short, rather impressionist work,

Collier, R. *The Sound of Fury* (London, 1963),

based on careful study of the documents, gives a vivid impression.

From the Indian side,

Sen, S. N. *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Government of India, 1957),

with very full bibliography, may be taken as the best work so far produced; but some criticisms of this in many ways admirable work have been made by Indian writers, who take a different view of the historical situation.

Naturally there are innumerable references to the Uprising in all mission histories and periodicals which cover the period. I have not found any general study of the effect of the rising on the Roman Catholic church in the areas affected. The most comprehensive study of the fortunes of the other Indian churches is

Sherring, M. A. *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion* (London, 1859).

To this may be added

Owen, W. *Memorials of Christian Martyrs, and Other Sufferers for the Truth, in the Indian Rebellion* (London, 1859)

and, specifically on the American side,

Walsh, J. J. *A Memorial of the Futteygurh Mission and her Martyred Missionaries* (Philadelphia, Pa, 1859)

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