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AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN INDIA: A STUDY
OF THEIR ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCE 1813-1910
(As Drawn Chiefly from Missionary Sources).

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE
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PREFACE

The objective of this dissertation has been to present a coherent and systematic study of the activities and influence of American Protestant missionaries in India between 1813 and 1910. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, India has been an important field of Protestant missionary activity. Missionaries from both Europe and America have carried on evangelistic work in India extensively. At the same time, they have contributed to educational progress and social changes. The British rule, of course, was the great instrument of change and progress, but it was aided in its efforts by missionaries, rationalist Europeans and Indian reformers. As a result of the efforts on the part of these agencies, India that emerged in the twentieth century, was different from what it was in 1780 or 1800.

In this process of change and westernization, American Protestant missionaries have played a significant part. But so far no attempt has been made to assess their contributions. For the purpose of evaluating their work, the method adopted in this work has been both topical and chronological. The study begins with the year 1813 when American Protestant missionary activity began in India. It
ends with the year 1910 when American missionary activity in India had reached its peak in all its branches and certain liberal tendencies in missionary thinking had become pronounced.

The study has been divided in two parts. Part I deals with the period between 1813 and 1870 which was marked by the foundation, growth and early contributions of American Protestant missions. It discusses their role in the realm of education and humanitarian work as well as explains their attitude toward Indian religions.

Part II deals with the period between 1870 and 1910 which saw the maturing of American missionary enterprise in India. Significant contributions in the realm of education, medical and welfare work were made during this period by American missionaries. This period also saw the gradual emergence of a liberal outlook on India among American missionary circles. The records of the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910 offer an eloquent testimony to the crystallization of this liberal attitude. The study, therefore, naturally ends with 1910.

The author is fully aware of the significant contributions made by Catholic missionaries in general and the American Catholic missionaries in particular in India. Since organized missionary work on the part of the American Catholics in India effectively began with the first world war,
this work concentrates only on Protestant missionary activity.

Some earlier dissertations in America have dealt partially with or briefly touched American Protestant missionary activity in India. In 1931, Miss Mary Willis wrote a dissertation "A History of American Protestant Missions in India from 1813 to 1931," at the University of Wisconsin. This work is rather a brief summary of American missionary activity and deals with the problems of daily living, organizational work both at the home base and in the field and methods. Two dissertations of the University of Pennsylvania discuss missionary activity in India from different angles. Dr. E. R. Schmidt's work "American Relations with South Asia 1900-1940" devotes one complete section to American missionary activity in India and broadly reviews their earlier work. Here also, however, daily activities of missionaries and their organizational problems have been discussed in detail. Dr. B. S. Stern's work "American Views of India and Indians 1857-1900" discusses the views of missionaries on Indian society and culture. In none of these works has an attempt been made to present a gradual unfolding of missionary policies in India and to assess their contributions in education, medical work and social welfare, both on the basis of missionary records as well as the documents of the Government of India. Efforts
have been made in the present work to reconstruct the story with the help of government documents as well. However, it should not be supposed that this work claims any finality on American missionary activity in India. It is only hoped that it may prove of some help to future researchers as well as readers.

The files of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in manuscript, placed in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, have proved very useful in reconstructing the contributions of that society in this story. Records of various missionary conferences have been utilized to discuss the gradual unfolding of missionary policies and activities. The autobiographies, reminiscences, and other writings of missionaries have been utilized with benefit in presenting the story.

The research for this dissertation was done in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Missionary Research Library, 120th Street and Broadway, New York City; Methodist Board Library, Inter-Church Center, Riverside Drive, New York City; New York Public Library; Houghton Library, Harvard University; American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon Street, Boston; University of Pennsylvania Library; Presbyterian Historical Society, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia; Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia; Philadelphia Free Library; Library Company, Broad Street, Philadelphia;
Eastern Baptist Seminary, Philadelphia, and the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The resources of some other theological seminaries and educational institutions located in the Greater Philadelphia area, were also utilized through inter-library loan. The author expresses his gratitude to the staff members of these aforegoing institutions for their assistance. The author is especially grateful to Mrs. Ruth Madara of the South Asia Library of the University of Pennsylvania who very kindly got some materials on microfilm required for this research.

To Dr. Holden Furber of the University of Pennsylvania, I shall ever remain grateful for his inspiring and sympathetic guidance of the dissertation. I also thank Dr. Richard D. Lambert who supervised the work in its initial stages. I am thankful to Dr. Norman D. Palmer for his constant help and encouragement.

I express my infinite sense of gratitude to the officers of the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, University of Hawaii, who very kindly made my stay at the University of Pennsylvania as well as my visits to the various libraries possible. I always found their attitude very encouraging.

To Dr. Donald D. Johnson, Chairman of the History Department, University of Hawaii, I have been placed under a deep debt of gratitude. But for his friendly interest and help, perhaps this work could not have been brought to a
successful completion. I also thank Dr. John A. White and other members of the History Department, University of Hawaii, for their constant encouragement. Last, but not least, I am thankful to my colleagues from the East-West Center, Messrs, Reginald L. Rajpakse and D. P. Singh, for their friendly criticisms and suggestions from time to time.
PART I

AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN INDIA 1813-1870

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND GENERAL SETTING

When Warren Hastings took charge as the Governor of Bengal in 1772, the British had already become an important territorial power in India. From now on, their strength was to increase and their empire to expand. The East India Company was no longer to remain a mere trading concern, but was destined to be a ruling power in India. Within the next fifty years, almost three fourths of India, through wars and annexations, was to come under the control of the company, so that by 1818 the British dominions in India were to be more extensive that that of Akbar in 1600.¹

During the course of these fifty years (roughly between 1770 and 1818), when the British power in India was expanding, the interests of Englishmen in Indian affairs were also expanding. The eyes of the British people were being gradually focussed upon Indian problems. "The main

tendency in the field of general policy of the British government during the period," in the words of Professor Dodwell, "was to develop and emphasize a consciousness of moral obligation in administering company's possessions in India." 2 This gradually emerging sense of responsibility was expressed through some of the acts that were passed by Parliament. The process began with the Regulating Act of 1773 which marked the first assertion of Parliamentary Control over the Company and registered the first concern of Parliament for the welfare of the people of India. 3 The tendency continued with the Pitt's India Act of 1784 and the Periodical Charter Acts of 1793 and 1813. It was to be carried forward in the Charter Acts of 1833, 1853, and end with the final Act of 1858 during Company's rule. All these marked the various stages of the crystallization of British policy toward India and helped to augment British interest in Indian affairs.

The India that came under British control during the last quarter of the 18th Century was totally different from its conquering nation. Britain was a growing nation, in possession of the techniques, organization, and energy which would enable her to become a world power. 4 She was

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3 Ibid., p. 521.
in the midst of a political, social and economic trans-
formation. India, on the other hand, was politically dis-
united, culturally rather unchanging, and seemingly unpre-
pared for the impact of the West. \(^5\) She lacked the leader-
ship, technology and organization which characterized
Britain's rapid rise to world importance. \(^6\) Western knowledge
had not yet been introduced. The social and cultural state
of the country had declined along with its political fortunes.
Growing ignorance had resulted in a spread of social diseases
whose germs always lurk in civilized societies ready to
break forth should favorable conditions arise. \(^7\) The evils of
Sati (self-immolation of widows by fire on husband's funeral
pile), Thuggee (a type of organized robbery), and female in-
fanticide had increased in certain areas. "The stream of
reason," to use the metaphor of poet Tagore, "had lost its
way into the dreary desert sand of dead habits," \(^8\) and super-
stition had increased its sway.

The religious life also revolved on the old grooves. There was little sign during the period of new thought or
creative religious achievement. In its popular forms,

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\(^5\)Ibid., p. 5.

\(^6\)Ibid.

\(^7\)Spear, op. cit., p. 575.

\(^8\)Rabindra Nath Tagore, Gitanjali, Verse 35 (New York:
religion had fallen from its high estate. Its real concepts, its inmost truths had been forgotten or were known to comparatively few.9 The great mass of people hardly knew or comprehended the higher reaches of Indian philosophy and were satisfied with ceremonies and rituals for their religious expression.

The whole situation demanded an infusion of new ideas. To awaken Indian religion and society from its long slumber, some fresh breezes of reform were essential. Since India's intercourse with the outside world was very limited (social customs prohibited majority of Indians from crossing the seas), new ideas had to be introduced by others. Evidently, the conquerors had to provide stimulus for change and internal reforms by exposing Indian society to new principles and conceptions. Mr. P. Spear has rightly observed that "the British had to rescue an exhausted society from anarchy and threatened dissolution, and to revive, if they could, the feeble spark of cultural life."10 But the Englishmen who had to deal with India differed among themselves on the ways of improving the social conditions. Broadly speaking, there were three major schools of thought in regard to India, and the remedies prescribed by each of


10Spear, Oxford History of India, Part III, p. 577.
these schools were conditioned by their response to, and evaluation of Indian culture.

The first school of thought responded favorably to Indian culture and displayed a readiness to work through Indian institutions. Warren Hastings himself may be cited as the first representative of this school. He believed that Indian institutions were adequate for the governance of Indian society. "The people of this country," he declared, "do not require our aid to furnish them with a rule for their conduct, or a standard for their property."\(^{11}\) This attitude was not based upon reasons of expediency, but on an emotional prejudice.\(^{12}\) His encouragement of Oriental Scholarship was part of this attitude. When he interfered to organize the whole Judicial System, he claimed that "no essential change was made in the ancient constitution of the province, it was only brought back to its original principles."\(^{13}\)

Edmund Burke, an opponent of Warren Hastings in political matters, also believed that Indian polity had achieved remarkable things in the past, but was "being distorted and put out of frame by the barbarism of foreign


\(^{12}\)Ibid.

\(^{13}\)Ibid.
conquests."\textsuperscript{14} Indeed, to him the Indian people were enlightened enough to merit his following tribute: "a people for ages civilized and cultivated, cultivated by all the arts of polished life while we were yet in the woods."\textsuperscript{15}

He, therefore, wanted to expose the tactics of despotism that had come with foreign conquest.\textsuperscript{16} He prosecuted Warren Hastings interminably as the example of all the evils threatening the Indian polity.\textsuperscript{17}

The idea that the Indian institutions should be maintained and restored found a greater support from those Englishmen who acquired a taste for Sanskrit literature and appreciated its wealth, variety, and beauty. The first two great exponents of this school were Sir Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) and Sir William Jones (1746-1794). The former was the first Englishman to gain a thorough grasp of Sanskrit and to translate the \textit{Bhagavad Gita} and the \textit{Hitopadesh} in the 1780's,\textsuperscript{18} while the latter, in the words of Dr.

\textsuperscript{14}Bearce, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 17.


\textsuperscript{16}Bearce, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid.

Holden Furber, was "one of England's first great orientalists who began the task of making the western world acquainted with the law, literature and customs of ancient India."\(^{19}\) He arrived in India with a mind imbued not only with enthusiasm for oriental studies but with a wider knowledge of classical and other literatures than men sent to India in their early manhood generally possessed.\(^{20}\)

Sir William pointed out to the Western world the great resemblance between Sanskrit and Greek and Latin. He felt it to be his life's mission to communicate some of his knowledge of and enthusiasm for oriental literature to the western world by means of the translations of the Indian classics.\(^{21}\) As a great Jurist, he understood that the power of England in India must rest on good administration, and that the first requisite was to have a thorough mastery of the existing systems of law and to have them codified and explained.\(^{22}\)

He accepted Indian culture as a valid manifestation of human potentiality and appreciated the results as an


\(^{21}\) Ibid. He went to India in 1783 as a Judge of the High Court in Calcutta and lived in India until his death in 1794. He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in January, 1784, translated versions of the *Hitopadesh* and *Abhijnan Shankuntal*, famous drama of Kalidas. He also translated *Institutes of Manu* and *Mohammedan Law of Succession*.

\(^{22}\) Ibid.
example of civilized achievement.\(^{23}\) He found Indian drama and poetry of the highest quality and Indian architecture sublime.\(^ {24}\) Indian work in the natural sciences was impressive, while Indian philosophy gave evidences of the high level of Indian thought.\(^ {25}\) Despite the prevalence of superstition in Indian religions, he found great merit in Indian theology, which had "as elevated a conception of God as in Christianity, and equally lofty ethical con­ceptions."\(^ {26}\) He warned Protestant missionaries that they should correct their error of considering Indian theology and ethics as vastly inferior to Christianity.\(^ {27}\)

As a historian, William Robertson (1721-1793) supplemented Sir William Jones's views of Indian culture. His famous work, *Historical Disquisitions Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients Had of India*,\(^ {28}\) not only presented an enlightened view of India, but concluded with a

\(^{23}\)Bearce, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

\(^{24}\)Ibid., p. 22.

\(^{25}\)Ibid., p. 23.

\(^{26}\)Ibid.

\(^{27}\)Ibid., p. 24.

wide hope that the account "of the early and high civilization of India, and of the wonderful progress of its inhabitants in elegant arts and useful science may have some influence upon the behaviour of Europeans towards that people." Although an ordained minister, Robertson did not urge the spread of Christianity in India, he believed that the problem of reforming Indian religions should be left to the Indians.

These were the distinguished representatives of the first school whose views have been called the conservative views on India. Their attitude was later on shared by men like William Wilkins, Horace H. Wilson, James Cumming, Colebrook, Abbe Raynal and James Forbes. They all believed that the government's duty lay in restoring the old society and fostering its development on traditional lines. They, therefore, desired to foster Sanskrit and Arabic learning and opposed Christian missions.

The second school of thought may be called the Liberal Tory view. It was to this school that the great administrators Metcalfe, Munro, Malcolm, and Elphinstone

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29 Ibid.
31 Ibid., pp. 27-33. Also P. Spear, op. cit., p. 646.
belonged in various degrees. They accepted the desirability of improvements and of the introduction of western ideas and values, but they were also convinced of the value of the traditional institutions and the strength of traditional feeling. They emphasized, therefore, the precariousness of the British dominion in India. They saw danger from foreign invasion, danger from a military mutiny, and danger from a religious explosion. Malcolm considered that in an empire like that of India, we are always in danger. Munro considered "innovation, the ruling vice of our government." In the evidence, which he gave before the House of Commons Committee in 1813, he declared that "if civilization were ever to become an article of trade between the two countries, it is England which would greatly benefit by the import cargo." In their work of reformation, these rulers disliked "redundant zeal and activity." They were

33 Ibid., p. 578.
34 Ibid.
35 Quoted by Spear, op. cit., p. 578.
36 Ibid. Also Stokes, op. cit., p. 19.
inclined to look upon "the errors and usages of India with indulgence and compassion." They believed that with the spread of education and enlightenment, such usages and superstitions, which had no foundation, but ignorance, must give way. Therefore, there was no need of bringing about drastic changes. In the words of Sir John Malcolm

... to proceed with safety in the work of reformation, we must be content to give the impulse and direction to nations, that they, influenced by our measures and example, may improve themselves; and to effect this great and good purpose, we must not reject as auxiliaries their habits and prejudices. Let us introduce knowledge by means which do not counteract the object by the alarm they excite.

In advocating their "go slow" policy, these liberal British administrators were motivated by noblest of aspirations. They were confident that their cautious policy will eventually lead to the emergence of a new India in which there will be an integration of old and new, a happy synthesis of East and West. On a note of such confident hope for the future, Malcolm concluded his book, *Memoir of Central India*:

Let us, therefore, calmly proceed in a course of gradual improvement; and when our rule ceases, for cease it must (though probably at a remote period),

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as the natural consequence of our success in the diffusion of knowledge, we shall as a nation have the proud boast that we have preferred the civilization to the continued subjection of India. When our power is gone, our name will be revered; for we shall leave a moral monument more noble and imperishable than the hand of man ever constructed. 42

There was a third school of thought which may be called radical, 43 since it differed fundamentally from both the conservative and liberal viewpoints. It preferred definite and bold innovations along western lines. It had a religious and a rationalist wing, represented by the Evangelicals and Utilitarians, respectively. 44

The religious wing of the radical party represented by the Evangelicals wanted to reform India by introducing, as they believed, a purer ethic and a more sublime religion than India had known. They found little to praise in Indian life and thought. In their opinion, the root of all the evils in India lay in its religion, which was not only idolatrous, but also a virtual denial of God. They believed that England possessed a far more superior religion and ethic than India ever possessed. As their leader, William Wilberforce observed:

Both their civil and religious systems are radically and essentially the opposites of our own. Our religion is sublime, pure and beneficent. Theirs is

42 Ibid., Vol. II., p. 304.
44 Ibid.
mean, licentious, and cruel. Of our civil principles
and condition, the common right of all ranks and
classes to be governed, protected and punished by
equal laws is the fundamental principle. . . .
of theirs, the essential and universal pervading char-
acter is inequality; despotism in the higher classes,
degradation and oppression in the lower.45

Since England was now the trustee of India's moral
welfare, they believed, she had a sacred mission to intro-
duce the gospel into India. They, therefore, advocated
bold steps, including the appointment and support of Protes-
tant missionaries for propagating the gospel so that preju-
dice might give way to reason and falsehood to truth.46
They were confident that introduction of Christianity would
bring not only spiritual blessings, but also material
prosperity to India. In the words of William Wilberforce
again:

The course we are recommending tends no less
to promote their temporal well-being, than their
eternal welfare; for such is their real condition
that we are promoted to endeavour to communicate
to them the benefits of Christian instruction,
sarcely less by religious principle than by the
feelings of common humanity.47

45 Parliamentary Debates, First Series, Vol. XXVI

46 A. T. Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in
Also Spear, Oxford History of India, Part III, p. 530.

47 Parliamentary Debates, First Series, Vol. XXVI,
p. 855.
The Evangelical attitude which emerged in Great Britain in the last decades of the eighteenth century was the product of the Methodist revival under the leadership of John Wesley and Whitefield. Its influence in English history was too pervasive. Halevy believed it to be the cement which preserved English society from violent dissolution in the Revolutionary era. In England, it produced a popular movement of enthusiastic Christianity. The Methodist believed that man, despite the radical depravity of his nature, was capable, since his Saviour's death, of sudden illumination by grace. It was for the Christian preacher, by his eloquence, to make himself the instrument of the Divine Will, to stimulate conversions, by bringing to his hearers an immediate sense of holiness, a certainty of salvation.

The three most important features of the Evangelical mind were its intense individualism and exaltation of individual conscience, its belief that human character could be

49 Ibid., p. 341.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
totally transformed by a direct assault on the mind, and finally its conviction that this required an educative process. 52 As a natural corollary of this conviction, introduction of Christianity and western knowledge in India was a duty as well as responsibility.

The first and real exponent of the Evangelical views on India was Charles Grant, who had spent nearly twenty years in India in the service of the East India Company between 1767 and 1790. 53 In the 1780's, while he was the commercial resident of the company at Malda in Bengal, he became convinced, on the basis of his observations, that only introduction of Christianity through Protestant missions could lead to a moral and material transformation of the country. As early as 1784, he expressed the need for Christian missions in Bengal, in a letter to Thomas Raikes. 54

I certainly am for helping these poor people, ... who are now subjects of Great Britain, to recover almost the lost life of nature, and to become acquainted with the truth and excellence of Revelation, with the improvements of the rights of man. 55

While himself supporting a mission at Malda, Grant

52Stokes, op. cit., p. 30.
54Thomas Raikes was the elder brother of Robert Raikes, the founder of Sunday Schools. See Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVI, p. 613.
kept up his effort to win the patronage of the government for mission work in India. In 1787, he wrote a pamphlet, "A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Behar," in which he advocated the view that missionaries should not only be sent to India, but also should be given land by the government in order to establish themselves. The introduction of Christianity, he believed, would provide "Strong common principles" between the rulers and the people and put British rule on a surer foundation.

Grant's biographer, Henry Morris, has rightly observed that, "it was to him more than to any other individual that Bengal and North India owe the commencement of Protestant missions." By sending the copies of his "Proposal" to some of the Evangelical clergy and prominent laymen in Britain, Grant was the first Englishman to create an interest in India's evangelisation. One of the prominent laymen to whom the proposal was sent was William Wilberforce, the great philanthropist, who soon became one of the strongest supporters of missions in India.

On his return to England in 1790, Grant became one

56 Embree, op. cit., p. 119.
57 Ibid. Also Morris, op. cit., p. 119.
58 Morris, op. cit., p. 92.
59 Embree, op. cit., pp. 119-120.
of the moving spirits behind the Evangelical movement. He went to live as neighbour to Wilberforce at Clapham, and together with Zachary Macaulay, Henry Thornton and John Venn formed the Clapham Sect. 60 The two great objects which the Clapham Sect set themselves were the abolition of the slave trade and the opening of India to missionary enterprise. 61 Grant also began work on his famous treatise, Observations on the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals and the Means of Improving it, 62 which became the basis of Evangelical Stand on India. In his analysis of Indian society, he held Hindu religion responsible for many of its ills. It was not any inborn weakness that made the Hindus degenerate, he insisted, but the nature of their religion. 63 The situation could be improved by introducing Christianity and western knowledge. As he put it:

The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light. The Hindus err because they are ignorant and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge

60 Morris, op. cit., p. 168. Also Stokes, op. cit., p. 28.

61 Stokes, op. cit., p. 28.

62 He began writing it in 1792. See Embree, op. cit., p. 141.

63 Ibid., p. 146.
to them would prove the best remedy for their disorders.64

The Utilitarians, who represented the rationalist wing of the radical party, also desired westernization and reform in India. Like the Evangelicals, they too had no respect for Indian culture and their diagnosis of the causes of its ills ran in a similar direction. Adam Smith in economics, Jeremy Bentham in ethics and law, and James Mill in logic and philosophy advocated Utilitarian remedies for India.65 Mill, in his History of British India (which was begun in 1808 and published in 1817), supplied the Utilitarian evaluation of Indian civilization as well as the raison d'être for reforms. Mill's judgments on Indian civilization were more severe than that of Grant in his Observations.66 He found Hindu religion nothing more than a rude and mean superstition and the Hindus an ignorant and primitive people.67 At the root of this primitive and

64 Quoted by Bruce T. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 11.

65 Spear, Oxford History of India, Part III, p. 646.

66 Stokes, op. cit., p. 53.

barbaric society was despotism—a vast political and religious tyranny. As Mill put it:

We have seen that by a system of priestcraft, built upon the most enormous and tormenting superstition, that ever harassed or degraded any portion of mankind, their minds were enchained more intolerably than their bodies, in short that despotism and priestcraft taken together, the Hindus in mind and body were the most enslaved portion of the human race.68

The Utilitarians believed in the efficacy of human legislation for the reform of Indian society.69 Their prescription did not emphasize the truths of a revealed religion, but the introduction of reason and European knowledge. This was their big difference from the Evangelicals who thought that legislation was powerless to change human nature.70 Mill believed that a reform of the nature of laws, the mode of taxation and the form of government would bring about a total transformation of Indian society, setting it on a rapid advance up the scale of civilization.71

These were the forces of reform and westernization which helped to shape British social policy in India during the Company's rule. In the beginning, however (roughly


69 Stokes, op. cit., p. 55.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., p. 56. Macaulay, Bentinck and Charles Trevelyan were largely influenced by Utilitarian thinking. Also Stokes, pp. 44-52. See P. Spear, Oxford History of India, Part III, p. 580.
between 1783 and 1813), the great obstacle to westerniza-
tion was the company itself whose policy had gradually
tended to become openly hostile to introduction of Chris-
tianity and western ideas.

Between 1600 and 1765, when the company was just a
commercial concern its directors had expressed themselves
in favor of propagation of Christianity among the people
of India. In 1698, a clause had been inserted in the
company's charter which directed it to maintain ministers
of religion and schoolmasters in all its garrisons and
factories. The ministers were required to learn Portu-
guese within one year and to acquire knowledge of the native
languages in order to be able "to instruct the 'Gentoos that
shall be servants or slaves of the company or of their
agents in Protestant religion." In 1700, the Directors
had communicated to their "commanders of ships and agents
of factories," a form of prayer, which contained the sup-
plication:

    . . . that we adorning the Gospel of our

72 Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik, A History of Edu-
cation in India (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1951),
p. 52.

73 Sir H. V. Lovett, "Social Policy to 1858," The
Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI (Cambridge: University

74 Ibid.
Lord and Saviour in all things, these Indian nations among whom we dwell, beholding our good works may be won over to love our most holy religion.\(^75\)

In actual practice, however, the Governors and Councils at Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, did not show much enthusiasm for mission's activity. As early as 1702, Benjamin Adams, a Chaplain of the Bay of Bengal complained against "the opposition, the missionary clergy met from their own chiefs."\(^76\) The Chaplains generally were not interested in evangelistic work. They were perhaps not even religious in the true sense at all, as Mr. Spear has pointed out.\(^77\) They performed their ministerial duties, took care of the charity schools and orphan asylums for the children of mixed parents, and engaged in trade.\(^78\) They behaved reasonably in an Age of Reason, and kept Religion and Atheism impartially at arm's length.\(^79\) As a result, missionary activity could not flourish under Company's dominions even in the first half of the eighteenth century.

When the company became a political power, its

\(^75\)Quoted by Lovett, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 121.

\(^76\)\textit{Ibid.}


\(^78\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 7. Also Lovett, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 120.

\(^79\)Spear, \textit{The Nabobs}, p. 112.
attitude toward Christian evangelism gradually underwent appreciable change. It came now to be believed that the people of India were peculiarly sensitive in the matter of religion. In 1781, evidence taken on this point by a committee of the Commons elicited the unanimous opinion that "any interference with the religion of the natives would eventually insure the total destruction of the British power."31

Gradually a policy of religious neutrality was evolved. By the regulations of 1793, the Governor-General in Council promised "to preserve the laws of the Shaster and the Koran, and to protect the natives of India in the free exercise of their religion."32 Missionary activity was now considered dangerous to the political peace of the company's dominions.33

As a result, Protestant Christianity "entered India under the protection of the Danish King."34 The First Protestant Mission from Denmark had its headquarters at the Danish Settlement of Tranquebar in Tanjore. It began with

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30 Lovett, op. cit., p. 124.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid., p. 122.
33 Spear, The Nabobs, p. 121.
the arrival in 1706 of Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, the pioneer Danish missionaries. 85 Mission work was extended by Danish missionaries to Tanjore, Madras, Cuddalore, Tinnevelly, and Trichinopoly. The most distinguished of the Danish missionaries in the 18th century was Christian Friederick Schwartz, who founded the Tinnevelly Mission in 1750. 86 In 1793, when William Carey, the first British missionary arrived in Calcutta, the Bengal government had already prohibited preaching in its territory and he had to make Serampore his headquarters. Here the Danish Governor offered him and his colleagues the protection of the Danish crown and the privileges of Danish citizenship, besides permission to set up a press for printing the Scriptures into Indian languages. 87 Likewise, the missionaries of the London Missionary Society who arrived in 1798, had to settle in the Dutch town of Chinsurah on the Hugli River. 88

In their private capacity, however, the Governors-General of the period (except Lord Cornwallis, who had no...
sympathy with the Evangelical hopes of converting India), were sympathetic to missionary activity. Sir John Shore connived at the activities of the Serampore missionaries despite their illegal entry into the country. Lord Wellesley, being supremely confident of his ability to maintain law and order, in his private capacity, always tolerated missionary activity. He was so impressed with Dr. Carey's scholarship that he appointed him a teacher of Bengali to teach the junior servants of the company at Fort William College.

After Wellesley's retirement, the attitude of the company's directors at home and of the Governor-General in India tended to become more cautious about missionary activity. There appeared to be real grounds for questioning the effects of Christian evangelism in India. A mutiny of Indian Sepoys at Vellore in Madras Presidency which resulted in the death of 200 Europeans, seemed to confirm the suspicions of those who were opposed to missionary activity in India. The mutiny was actually due to an order of the

89Stokes, op. cit., p. 36. Also Spear, The Nabobs, p. 121.
91Ibid.
Madras government requiring Indian troops, for the sake of uniformity, to wear a new kind of turban and to remove their distinguishing caste marks and earrings when on parade. But the Sepoys interpreted these orders as an attack on their religion. The apparent British intention to subdue all India, combined with the recent activity of Christian missionaries gave color to this view.

In England, the anti-missionary party, led by Francis Baring, Sweny Toone, and R. Twining, at once asserted that the mutiny was the outcome of missionary activities. The majority of the directors were inclined to take this view and the public opinion supported them.

As a result, the note of caution in the religious policy of the company became more pronounced, as can be seen from the following dispatch from the Directors to the Governor-in-council, Madras, sent on May 29, 1807:

In the whole course of our Administration of our Indian territories, it has been our known and


95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid.
declared principle to maintain a perfect toleration of the various religious systems which prevailed in it, to protect the followers of each in the undisturbed enjoyment of their several opinions and usages, and neither to interfere with them ourselves nor suffer them to be molested by others. 98

The same cautious approach was reflected in the policy of Lord Minto, the Governor-General (1807-1813), who, though personally sympathetic to missionaries, yet was compelled to put temporary restrictions on their activities because of their violent attacks on Islam and Hinduism in their preachings and publications. 99 When he requested instructions for his future policy in the matter, the Secret Committee of the Board of Control, in a dispatch, emphasized the policy of political expediency. They said:

When we sanctioned the dispatch of missionaries to India it was far from being in our contemplation to add the influence of our authority to any attempts they might make. . . . It is desirable that the knowledge of Christianity should be imparted to the natives, but the means to be used for that end shall be only such as shall be free from any political danger or alarm. 100

Since the Vellore Mutiny, therefore, the company's


100 quoted by Philips, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
policy toward missionaries, on grounds of political expediency, appears to have become openly hostile. During the year of the mutiny (1806), two British missionaries, who arrived in Calcutta to join the Baptists at Serampore, were ordered to leave the country. 101 It was argued that even though they stayed at Serampore, their influence would be felt in British territory. At times, the missionaries were prevented from travelling about the country by the government authorities. 102 Finally, in 1812, when the pioneer American missionaries arrived in Calcutta, they were immediately asked to leave the Company's territories. 103

Toward the Indian religions, the attitude of the Company became exceptionally tolerant. On the conquest of Cuttack from the Marathas in 1803, the Company took over the entire management of the famous Hindu Temple of Jagannath, a celebrated place of worship, and undertook, like its Hindu predecessors to supply the deficit, if any, from its own treasury. 104 Lord Wellesley had instructed his officer commanding Cuttack to "employ every possible precaution due

101 Ingham, op. cit., p. 13. Also Lovett, op. cit., p. 123.

102 Ibid.

103 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, hereafter referred to as "American Board" First Ten Annual Reports (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1834), p. 59.

104 Ibid.
to the pagoda and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and Pilgrims. A similar policy was followed in Bombay and Madras despite the fact that missionaries objected, on religious grounds, to the government and its officers being associated with the financing and management of non-Christian shrines.

The credit for changing this unfriendly policy of the Company toward the cause of Christian evangelism in India goes to the Evangelical party. In 1793, when the Company's Charter came before Parliament for renewal, Charles Grant and William Wilberforce, the two prominent Evangelicals, strove to procure the insertion in the Charter Act of a provision for the admission and encouragement of missionaries and school masters in India. The "pious clause," which they strove to include in the Charter, stated:

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 to be sent out.

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105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
108 Quoted by Embree, op. cit., p. 152.
Henry Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, at first agreed to give his support in Parliament for the inclusion of the clause in the Charter Bill, but on finding that the great majority of the Directors and Proprietors opposed it "as dangerous to the peace and good order of the British possessions in India," he withdrew his support and the clause was withdrawn.\footnote{109}

This initial failure stirred the Evangelicals to greater efforts in 1813, when the Charter of the Company was due for renewal. They utilized the interval of twenty years for strengthening their forces by disseminating information about India among the general public and by organizing missionary activity. In 1797, Grant laid his pamphlet, \textit{Observations on the Society . . . Among Our Asiatic Subjects}, formally before the Court of Directors, as a "paper of business," an act which served to give a somewhat wider circulation to his views.\footnote{110} The Evangelicals were also

\footnote{109}Philips, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 159. Also Embree, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 153-155.

\footnote{110}Embree, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 142. Grant was elected to the Court of Directors in 1797 and to Parliament in 1802. In 1804, he was first chosen Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors and Chairman in 1805. Between 1805 and 1818, he was four times elected to one or the other of these offices. In 1813, there were twenty Evangelicals in the House of Commons. See \textit{Dictionary of National Biography}, Vol. VIII, pp. 378-380, and Phillips, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 191.
instrumental in founding the Church Missionary Society (1799) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804). Grant took care to send to India a number of ardent Evangelical clergymen. Chaplains like Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, and Thomas Thomasan who were sent through his patronage (in 1796, 1805, and 1808 respectively), became famous as missionaries and served to arouse interest in Indian affairs through their activities. In 1805, Buchanan published a pamphlet, *A Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India*, which produced considerable sensation in England. He urged the government to set up an ecclesiastical establishment and to use every means for the propagation of Christianity in India. On his return to England in 1808, he carried on vigorous propaganda for the cause of Evangelism in India. On 26 February 1809, he delivered his widely publicised sermon, *The Star in the East*, in which he announced that the time had come for the active preaching of Christianity.

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111 Philips, *op. cit.*, p. 159. Dr. Philips informs us that the "pious chairs," Parry and Grant, sent 20 missionaries to India between 1793 and 1813, but Mr. A. Embree thinks that only four had been sent until 1807. See Embree, *op. cit.*, p. 240.


113 Ingham, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

in India. Two years later, his Christian Researches in Asia was published. It aroused probably the greatest interest in Indian affairs that had ever been felt in England. Supporting his views with evidence which he himself had collected, Buchanan presented a fearsome account of the ceremonies performed at Jagannath and of the behaviour of the priests and pilgrims. These publications helped to disseminate the Evangelical view of India among the common people who before had had no concern with the problems of British control of India.

During the Vellore Mutiny controversy, Edward Parry and Charles Grant rendered a great service to the Evangelical cause. They vigorously strove to refute the arguments of those who were holding missionary activity responsible for the mutiny. In their letter to the President of the Board of Control, on 18 May, 1807, they wrote a convincing refutation of the missionaries' culpability. They went on to suggest that the 'positive causes of the mutiny were the changes in the dress of the Sepoys and the intrigues

115 Ingham, op. cit., p. 35.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid.

118 Parry and Grant were the Chairman and the Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors.
of the Muslim adherents of Tipu Sultan's family."\(^{119}\) By the force of their arguments they succeeded, in the words of Dr. Philips, "in burying the missionary question, so far as the Board was concerned, under the load of their various suggestions."\(^{120}\) The Court of Directors eventually accepted the view that the incautious behaviour of the military commander and the failure of the Governor to check him were the fundamental causes of the disaster.\(^{121}\)

The success of the Evangelicals in exculpating the missionaries from the responsibility for the mutiny served to strengthen their agitation for the insertion of a missionary clause in the Charter Act of 1813.\(^{122}\) A year before the Charter was due for renewal, they (the Evangelicals) worked to revive and co-ordinate the missionary agitation. Wilberforce proved a link between the different denominations. He allayed the suspicions of the Dissenters who feared that the Church of England was already assured of an establishment in India and they themselves would gain little.\(^{123}\)

\(^{119}\) Philips, op. cit., p. 162. Also Embree, op. cit., p. 239.

\(^{120}\) Ibid., p. 162.

\(^{121}\) Ibid., p. 168. Also Ingham, op. cit., p. 7.

\(^{122}\) Philips, op. cit., p. 169.

\(^{123}\) Ibid., p. 169.
He persuaded the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to take the lead of the Non-Conformists in the matter.\textsuperscript{124}

During the year 1813 (when the Charter was due for renewal), they (the Evangelicals) climaxed their efforts by a remarkable organization of public opinion in their favor. They made use of the many missionary organizations of which they were the leading members--the Church Missionary Society, the Bible Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to win public support for "Christianizing India."\textsuperscript{125} They started a new paper, The Missionary Register, which was filled with the accounts of the evils of Hinduism and of the triumphs of missionaries.\textsuperscript{126} The most spectacular effort was a campaign organized by Zachary Macaulay, calling on the religious organizations of Britain to send petitions to Parliament for the unrestricted despatch of missionaries to India.\textsuperscript{127} Between February and June 1813, 837 petitions were presented.\textsuperscript{128} The government was immediately impressed by this display of public enthusiasm and agreed to support the

\textsuperscript{124}Ibid., p. 189.
\textsuperscript{125}Embree, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 272.
\textsuperscript{126}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{127}Philips, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{128}Ibid.
inclusion of the missionary clause, the preamble of which declared:

It is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement; and in the furtherance of the above objects. Sufficient opportunities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of accomplishing these benevolent designs.  

For convincing their opponents in the House of Commons, they (Evangelicals) got Grant's Observations on the State of Asia printed as a command paper and urged them to read it. Members of the Clapham Sect spent an enormous amount of time in lobbying. Wilberforce, with all the eloquence at his command, supported the bill in more than one speech. The most forceful presentation of the case was made by him in his famous speech delivered on June 22, 1813, in which, quoting effectively from Grant and Buchanan, he pleaded strongly for "Commencing . . . the endeavours to communicate the genial warmth of Christian principles and institutions in India." 

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129 Quoted by Embree, op. cit., p. 270.
130 Ibid., pp. 271-72.
131 Ibid., p. 272. The members who usually supported Clapham projects, in addition to Wilberforce and Grant, were Charles Grant, Jr., Thomas Babington, Zachary Macaulay, H. Thornton, W. Smith, J. Bowdler, and J. Stephen.
133 Ibid., p. 867.
The anti-missionary party presented Charles Marsh, a retired Madras civilian, who in his equally forceful speech, tried to "expose the exaggerations and partiality of Wilberforce." 134 "The people of India," he declared, "were a sober, quiet and industrious race," 135 and the propagation of Christianity, though desirable, was not at all practicable. 136 Nevertheless, the Evangelicals had succeeded in convincing the majority of the British people of their stand on India and the clause was inserted in the Charter, on July 2, 1813, by 54 votes to 32, in the House of Commons. 137

This victory of the Evangelicals signified the first major triumph for the forces of change and Westernization in India. By the Charter Act of 1813, three significant provisions relating to the position of education and the church were made by Parliament. An Episcopal Organization was established, missionaries of all faiths were allowed to enter and the Indian government was authorized to spend a lac of rupees (about £7,500) from surplus revenues for Indian education. 138

135 Ibid., p. 1042.
136 Ibid., p. 1051.
137 Ibid., p. 1032. Also Philips, op. cit., p. 191.
138 Bearce, op. cit., p. 79.
As was natural, the triumph of the Evangelical viewpoint in 1813 had profound effects on missionary activity in India. As Charles Grant put it, "the duty of communicating Christianity in India was now directly recognized by the Legislature and missionary exertions in future were to be placed on a more respectable footing." From now on, the missionary movement, generally in conjunction with Liberalism, was allowed to contribute to the westernization of India.

In a larger context, the debate over the Charter and the ultimate victory of the "Saints", served to arouse other western nations to the needs of propagating Christianity in India and other parts of the non-Christian world. As contemporary protagonists of missions recognized, the awakening of interest over India was generalized to include an interest in the rest of the non-Christian world. The year 1813, therefore, can be regarded as beginning the age of modern missions.

Through a curious coincidence, American missionary activity in India also began in 1813. The pioneer

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139 Morris, op. cit., p. 331, Charles Grant to George Udny, London, 4 September, 1813.

140 The members of the Clapham Sect were also called "The Party of Saints." See C. H. Philips, op. cit., p. 131.

141 Embree, op. cit., p. 274.
missionaries had arrived in June, 1812, but they had been asked to leave the country. The Charter Act of 1813 allowed the missionaries, who, after leaving Calcutta, had arrived in Bombay to commence their labors.\textsuperscript{142} The debate in England over the Charter was closely followed in America and the religious periodicals published the speeches made in Parliament.\textsuperscript{143} It, therefore, served to augment American interest in foreign missions.

From 1813 onwards, American Protestant missionaries began to play a significant role in the religious and social life of India. The six pioneer missionaries were followed by hundreds of others, so that in 1910, nearly 1800 American Protestant missionaries were working in India.\textsuperscript{144} Missionaries, who went to India primarily for propagating Christianity, contributed significantly to the progress of education through the schools and colleges they established. Gradually, they diversified their activities and began to serve India in many ways. Through their hospitals, dispensaries and leper asylums, they served to alleviate physical suffering in India. Women missionaries from America worked

\textsuperscript{142}American Board, \textit{First Ten Annual Reports}, p. 130.

\textsuperscript{143}The \textit{Panoplist and Missionary Herald} (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1813), pp. 86-88.

\textsuperscript{144}American Board, "Centenary of America's Christian Connection with India," \textit{Annual Report}, 1913, p. 139.
zealously for the progress of women. By their manners and conduct, by their very existence, they were influences in favor of the Western outlook in India. After their period of initial expansion was over, they were almost equal to the British missionaries in contributing to the progress of India. Their role in the general missionary movement was equally impressive.

As yet the part played by American missionaries in the modern history of India had not properly been discussed or evaluated. Probably the larger number of British missionaries and their identification with the ruling power, served to obscure the activities of Americans. This work, therefore, attempts to evaluate the contributions made by American missionaries to the cause of Westernization and change in India for a period of ninety-seven years (1813-1910). Part I of this work discusses the founding and growth of American Protestant missions between 1813 and 1870 and the emergence of their main tendencies of work for the moral and material welfare of India. Since this period was characterized by their initial expansion, their work was bound to be less prominent than the work of British Protestant missions during the period if India as a whole is considered. But, it was impressive enough in the particular regions of their work.

Part II of this work discusses the further development and elaboration of their principles and activities and
the major changes in their policies and attitudes toward India between 1870 and 1910, a period during which they made major contributions to India's progress on modern lines. This period may be said to have characterized the fruition of their efforts in the realm of Evangelism, education, medical and welfare work. In other words, this period witnessed the fulfillment of their desire to serve India in various ways, and as such, is more important for understanding their role in India's modernization and social progress.
CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDING AND GROWTH OF AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN INDIA BETWEEN 1813 AND 1870

When the Evangelicals in England were trying to convince their compatriots of their duty to propagate Christianity in India, the young Republic of America was passing through the Second Great Awakening in its religious history. Introduction of Methodism during the Colonial period had partly paved the way for this religious revival. Organized Methodism had first appeared in 1766 when Philip Embury began to hold meetings in New York and soon afterwards formed a society. ¹ Three years later John Wesley sent out two of his preachers--Mr. Richard Boardman and Mr. Joseph Pilmoor. ² In 1771, Francis Asbury arrived as a missionary from England. He was a master of religious strategy and the credit for organizing vigorous religious campaigns goes to him. ³ He introduced preaching through


²Ibid.

circuit riders which proved especially adaptable to the needs of America where settlements were scattered and far between. He also favored Camp meetings which played a large part in the western revival. Asbury himself preached on the themes of sin and redemption, with profound conviction.\(^4\) His leadership led to a spectacular growth of Methodism during the last quarter of the 18th century.

Methodism, with its gospel of freewill and free grace, helped to create, as it had done in England, an outburst of enthusiastic Christianity. It gave a religious experience which was joyful and at times ecstatic. An emotional explosion released much of the latent energy of the Methodist and enabled him to engage zealously in the task of saving others and of doing deeds of a benevolent nature.\(^5\)

The evangelistic fervor displayed by Baptists was also instrumental in bringing about the "second awakening." Like the Methodists, they too emphasized preaching, soul saving, and sudden conversion.\(^6\) They too stressed the necessity of conversion as a prerequisite for admission to

\(^4\)Ibid.


\(^6\)Ibid., p. 34.
full church membership. Their enthusiasm in pushing the Christian frontier in America was remarkable. With their religious message, they vigorously followed the pioneers into the frontier regions.

The renewed emphasis upon religion also came as a reaction against the spread of radical philosophical ideas of deistic and atheistic varieties which had been introduced in America in the wake of the American and French Revolutions. These ideas had come both from England and France and had begun to threaten the very foundations of American Christianity. There had sprung up many Jacobin clubs and societies of the Illuminati which were devoting their energy to ridiculing Christianity and to bringing the "Age of Reason." Thomas Paine, Voltaire, Rousseau and d'Alembert had become very popular among college students.

These tendencies aroused the American religious leaders toward the end of the 18th century to check the advance of atheism and infidelity. With a sense of urgency,

7 Ibid.
8 Elsbree, op. cit., p. 86.
9 Sweet, op. cit., p. 322.
10 Ibid., p. 323.
11 Ibid., p. 326.
organized efforts were made to revitalize American Christianity. Churches were strengthened by the addition of new members, while new churches were established. The Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational churches experienced a remarkable invigoration.\textsuperscript{12} Theological seminaries for the training of ministers were founded and philanthropic organizations were opened.\textsuperscript{13}

The revival was vigorously promoted by educational leaders like Timothy Dwight, who became the President of Yale College in 1795.\textsuperscript{14} Under his leadership the whole moral and religious atmosphere of the college was changed for the better. He met the students on their own ground and in a series of frank discussions he treated Christianity, Deism, and Materialism.\textsuperscript{15} Soon he had won the admiration of the students and in 1802 a revival began in which a third of the student body professed conversion, to be followed at frequent intervals by other awakenings.\textsuperscript{16} Dartmouth, Williams and Amherst Colleges experienced similar religious

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{12}] Elsbree, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 32-36.
  \item[\textsuperscript{13}] Sweet, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 327.
  \item[\textsuperscript{14}] Ibid., p. 326.
  \item[\textsuperscript{15}] Ibid.
  \item[\textsuperscript{16}] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
awakenings, while the movement spread into the middle states and into the south. 17

Theologians like Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803) added to the ethical content and spiritual grandeur of the religious revival. Hopkins' theology quickened the spiritual life of New England. 18 His system of philosophy, with its teaching of "disinterested benevolence" as the supreme motive of the individual was of great ethical value, and its conception of a universe steadily set towards the greatest happiness of all had real spiritual grandeur. 19 Hopkins was the first Congregational minister to denounce slavery. He raised money for sending colored missionaries to Africa. 20 He believed that the spread of Christianity would ultimately lead to the emergence of a spirit of universal benevolence and selfless affection: He declared:

Whenever Christianity shall have spread over the whole world and the distinguishing power and spirit of it take place universally, forming to a high degree of universal benevolence and disinterested affection, it will unite mankind into one happy society, teaching them to love one another as

17 Ibid.


19 Ibid., p. 218.

20 Ibid.
brethren. . . . This will form the most happy state of public society that can be enjoyed on earth. 21

The Second Great Awakening, which was at its peak roughly between 1795 and 1812, led to important results in American religious history. It effectively checked the spread of infidelity and atheistic ideas. The minutes of the Presbyterian General Assembly for 1802 voiced the new confidence by saying:

The influence of that vain philosophy which has spread its infection through many of our cities, . . . has been greatly diminished. 22

On the positive side, it gave birth to a wider Christian philanthropy and a spirit of disinterested benevolence. Wesleyan Methodism, in conjunction with Hopkinsianism breathed this spirit into the religious awakening. Secular humanitarianism as preached by Jefferson reinforced the religious movement. 23 The beginnings of home missionary effort as well as the foreign missionary enterprise were the direct results of this wider Christian philanthropy.

Efforts had been made even during the colonial period for Christianizing the American Indians. It was in this field of Christian philanthropy that Americans like

21 Quoted by Elsbree, op. cit., p. 149.
22 Ibid., p. 90.
23 Ibid., p. 147.
John Eliot, Thomas and John Mayhew, Roger Williams, William Penn, David Brainerd and Bishop Berkeley had performed many of their pious labors. The revival led to organized efforts in this direction.

Several interdenominational societies were formed for home missionary purposes. The New York Missionary Society, which was made up of representatives of Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed and Baptists, was formed in 1796. Its immediate object was to carry the gospel to the southern Indians. In New England, the Missionary Society of Connecticut was organized by the General Association in 1798. The purpose of this Society was "to Christianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements in the United States." The Connecticut Society was the strongest of the early societies and was supported by numerous auxiliaries. Within the next few years at least eight such societies were formed in New England with numerous local societies as auxiliaries.

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26 Ibid., p. 56.


28 Ibid.
The religious awakening expressed itself further in the rise and growth of religious journalism. The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine was started in 1800 as the official organ of the Connecticut Missionary Society.29 The Massachusetts Missionary Magazine appeared in 1803.30 Two years later, The Panoplist was launched as a private enterprise for the purpose of "revealing principles . . . subversive of Christian piety and morality and for promoting the increase of sound theological knowledge."31 During the same decade, The Religious Repository and The Vermont Evangelical Magazine were started by the New Hampshire and Vermont Missionary Societies.32

Some denominational missionary societies and journals also made their appearance. The General Assembly of the American Presbyterian Church was incorporated in 1799 with the power of holding property for pious purposes, and three years later a Standing Committee on Missions was appointed to supervise the work of missionaries.33 Several of the

29 Elsbree, op. cit., p. 57.
30 Sweet, op. cit., p. 353.
33 Elsbree, op. cit., p. 72.
Synods and Presbyteries organized missionary societies. In 1802, the Synod of Pittsburgh formed the Western Missionary Society "to carry the gospel to the Indians and interim inhabitants." The Baptists, like wise organized the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society in 1802. The Dutch churches also began to manifest interest in missions and in 1800 were supporting six missionaries in upper Canada.

The work of denominational bodies was also supported by religious publications. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church published the Evangelical Intelligencer as their missionary magazine. While the Baptist Missionary Society published the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine as its organ.

Religious journalism in conjunction with some other factors helped to create an interest in foreign missions for carrying the gospel to the non-Christian world. New geographical and anthropological knowledge was arousing the interest of an increasing number of American readers.

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34 Ibid., pp. 73-74.
35 Sweet, op. cit., p. 354.
36 Ibid.
37 Elsbree, op. cit., p. 75.
38 Ibid., p. 78.
39 Elsbree, op. cit., p. 103.
conditions of the non-Christian world as described in the contemporary literature, such as Captain Cook's accounts of the Pacific islands, gradually aroused a sense of duty for propagating the gospel in those lands. Knowledge about the customs and ideas of non-Christian nations that was being disseminated through American periodical literature also served to heighten the interest in foreign missions.

The American Foreign Missionary Movement, in a way, caught fire from the British Evangelical Movement. The fact that the pioneer British Missionaries had begun their labors in India, also served to turn American interest toward that country from the very beginning. The missionary work of William Carey in India excited considerable interest in American church circles, especially in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Philadelphia. There was even a strong personal element in the American interest in the work of William Carey. A Philadelphia pastor had been present at Kettering, England in 1792, on the occasion of the formation of the Particular Baptist Missionary Society which sent Carey to India. He was deeply stirred by this

40 Ibid., p. 102.
41 Ibid., pp. 104-105.
42 Ibid., p. 104.
event and continued to support East Indian Missionary enterprise wholeheartedly on his return to the United States. 43 Care regularly corresponded with certain Baptist ministers of New York and Boston. 44 His pamphlet Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens, published in 1792, was widely read in American church circles. 45

Claudius Buchanan's famous sermon, "The Star in the East" (delivered in 1809), was published the same year in an American edition at Cambridge, Massachusetts by the Society of Inquiry, at Andover, and it proved epoch making in its effects for stirring up the missionary zeal of many young men in the denominational colleges and at Andover. 46 One of the most conspicuous examples to be stirred by this sermon was Adoniram Judson, one of the pioneer American missionaries, "into whose soul the sermon fell like a spark." 47 It produced such a powerful effect on his mind that he finally resolved to become a missionary to India. 48

43 Ibid.
44 Gammell, op. cit., p. 3.
45 Elsbree, op. cit., p. 84.
46 Ibid., p. 134.
48 Ibid., p. 17.
The American connection with the British missionaries was not only emotional, but financial as well. Money was sent to India to help carry on the work of Baptist missionaries. During the year 1806-1807 Dr. Carey received nearly $6,000 from American Christians and he sent a letter to the Christian congregations in the United States thanking them for their generosity. Again in 1810, the Boston Baptist Association sent to him a sum of $4,650 for helping him in the task of translating the Scripture into Eastern languages.

The activities of the London Missionary Society also served to augment American interest in foreign missions. Its official reports were reprinted in many of the religious periodicals. Some of the missionaries of this society frequently made the voyage to the East by way of America. Such was the case of Robert Morrison, who sailed for China in 1807 by way of the United States. Here he met Presbyterian, Reformed and Baptist Missionary leaders who not only gave him assistance while here, but after he reached China continued to assist his mission.

The definite beginnings of American Foreign Missions

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49 The Panoplist, April, 1807, pp. 530-531.
50 Gammell, op. cit., p. 4.
51 Sweet, op. cit., p. 356.
52 Ibid.
as a coherent and continuous enterprise owed itself to the pious zeal for missionary work on the part of four young men who were students at the Andover Theological Seminary. Adoniram Judson, Samuel J. Mills, Samuel Nott and Samuel Newell, being impelled by their burning desire to engage in missionary work, petitioned the General Association of Massachusetts, in June, 1810, to inaugurate a foreign mission and offered themselves to go as missionaries. With all these young men, the sentiment for missionary work had been cherished for years. The resolution of Judson to be a missionary through Buchanan's inspiration has already been noted. Samuel J. Mills had been inspired by the missionary fervor of Samuel Hopkins, the minister of the First Congregational Church at Newport, Rhode Island, who had planned to send two negro missionaries to Africa. These two gentlemen helped to inspire the others, until the sentiment had become a settled resolve, and embodied itself in vows and mutual pledges to carry out the solemn objective.

The time evidently was ripe for such an appeal, for immediate steps were taken by the Association to carry out their desire, and the American Board of Commissioners for


54 Elsbree, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

55 Gammell, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
Foreign Missions was formed by the General Association of Massachusetts at their sessions in Bradford, on June 27, 1810.\footnote{American Board, \textit{First Ten Annual Reports}, pp. 35-36.} The object of the Board was "to devise, adopt, and prosecute ways and means for propagating the gospel among those who are destitute of any knowledge of Christianity."\footnote{Ibid.} Donations to the Board came in rapidly as a consequence of the enthusiasm of its promoters and the liberality of a few wealthy benefactors. Between the annual meeting of September, 1811 and June 20, 1812, over $12,000 was collected, $7,000 of which came from four donors and about $4,000 from various auxiliary societies.\footnote{Elsbree, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 112.} In 1811, a legacy of $30,000 was left to the Board by the widow of Mr. John Norris, of Salem, Massachusetts, who had been one of the outstanding financial supporters of the Andover Theological Seminary.\footnote{American Board, \textit{First Ten Annual Reports}, p. 23.}

The remarkable support received by the Board from the American public enabled them to send the pioneer missionaries to India. On the 6th of February, 1812, the five pioneers--The Rev. Adoniram Judson, the Rev. Samuel Nott, the Rev. Samuel Newell, the Rev. Gordon Hall, and the Rev. Luther Rice--were ordained as missionaries at the Tabernacle,
in Salem, Massachusetts and set sail for India the same month in two separate companies. Messrs. Judson and Newell, with their wives, sailed from Salem on the ship "Caravan" on the 19th of February, 1812; and Messrs. Hall and Nott, with their wives, and Mr. Rice, sailed from Philadelphia on the ship "Harmony" on the 24th of the same month. 60

The Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had considered Burma to be the best place for commencing American missions because it was outside the proper province of British missionary societies. 61 The final decision, however, was left to the missionaries themselves, who, on their arrival in Calcutta, were to act on the advice of the British missionaries. 62

The first group of missionaries (Messrs. Newell, Judson and their wives), who arrived in Calcutta on June 17, 1812, had immediately to face difficulties because of the hostile policy of the company toward missionary activity. 63 They were ordered to sail back to America by the same ship in which they had travelled. The ship was detained in the harbor for some time in order to take them back. 64 They

60 Ibid., pp. 35-36.
61 Ibid., p. 24.
62 Ibid., p. 40.
63 Ibid., p. 59.
64 Ibid.
were, however, cordially received by the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, who made earnest solicitations on their behalf to the government of the Company. 65 As a result, the orders against them were somewhat relaxed and they were allowed to leave Calcutta for any destination not within the jurisdiction of the East India Company. 66 They were advised by the Baptist missionaries not to commence their labors in Burma where political conditions were risky because of the prevalence of foreign and civil wars. 67 As a result, Mr. Newell left Calcutta for the Isle of France where he decided to establish the mission. 68

The second group of missionaries (Messrs. Hall, Nott and Rice) who arrived in Calcutta on August 8, 1812, had to undergo the same trial. 69 They were, however, allowed to remain in Calcutta for a few months. On the basis of information received there, they decided to establish the mission in Bombay. Leaving Calcutta in November, 1812, they arrived in Bombay on February 11, 1813. 70 Here another trial was awaiting them. The news of the war of 1812 had

65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid., p. 64.
68 Ibid., p. 64.
69 Ibid., p. 59.
70 Ibid., p. 81.
preceded them. 71 They were suspected as spies and were ordered to be shipped back to England. They presented a memorial to Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor, requesting him to allow them to carry on the pious work of preaching the gospel for which they had come. 72 The memorial had the desired effect and they were given temporary permission to carry on their work. A year later, when the ban on missionary activity was formally removed (as a result of the inclusion of the missionary clause in the Charter Act of 1813, as already noted), they were permitted to begin their work on a permanent footing. 73 The same year, Mr. Newell also returned from the Isle of France to join the two missionaries at Bombay and the first American mission on Indian soil began to function.

Messrs. Judson and Rice, the remaining two of the pioneer missionaries, in a dramatic manner, became the founder of the American Baptist Mission in Burma. During their long sea voyage to India, these two gentlemen, though travelling in separate ships, became converted to Baptist


72 Ibid., pp. 92-93.

73 Ibid., p. 120.
principles through a diligent study of the Scriptures. On reaching Calcutta, they were baptized, through immersion by Dr. William Ward, a colleague of Carey, and offered themselves to serve as Baptist missionaries. On Dr. Carey's advice, Mr. Judson, with his wife, went to Rangoon to revitalize the Baptist mission which had been abandoned a few years ago. He began work in July, 1813 and worked there until 1850. He became one of the distinguished missionary pioneers from America. He succeeded in founding a church and made significant linguistic contributions through the compilation of an Anglo-Burmese dictionary, a Burmese grammar and a Burmese translation of the Bible, all of which were regarded as standard until the early twentieth century.

Mr. Rice returned to the United States to arouse American Baptists to their missionary responsibility through his efforts, in 1814, the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination of the United States of America

74 Judson, op. cit., p. 37.
75 Gammell, op. cit., p. 7.
76 George Smith, Life of William Carey, p. 126.
77 Judson, op. cit., pp. 550-552.
78 Smith, op. cit., p. 128.
for foreign missions was founded in Philadelphia. 79 Until his death in 1836, the Rev. Rice was a vigorous worker and leader for the cause of Baptist Foreign Missions in America. 80 As a result of his labors, American Baptists supported Judson's missions in Burma and gradually enlarged their stations both in Burma and India.

The missionaries at Bombay, having learned the Marathi language, began preaching by 1815. They also commenced their labors for translating the Bible into that language. 81 For disseminating the Christian gospel as well as knowledge, they also opened schools and a printing press. Until 1827 the Bombay mission was the only American mission on Indian soil. In the early thirties, the mission opened its second station at Ahmednagar and organized a church. 82 During the 1830's the work took on new strength, the number of missionaries gradually increased and the mission became fully prepared to make a significant contribution to the religious and educational progress in Bombay and Ahmednagar.

From the 1830's onwards a greater flow of American missionaries to India began. The American Board of

79 Sweet, op. cit., p. 358.
80 Ibid.
81 American Board, First Ten Annual Reports, p. 131.
82 American Board, Annual Report, 1833, pp. 54-56.
Commissioners for Foreign Missions had shown the way which was followed by other American missionary societies. In 1833 the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions of the United States of America (organized that year), sent its first representatives, the Rev. John C. Rowrie and the Rev. William Reed, to inaugurate missionary work in India. On reaching Calcutta, they decided to commence their labors in the Punjab, which was mostly unoccupied by missionary institutions of other bodies of Christians. The bracing climate of the Province along with its numerous inhabitants also influenced the missionaries in making that decision. Besides, the fact that there was a general movement in some of the important cities of the province for the promotion of the English language and learning highly encouraged the missionaries, who sincerely desired to spread English education and enlightenment.

In 1834 the first American Presbyterian Mission was started at Ludhiana, which was also the first Protestant mission in that province. Gradually the number of

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84 Ibid.
85 Ibid., p. 47.
Presbyterian mission stations in North-Western Provinces and the Punjab multiplied. By 1870 they had almost a network of mission stations stretching from Allahabad in the east to Peshawar in the west. The Ludhiana Mission had stations at Ludhiana, Saharanpur, Sabatthu, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Jalalpur, Ambala, Dehra Dun, and Roorkee. While their Farrukhabad Mission in the Northwestern Provinces (present U.P.) had stations at Allahabad, Fattehgarh, Etawah, and Mainpurie. The United Presbyterians, likewise, sent the Rev. Andrew Gordon in 1855, who also decided to work in the Punjab and open mission stations at Sialkot and Gujranwala. The American Presbyterians, along with the Church Missionary Society which followed them, were the leading missionary society working in the Punjab during the period under review.

The American Baptists, who were active in Burma,

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37 Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, hereafter referred to as "Presbyterian Board," Annual Report, 1870 (New York: Published for the Board at Mission House, 1870), pp. 22-25.

88 Ibid.


90 Richter, op. cit., p. 200.
established some more missionary stations in India proper. In 1835 their attention was drawn toward the Telugu speaking areas of the Madras Presidency by one Rev. A. Sutton, a British Baptist, who visited the United States and attended the General Baptist Convention held at Richmond, Virginia, the same year. The Telugu areas, which were as yet unoccupied by other missionary societies and were close to the American Board Missions in Madras and the British Baptist Missions in Orissa, were considered a desirable field for Christian effort. As a result, in 1835, the two pioneers—the Rev. Samuel S. Day and the Rev. E. I. Abbott—sailed from Boston. On their arrival in Calcutta, Mr. Abbott was sent to the Burma Mission and Mr. Day proceeded to Madras to inaugurate the Baptist Mission in the Telugu area. In 1840 the Mission was formally started at Nellore, 110 miles north of Madras. For nearly twenty-five years, it was the only station of the Baptists in that area, a fact which earned it the epithet of the "lone star mission." It was during the same decade that the attention of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Union was directed

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91 Gammell, op. cit., p. 230.
92 Ibid., p. 231.
93 Ibid., pp. 234-235.
toward the hill tribes of Assam, through the agency of Captain Francis Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, who wrote to the American Mission at Moulmein (Burma) for sending missionaries to work for the regeneration of the hill tribes. The Baptist Foreign Missionary Union gladly accepted the invitation and sent the Rev. Nathan Brown and the Rev. Oliver T. Cutter as the first missionaries to Assam in 1835. On their arrival in Sadiya, Assam on the 23rd of March, 1836, they were cordially received by Captain Jenkins.

Gradually the American Baptist Mission in Assam expanded. In the 1840's stations were opened at Sibsagor, Nowgong and Guwahati in the Brahmaputra Valley. Missionaries frequently visited the Naga territory also, but the real work among the turbulent hill tribes of Assam—the Garos, Nagas, Abhirs, and Miris—was taken up after 1870, when the American missionaries made remarkable contributions to the moral and material uplift of these tribes.

Between the 1840's and 1860's there was a further expansion of American Protestant missions. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had now a network

95 Gammell, op. cit., pp. 211-212.
96 Ibid., p. 213.
97 Ibid., p. 222.
of stations in Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Its Marathi Mission had stations at Bombay, Ahmednagar, Sirur, Satara, Rahuri, and Sholapur. While its Madura mission had stations at Madras, Madura, Dindigul, Pasumalai, Kodaikanal, and Tirumangalam.

Some new American societies sent their representatives during the period. The Lutheran Church in America sent its first missionary, the Rev. C. F. Heyer, who in 1841, started a mission at Guntur, in the Telugu speaking areas of Madras Presidency. Ten years later, the German Lutherans transferred their mission at Rajahmundry (100 miles from Guntur) to the care of the American Lutheran Church. The Dutch Reformed Church in America, likewise, began missionary work at Arcot during the same decade.

An important American society to commence work during the 50's was the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its first representative, the Rev. William Butler, started a mission at Bareilly (North Western Provinces)

101 Ibid., p. 31.
a few months before the Sepoy Mutiny. The Mutiny dislocated his work for a year, but, when peace was restored, the American Methodist Mission expanded on an unprecedented scale. Within a decade stations were opened in many important cities of the province, such as Lucknow, Moradabad, Shahjehanpur, Gonda, Bijnour, Sitapur, Hardoi, and Mainital. Along with preaching, educational and welfare work was vigorously carried on.

Even some unorthodox Christian groups, like the Unitarians and Friends, sent their representatives to India during the period. The Unitarians had been attracted toward India from the 1820's by the religious activities of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who was persuasive enough to convert the Rev. William Adam, a British Baptist, to Unitarianism in 1821. The activities of Mr. Adam and Ram Mohan Roy inspired American Unitarians, led by Dr. Henry Ware, Sr., to make inquiries from the Raja about the prospects of a Unitarian mission in India. The Raja, in his replies,


104 Richter, op. cit., p. 211.


106 Correspondence Relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting its Reception in India (Cambridge: From the University Press, Hillary & Metcalf, 1824), p. 131. Also Spear, Oxford History of India, Part III, p. 652.

107 Correspondence ... Reception in India, pp. 121-138.
although he praised the Unitarian system, yet did not think that preaching alone could achieve any great success. He, therefore, advised them to engage in educational work, which he considered "very useful for improving the understanding and ultimately meliorating the hearts of the Indian people."\(^{108}\)

In 1855 the Rev. C. H. A. Dall, the first Unitarian missionary, arrived in Calcutta, where he did impressive educational and religious work until his death in 1886, when the Unitarian Mission was merged in the Brahmo Samaj Movement.\(^{109}\)

The American Friends (Quakers), likewise, joined hands with their British brethren in commencing missionary work in India. In 1869 they started work, with Jubbulpore (central India) as their headquarters.\(^{110}\)

The period under review (1813-1870) can rightly be called the period of establishment and initial expansion.

\(^{108}\)Ibid., pp. 134-135.


of American Protestant Missions in India. All the major American societies which contributed to the religious, educational and social progress of the country had begun their operations in India in right earnest.

The geographical distribution of American Protestant Missions was also remarkable. The main provinces where they concentrated were Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, and Assam. They were completely absent in such provinces as Bengal, where the British missionaries were already active. Likewise, their work in the metropolitan areas of Bombay and Madras was less spectacular than the work of British missionaries who had preceded them. Their stations and missions were generally located in the mofussil and rural areas where they could contribute freely to educational and social progress.

In northern India particularly their stations were located both in the mofussil and in important urban centers like Allahabad, Lucknow, Bareilly, Ludhiana, and Lahore. In the Punjab their missions were the first and one of the most important.

American Protestant Missions during the period, though relatively smaller in number than the British, were richly financed and efficiently organized. Their importance was rightly pointed out by a British missionary as follows:

In the judgment of the writer, acknowledgments
have never been sufficiently made of the spontaneous and entirely disinterested zeal of our western cousins in planting missions at great expense in various parts of India and in taking part with English missionaries, and, we may add, with the British government likewise, in the generous endeavour to enlighten and elevate its ignorant races. Their missions are well organized, are conducted with great ability and spirit, and will favourably compare with some of the best English missions. Moreover, it is hard to say which American society surpasses the others in the skill displayed in the prosecution of mission work, inasmuch as all exhibit in this respect great judgment and tact. 111

Inspired with a wider Christian philanthropy and a spirit of disinterested benevolence, American missionaries went to a distant land like India. They were impelled by a sense of duty to fulfil the Great Commission of Christ: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." 112 Judson and Nott, the two pioneers, testified to the impelling power of the sense of duty experienced by them. 113 The same sense of duty led many missionaries to engage in activities other than preaching the gospel. They opened schools and printing presses. They translated the Bible and distributed it among the people. They realized that the diffusion of knowledge and enlightenment was essential to the achievement of their final objective—the spread of Christianity in India. As

112 Mark 16:15 and Matthew 28:19
113 Judson, op. cit., p. 17. Also Elsbree, op. cit., p. 141.
the Rev. Lowrie pointed out: "Christian religion should not be divorced from education." This belief led them to make significant contributions to the spread of education and enlightenment, along with their religious and social work. Their role in these areas will engage our attention in the following chapters.

114 Lowrie, op. cit., p. 48.
CHAPTER III

THE PART PLAYED BY AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN
THE RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL SCENE IN
INDIA BETWEEN 1813 AND 1870

The period of initial expansion of American missions between 1813 and 1870, was also marked by important pioneering work on their part in several directions. By the very nature of their mission, American missionaries helped to improve the religious, educational and social scene in India. In the beginning, their various activities supplemented each other. If preaching of the gospel was necessary, it was also necessary to spread education so that the Bible could be read and understood. Its translation and publication into Indian languages were also essential. As a result, missionaries were not only preachers and translators, but also publishers and educators. Gradually their interest in education and social work increased and they made significant contributions in these areas.

Their intention was to set India on a path of progress through a diffusion of Christian ideas and western knowledge. The evangelical mind believed that human character could be suddenly and totally transformed by a direct assault on the mind through an educative process. As such, missionary
efforts fell in line with these convictions. Being imbued with the ideals of Christian ethics, they thought it essential to point out the defects in Indian religion and society which they believed were responsible for the poverty and social stagnation in India. On the practical side, their activities presented the Christian ethic in action. Schools, dispensaries, orphanages and leper asylums were the manifestations of their religious and social philosophy. Since their attitude toward life was completely different from that prevailing in India, they served to expose Indian society to new religious and social beliefs.

The first step in the direct assault on the mind for exposing it to Christian ideas was the oral preaching of the gospel, which was sometimes accompanied by reading of the Scriptures and distribution of tracts. Its importance was universally recognized by missionary societies. As early as 1814, the Rev. Gordon Hall wrote:

Preaching, laborious preaching of the gospel must be considered as the great means God has ordained for the conversion of the world.1

The energy and perseverance of missionaries in travelling about the country for the purpose was phenomenal. Dr. Claudius Buchanan had set the example with his journeys in

southern India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. American missionaries were equally assiduous in travelling about the country preaching and distributing tracts. The annual report of the American Board stated in 1833:

The missionary goes out, and commences a conversation with one or two and extends it to others as curiosity draws them around. The discourse is upon one topic or a number of topics, as occasion may require, and is didactic, argumentative, polemic, or hortatory according to circumstances. Such walks of usefulness furnish a good opportunity for an extensive distribution of tracts and the Holy Scripture, as people are often found who have come from distant places.

Friendly discussion with educated Indians was also relied upon by American missionaries. George Bowen, an American missionary in Bombay (from 1848 to 1888), became very popular among the people by virtue of his method of preaching and simple living. Sensing keenly the social chasm between the Indian and European, he tried to bridge it by living in the simplicity of the poor on less than $200.00 a year.

The European community for a time felt disgraced by this erratic missionary. Completely disregarding the clamor, George Bowen continued to preach in Marathi and Hindi in

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2 Ingham, op. cit., p. 69.
3 American Board, Annual Report, 1833, p. 50.
5 Ibid.
the streets of Bombay. He engaged in friendly discussions with Indians, as he once described:

I have been considerably interested in a discussion lately carried on with some Parsees. . . . The scene of the debate has been the seaside where the Parsees assemble to worship the sea and the setting sun; and we often had as many as two hundred auditors. We are accustomed to sit down on the sand, the multitude standing about us; and we have sometimes continued disputing till two hours after dark. It shows how much this people are interested in religious discussions.6

The spiritual depth of Bowen's preaching and ministry was later on admired by the European community as well. On his death in 1888, the Times of India, which then represented the British civil and military viewpoint, wrote in an editorial:

His was a work and a personality sui generis, and, in the ordinary acceptance of the word, he can have no successor. The removal of George Bowen marks the close of an epoch in the history of our community. Those who were acquainted with the select spirits who engaged in the first beginning of Christian enterprise in this part of India will recognize in his departure the passing away of the last link that bound the present to that memorable past.7

The big melas (religious fairs) in India afforded a welcome opportunity to missionaries for communicating the


7Quoted by Speer, op. cit., p. 357. Times of India, Feb. 11, 1888. George Bowen, who gave forty years of his life to Bombay (1848-88), was unique in many respects. He never married, he took no furlough, went to no hills for his health. He was known as the "White Saint" of India. See Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. II, p. 540.
truths of Christianity to large groups of people. They mingled with the crowds and preached Christianity. The British Baptists had first used this method by mixing with the crowds of Jagannath worshippers at Puri.\(^8\) American missionaries carried forward this tradition of attending the melas. Time and again, preaching at the Kumbh mela (one of the most important religious fairs in India) at Allahabad and Hardwar in Uttar Pradesh, is mentioned in the records of American Presbyterians and Methodists who were working in northern India. The Annual Report of 1852 of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions stated the usefulness of the melas as follows:

> The melas, or fairs . . . afford an opportunity of addressing many persons from distant places to whom access could not be otherwise gained; and also for the distribution of the holy Scriptures and religious tracts.\(^9\)

The preaching of missionaries served to stimulate the stagnant spirit of inquiry of the Indian population and awaken the Indian mind from its long slumber. They did not fail in pointing their finger of scorn at the inadequacies of Indian religions as well as the cruel aspects of Indian social systems. They were the first to challenge

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\(^8\) Ingham, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

openly the validity of the prevalent religious philosophy and decry the customs of widow celibacy, child marriage, pilgrimages, caste system, idolatry and priesthood. Though they did not succeed immediately in eradicating these evils, yet they succeeded in making them look ridiculous and anachronistic to the thinking and enlightened section of the community. This infusion of a new spirit was a great service rendered by their preaching.

The need for distributing Christian literature and tracts led the American missionaries to engage in printing and publication work. The pioneer missionaries sent by the American Board established a printing press in Bombay as early as 1816. Within two years, the Gospel according to St. Matthew as well as the Acts of the Apostles were translated into Marathi and published. Besides religious publications, they also published textbooks for their schools and helpbooks for learning English. Tracts were enthusiastically distributed since their distribution afforded "the most precious opportunity for preaching the Gospel." 

10 American Board, First Ten Annual Reports, p. 144.
11 Ibid., p. 145.
12 American Board, Annual Report, 1820, p. 16.
13 American Board, Annual Report, 1833, p. 139.
In northern India, the Presbyterian missionaries established printing presses at Ludhiana and Allahabad, from where they published books and tracts in Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi. Deep in the Assam hills, the Baptists established a printing press at Sibsagar in the 1840's. The American Mission Press established at Bareilly by the Methodists was to become one of the largest Christian publishing agencies in northern India.

Through their literary labors, American missionaries made some notable contributions to the growth of linguistic studies and the development of modern Indian and tribal languages. The successful efforts of Mr. Judson in translating the Bible into the Burmese language and in compiling an Anglo-Burmese dictionary have already been noted. American missionaries likewise distinguished themselves in translating the Bible into various Indian languages. Improving upon the imperfect translation of the Bible into Marathi by Carey, Messrs. Hall and Newell, the two pioneers at Bombay, brought out a standard Marathi translation of the

15 Gammell, op. cit., p. 224.
Also Merriam, op. cit., p. 130.
entire Bible in 1826. Messrs. Nathan Brown and A. K. Gurney, American Baptists, brought out an effective translation of the Bible into the Assamese tongue. A standard Assamese-English dictionary was compiled by Dr. Miles Bronson. Messrs. M. C. Mason and E. G. Phillips translated many portions of the Bible into an undeveloped language—the Garo dialect, spoken by the Garo tribesmen of the Assam hills. The New Testament was translated into the Telugu language by Dr. Lyman Jewett, an American Baptist.

Likewise, effective translations of the Bible were made by American Presbyterians into the languages spoken in the Punjab and Northwestern Provinces. Improving upon the translation of William Carey, Dr. John Newton made the most effective translation of the New Testament into Punjabi. He was also the author of a Punjabi grammar and co-author, with Levi Janvier, of a Punjabi dictionary. The Rev. Isador Lowenthal acquired mastery of half a dozen Indian languages. He translated the New Testament into Pushto and

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19 Merriam, op. cit., p. 124.
20 Ibid., p. 221.
21 Ibid., p. 222. Also Richter, op. cit., p. 293.
23 Brown, op. cit., p. 605. Also Presbyterian Board, Annual Report, 1855, p. 89.
had almost finished a Pushlu dictionary when he was ac-
cidentally killed by one of his watchmen. 24

American missionaries also contributed to the
Hindi translation of the Bible. Dr. Joseph Owen, in 1868,
completely revised William Carey's translation of the Old
Testament. 25 Dr. Samuel H. Kellogg collaborated with Dr.
Hooper of Church Missionary Society in a later revision
which met with acceptance at the hands of Hindi scholars. 26

Devotional, secular and polemical literature also
was produced by American missionaries. For example, the
Presbyterian Press of Allahabad published History of the
Jews (in Hindi), Sanskrit Hymns, and Refutation of Mohammedan-
ism in Urdu. 27 Likewise, George Bowen was the author of Life
of Mohammed, which was polemical in nature, while his follow-
ing three works, Daily Meditations, The Amens of Christ and
Love Revealed were noted for their deep devotional theme. 28

American missionary contributions to the growth of
religious journalism were equally impressive. In Assam

24 Brown, op. cit., p. 605.
26 Ibid.
27 Presbyterian Board, Annual Report, 1855, p. 54.
28 Speer, op. cit., p. 295.
the American Baptists published a monthly journal, called the *Orunoday* (The Rising Sun), in the Assamese language.\(^{29}\) From Ludhiana, an Urdu weekly, *Nur Afshan* (The Light), was published.\(^{30}\) From Bombay, four religious journals were published by Americans. The Marathi Mission brought out a religious weekly called the *Gyanoday* (The Rise of Knowledge) in the Marathi language.\(^{31}\) American missionaries cooperated in the management and publication of *The Bombay Witness* and the *Bombay Temperance Advocate*,\(^{32}\) which were published in English.

The journalistic career of George Bowen deserves special mention. He was associated with the publication of *The Bombay Guardian* from the beginning of its publication until his death in 1888. It was begun as a religious weekly paper after the Bombay Missionary Conference of 1850.\(^{33}\) George Bowen, who was its associate editor in the beginning and its editor from 1854 to 1888,\(^{34}\) used to pour out his

\(^{29}\)Gammell, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Also, Merriam, *op. cit.*, p. 130. It was published from Sibsagar since 1846.

\(^{30}\)Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

\(^{31}\)Ibid., p. 605.


\(^{33}\)Ibid.

\(^{34}\)Ibid., p. 242.
heart in its editorials. Along with his religious articles, he wrote a great deal on social and political problems in India. He dealt fearlessly with the great evils of Bombay—the opium traffic, lotteries, liquor licenses, provision of brothels for soldiers, pauperism and child labor in the mills. Mr. Bowen acquired a wide influence by the eminent ability and profound spirituality of his writings. On his death, the *Times of India* commented on his journalistic labors as follows:

His republican sympathies could never blind his vision to the reality of the blessings of the mild despotism by which monarchy rules in India, and our government has often received the support of his independent and fearless pen. . . . Nor was he slow to condemn the actions of those in power when he felt them to be unworthy of the representatives of a great Christian nation. The natives of India will miss his advocacy of their just rights, and the government of Bombay ought to feel the loss of a conscientious critic of its policy. . . . Such writers and such editors are a strength to the public press of any country.36

The literary labors of missionaries helped in the development of the Indian press and the growth of many Indian languages. As Mr. Nehru has pointed out:

The missionaries tackled some of the minor and undeveloped languages and gave them shape and form, compiling grammars and dictionaries for them. They even labored at the dialects of the primitive hill

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36 The *Times of India*, Feb. 11, 1888.
   Quoted by Speer, *George Bowen of Bombay*, p. 359.
and forest tribes and reduced them to writing. The desire of the Christian missionaries to translate the Bible into every possible tongue thus resulted in the development of many Indian languages.32

Looking at the social scene in India, the missionaries found that the caste system was innately opposed to the spirit of Christianity and was a great hindrance to the temporal progress of India. They spared no pains in condemning the system in their preachings and writings. As the Rev. John C. Lowrie wrote:

Here is one great difficulty preventing the conversion of this people to Christianity. To receive the Sacrament of Lord's Supper in company with other communicants, would be a violation of caste, unless the officiating minister and all the communicants were of the same caste. . . . Nor is it less a hindrance to all improvements in the temporal affairs of the people. It is a heavy weight crushing down the spirit of enterprise.38

The status of Indian converts to Christianity in Indian society also highlighted the problems created by caste. Conversion meant a loss of caste and a cessation of all social and material benefits attending it. The convert lost all social connections as well as the right to his property. In many cases, he was rejected even by his family members. In order to save Christian converts from caste persecutions, the missionaries focused the

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38 Lowrie, op. cit., p. 28.
attention of the government on this evil. Their labors resulted in the enactment of the Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850), which laid down that any law or usage which inflicted forfeiture of rights or property, or which might be held to affect any right of inheritance, by reason of anyone being deprived of caste should not be enforceable in the courts of law in British India.\(^3\) This progressive legislation protected converts either to Islam or Christianity from forfeiting rights in consequence of change of creed.

In many cases, missionaries provided their converts with residence and employment in the mission compound to protect them from caste persecutions. In 1856, when the deputation sent by the American Board visited Ahmednagar station of the Marathi Mission, it found that thirty-five families of Indian Christians—consisting of 163 persons—lived in the mission compound and supported themselves by rendering service to the mission.\(^4\) In northern India, Methodists and Presbyterians founded Christian villages and colonies for their converts. The Methodists bought a large

\(^3\) O'Malley, "The Hindu Social System," Modern India and the West, p. 369.

\(^4\) Also, B. B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes, pp. 207-08.

tract of land near Moradabad where they founded a Christian village,\textsuperscript{41} while the United Presbyterians had similar colonies at Sialkot and Gujranwala in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{42}

Missionaries had also to struggle against the persistence of the system in Christian communities. In the beginning, they were inclined to countenance the system or to ignore it among their converts. Even Carey had tolerated caste among his converts in the beginning, but later on he took a firm stand against it when he found that conversion and caste were incompatible in the eyes of orthodox Hindus.\textsuperscript{43} By the 1840's, American missionaries gave up all compromises with the caste system. Its renunciation was made the test of sincerity for conversion. Those who did not renounce it were not allowed to have the privilege of coming to the Lord's table.\textsuperscript{44} In 1847, seventeen members were excluded from the church membership in the Madras Mission on account of their adherence to caste,\textsuperscript{45} while seventy-two were refused the privilege of coming to the Lord's table when the mission commemorated the occasion.\textsuperscript{46}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41}Thoburn, op. cit., p. 272.
\item \textsuperscript{42}Gordon, op. cit., p. 264.
\item \textsuperscript{43}Ingham, op. cit., p. 26.
\item \textsuperscript{45}American Board, Annual Report, 1847, p. 143.
\item \textsuperscript{46}Anderson, op. cit., p. 210.
\end{itemize}
In 1848, the Annual Report of the American Board mission at Madras stated:

The conviction is gaining among our brethren, that a retention of caste by the native is incompatible with a thorough reception of the gospel, and they have acted on this conviction.47

The existence of caste naturally directed the attention of missionaries toward the worst sufferers from the system—the outcasts or untouchables who had been neglected by Hindu society for centuries. Gradually it was realized that something must be done to elevate this unfortunate class. As the Rev. Horace S. Taylor, of Madura Mission put it:

We need to begin, more than we have done, with the poor and the lower castes. That this is in general the doctrine of the gospel, need not be shown at length . . . 'unto the poor the gospel is preached,' are passages universally understood. The higher castes are not ready to enter into the kingdom of heaven . . . the ignorant, oppressed, lower castes enter in before them.48

In many regions, these lowest or depressed classes were found more receptive to the gospel. The Rev. Andrew Gordon found "Chuhras," a caste of scavengers, "willing to be lifted from the dunghill and more teachable in spirit."49

49 Gordon, op. cit., p. 177.
Gradually, many members of these untouchable castes accepted Christianity. In Bombay Presidency, the Mahars were gradually converted by American missionaries, while in northern India, the Mazahabi Sikhs, a caste of sweepers in Moradabad district and Chuhras in the Punjab accepted Christianity. Their young men were educated by missionaries and employed as teachers and preachers.

This type of evangelistic work was to develop after the 1870's into an important pattern known as the mass movements. During the period under review, missionary activity among the depressed classes helped in the gradual rise of a critical approach to the implications of untouchability in Hindu society by highlighting the injustices of the system. Wherever Christian influence was felt, there was a conscious transformation of caste distinctions into less rigid standards. Dr. B. B. Misra believes that missionary activity in conjunction with the judicial administration of the East India Company operated to undermine the caste system.

50 American Board, Annual Report, 1843, p. 117.
51 Thoburn, op. cit., p. 266.
53 Misra, The Indian Middle Classes, p. 199.
his words:

Missionary activity was creating a class of Indian Christians, conscious of a superior status, by virtue of education and political influence. Its tendency was to cut across caste and set in motion a process of social mobility.54

The credit for introducing the modern system of education in India goes to the Christian missionaries. St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary from Portugal, was the great pioneer in education.55 The Danish missionaries who appeared on the scene in the eighteenth century evinced a keen interest in education. The educational zeal of missionaries like Ziegenbalg, Grundler, Schultz, Fabricius, Schwartz, Briercliffe and Kiernander has been highly praised by modern historians.56 In the early nineteenth century, this tradition was carried forward by British and American missionaries.

Education was emphasized by American missionaries from the very beginning. As early as 1814, the Rev. Gordon Hall wrote to the home board:

A school should be attached to every mission, and that special pains should be taken to impress the

54Ibid., p. 200.
minds of children with the pure sentiments of Christianity. . . . It would prepare the children to read the Scriptures . . . in their own language. . . . The early and familiar use of tracts as school books would enlighten their minds and weaken their heathen notions and prejudices as to render their conversion more hopeful than that of any other class of heathen.57

Education was thus designed to spread knowledge as well as to serve as a good praeparatio evangelica.

Schools were opened in Bombay from the very beginning. Within five years of their arrival, American missionaries in Bombay were running twenty-five schools where 1400 children were being taught reading, writing and arithmetic along with the fundamental principles of Christianity in Marathi language.58 The teachers in these schools were mostly non-Christians, while missionaries endeavored to impress the truths of Christianity upon the minds of the pupils.59 Besides these primary schools, American missionaries, in 1817, opened one of the earliest English schools in the Bombay Presidency.60 By 1832, American missionary

58 Henry Huizunga, Missionary Education in India (Published Dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, no date, no place), p. 16. Also, American Board, First Ten Annual Reports, p. 214.
59 Ibid., p. 215.
60 McCully, op. cit., p. 51.
schools in Bombay had reached the number of thirty-two, with 1,940 pupils.  

From the 1830's onward, missionary education in India received a powerful impetus from the personality of Dr. Alexander Duff who came to India as a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. Dr. Duff came with a profound conviction that a thorough English education would lead to the Christianization as well as the material improvement of India. In 1835, he declared:

> Every branch of western knowledge would destroy some corresponding part of the Hindu system, and so one stone after another would be thrown from the huge and hideous fabric of Hinduism.

Just after his arrival, Dr. Duff opened the first missionary school which provided a thorough liberal education through the medium of English. He was enthusiastically supported in his effort by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. His school became very successful and popular. It also served his

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63 Quoted by O'Malley, Modern India and the West, p. 671.

64 Nurullah and Naik, op. cit., p. 175. Also, Smith, Life of A. Duff, Vol. I, p. 120.
missionary purpose admirably. Within a few years, he was able to convert nearly a dozen brilliant young men from the high castes in Calcutta. Among the missionary circles, his views were widely accepted, and after the Minutes of Macaulay and Bentinck, they were accepted, although with some reservations, in official quarters as well.

Dr. Duff's ideas provided such an impulse to missionary education that in 1854 the largest part of educational enterprise in India was provided, not by the Company, but by the missionaries. Richter has rightly remarked that "the quarter century 1830-1857 was the age of the mission school" in India. America missionaries played a significant role in this enthusiastic promotion of English education through the mission school.

Missionaries of the American Board pushed forward in Bombay and Madras Presidencies. During the 1830's they opened elementary English schools at Bombay and Ahmadnagar.

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67 Nurullah and Naik, op. cit., p. 179.
68 Richter, op. cit., p. 183.
which soon developed into high schools. A similar English-teaching school was opened by them at Pasumalai near Madura in 1845.

Some of the newly arrived American societies displayed great enthusiasm in spreading English education. The representatives of the American Presbyterian Board engaged vigorously in educational work from the very beginning. They opened some of the first English-teaching schools in the Punjab and northwestern provinces. Their schools at Ludhiana and Saharanpur were opened in 1834. With extraordinary optimism they introduced secondary departments in both institutions and laid down a redoubtable program of studies embracing English literature and grammar, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, surveying, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, geography, logic, evidences of Christianity, the Bible, universal history, English history, Indian history and political economy. Undeterred by the disposition of the pupils to withdraw from schools as soon as they had learned enough English to apply for government jobs,


72Ibid., p. 102.
the Board persevered, founding many English schools in the important cities of the Punjab and northwestern provinces.\textsuperscript{73} When the government of the northwestern provinces withdrew from educational operations in Allahabad and Farrukhabad, as a friendly gesture to missionary education, the Presbyterian missionaries took over the government schools in both cities, with their building and equipment and organized high schools with provisions for a liberal education in English, mathematics, philosophy and training in vernaculars.\textsuperscript{74} Gradually they opened a network of English high schools in cities like Jalandhar, Ambala, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Fatehgarh, Mainpurie, Dehradun, and Sabatthu.\textsuperscript{75}

Some other American societies also contributed to this process. The Lutherans opened an Anglo-vernacular school in Rajahmundry,\textsuperscript{76} while the United Presbyterians were managing English schools at Sialkot\textsuperscript{77} and Gujranwala\textsuperscript{78} in the Punjab. In 1869, the Rev. Dall, the Unitarian missionary, claimed that twenty-two hundred pupils had been taught


\textsuperscript{74}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{75}Ibid. Also, National Archives of India, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 333.

\textsuperscript{76}Drach, \textit{The Telugu Mission}, p. 65.

\textsuperscript{77}Gordon, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 207.

\textsuperscript{78}Ibid., p. 395.
in the six English schools, managed by the mission in Calcutta. 79

A distinguished contribution to the cause of western education and higher learning was made by the opening of a college in Lahore. In 1865, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church decided at its annual meeting:

As it has seemed desirable that there should be an institution in the mission at which a higher education should be given than was aimed for in our other schools, the addition of a college department to the school in Lahore was proposed. 80

The Rev. Dr. Charles Forman was the moving spirit behind this venture and he naturally became its first principal. Under his leadership, the college prospered and the first group of students passed the B.A. examination in 1869. 81 Through his educational activities, Dr. Forman profoundly influenced the Punjab, and the college, on his death in 1894, was named the Forman Christian College. 82 He was widely respected and


80 Quoted by Brown, op. cit., p. 608.


82 Ibid.
loved as can be seen from the following comment of an Indian newspaper:

No foreigner has ever entered the Punjab who has done so much for the Punjab as Padre Forman Sahib. 83

Although the missionary interest in English education continued to mount, yet vernacular schooling remained the keystone of their educational policy. Recognizing the supreme importance of vernacular education they always emphasized the need for elementary education of the masses. The emphasis on vernacular education seems to have increased by the 1850's, in some American societies. In 1854, a deputation was sent by the Prudential Committee of the American Board to India to find out how far English schools were suitable for purposes of the Mission. 84 The deputation in its report recommended against the continuation of English schools. 85

They said:

The English language is made too great an extent the medium of communicating instruction. Past experience has seemed to show that such schools are not the most efficient instruments in forwarding the great work of missions, that of making known the gospel to the heathen. . . . The vernacular of any people is believed to be the most suitable language in which to communicate truth . . . and affect the heart. 86

83Quoted by Brown, op. cit., p. 567.
85Ibid., pp. 28-35.
86Ibid., p. 34.
On the recommendations made by the deputation, schools teaching English in Marathi and Madura missions of the Board were closed in 1856 for two decades. This policy of the American Board was not subscribed to by all missionaries. The Rev. R.G. Wilder, in his book *Mission Schools in India*, published in 1861, openly protested against this policy, and tried to show the usefulness of English schools. He brought out the argument that:

> English schools have proved most effective in bringing the higher and better classes under the influence of the missionary and of the Gospel.

The reaction against English schools was also manifest in the educational policy of the American Baptists and Reformed Dutch Church of America. In their missions, vernacular teaching through primary schools was emphasized and English schools were not opened. A deputation sent by the Baptist Foreign Missionary Union in 1854 recommended such a step. The missionaries

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89Ibid., p. 47.

of the Reformed Dutch Church at Arcot declared:

We instruct them (children) only through the vernacular languages. We strive to impart to them that education, which . . . shall . . . make them useful men and useful Christians.91

A Conference on Missions, held in 1860 at Liverpool also recommended that "vernacular schools should be increased in number, and the efforts in the direction of English schools should not be carried too far."92

For the purpose of promoting vernacular education, a considerable number of primary schools were maintained by all American societies in their missions both in rural and urban areas.93 The Rev. Butler reports that Protestant missions were maintaining 1,562 vernacular day schools in India and Ceylon in the year 1862.94 Trained supervisors were also maintained by missionaries for inspecting these schools.95

The credit for pioneering the cause of female education in the early nineteenth century goes to

91 American Board, Annual Report, 1856, p. 162.


93 Barclay, op. cit., p. 483. Also, George Drach, Our Church Abroad, p. 83.

94 Butler, op. cit., p. 530.

95 Brown, op. cit., p. 568.
Christian missionaries. In 1818, Mr. Forsyth of the London Missionary Society opened a little girls' school at Chinsurah, the Dutch settlement in Bengal.  

A year later, a number of English ladies founded the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society which maintained half a dozen schools for girls in Calcutta. The British Foreign School Society sent Miss Cooke (later Mrs. Wilson) to organize school for girls in 1821. Within two years, she succeeded in establishing twenty-three schools in Calcutta and surrounding villages and she was enthusiastically supported by some Hindu leaders as well. One Mr. Baidonath Roy gave her the sum of Rs. 20,000 for the construction of a central school which became the nucleus of Mrs. Wilson's activities.

On the west coast of India, the American missionaries were doing the pioneering job during the same decade. The first girls' school in the Bombay Presidency was opened by them in 1824 and two years later they reported an increase of nine girls' schools with

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96 Malley, op. cit., p. 687.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
an aggregate attendance of 340 pupils.\footnote{J.A. Richey, \textit{Selections from Educational Records}, Part II 1840-1859 (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1922), p. 50. Also, Nurulla & Naik, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 167.} Cynthia Farrar was the first lady sent to organize and superintend the girls' schools.\footnote{American Board Files, "Development of Social Work . . . in Marathi Mission," Vol. XXXIX, Mss. 16. Also, American Board, \textit{Annual Report}, 1833, p. 49.} At Byculla, Bombay, a boarding school for girls was also maintained.\footnote{Richey, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 50. Also, Nurulla & Naik, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 167.} Similar institutions were opened in Ahmednagar by the same mission in 1831.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}} Gopal Krishna Gokhale rightly paid a high tribute to the pioneering labors of American missionaries for female education in his speech at the Education Congress in 1895:

> The credit for making the first organized effort to educate Indian girls belongs to the American missionary society which opened in 1824 the first native girls' school in Bombay.\footnote{Quoted by James S. Dennis, \textit{Christian Missions and Social Progress}, Vol. II (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897), p. 180.}

The lead given by American missionaries in Bombay was soon followed by the Free Church of Scotland and the Church Missionary Society which opened schools for girls.
soon after in Bombay and other cities of the Presidency. In Madras Presidency, the missionaries of the Scottish Church opened the first girls' schools.

Other American societies likewise carried forward the effort for spreading education among Indian women. In 1859, the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church opened the first girls' school in northwestern provinces at Dehradun, which had the distinction of sending the first woman, Miss Chandramukhi Bose, to appear in the entrance examination of the Calcutta University. The United Presbyterians opened girls' schools at Sialkot and Gujranwala in the Punjab, while the Lutherans had a girls' school at Guntur in Madras Presidency. In the far north in the Himalayan foothills, the Methodists had a school at Nainital, while the Unitarian missionary, the Rev. Dall, was managing a Hindu girls' school in Calcutta.

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106 O'Malley, op. cit., p. 688.
107 Brown, op. cit., p. 583.
109 Drach, the Telugu Mission, p. 65.
110 Barclay, op. cit., p. 467.
111 Dall, op. cit., p. 180. Also, National Archives of India, op. cit., p. 331.
Mr. O'Malley has correctly observed that "female education in the first half of the nineteenth century was the child of no one but the missionaries." Their pioneering labors provided an impulse for the government and indigenous bodies to found more schools for Indian girls. In 1849, John Drinkwater Bethune founded a school in Calcutta, which was subsequently taken over by the government and developed into the first college for women in India. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, a famous Sanskrit scholar of Bengal and a social reformer, founded forty girls' schools in the 1850's. The Brahma Samajists in Bengal and Parsees on the west coast gradually began to take an active interest in female education. But the missionaries were to maintain their lead in this sphere much longer.

In the history of modern education in India, early mission schools occupy an important place. They represented a new and more efficient system of education than what prevailed in India. Firstly, they imparted religious training according to the tenets of Christianity. Secondly, they introduced a wider

112 O'Malley, op. cit., p. 688.
113 Ibid.
curriculum including subjects like grammar, history and geography, hitherto unknown in India. Missionaries were the first to write and print school textbooks and introduce regular school hours; their schools were closed on Sundays. Many of their schools were better staffed than the indigenous schools. Therefore, the introduction of new ideas in Indian education was a great service rendered by them.

From the very beginning, educational work of missionaries was highly appreciated. As early as 1825, the inhabitants of Bombay formed a regular association for supporting the American mission schools. When the school for girls was opened, this association presented a donation of more than $300.00 to the missionaries. Some Indian rulers supported the missionaries in their educational efforts. Maharaja Daleep Singh of the Punjab established and supported ten of the schools managed by American Presbyterians. Schools also

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115Basu, op. cit., p. 22.
116Ibid.
118Ibid.
served the missionary purpose by leading some young men to Christ and by making a larger number interested in Christianity. The Rev. Lowrie found that many times Indian students who were Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs initiated the religious discussions and carried them on with interest for hours. The educational work of missions was, therefore, highly rewarding.

In the realm of social reform, the missionaries evinced a growing interest in the progress of Indian women. Zenana evangelism which was designed to spread Christian ideals and enlightenment among the purdah women was part of this program. In 1840, Dr. Thomas Smith, a Scottish missionary, wrote an article in the Calcutta Observer, in which he pleaded that the only way of reaching the women of India was personally to seek them out in the Zenanas and there to give them Christian instruction. It was not until fifteen years later when John Fordyce and his wife took steps to translate Smith's program into action. They enlisted a

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120Lowrie, op. cit., pp. 31-32. Also, Brown, op. cit., p. 607.

121Richter, op. cit., p. 338. Note: A Zenana is that portion of the household in India where women live in seclusion. Zenana evangelism, therefore, meant visiting the ladies in the Zenanas by lady missionaries.

122Ibid., p. 340.
Eurasian lady, Miss Toogood, for visiting the zenanas in Calcutta. Soon after many missionaries' wives devoted themselves with great zeal to the work.

Women in America also responded to the needs of Zenana evangelism. In 1860, a "Women's Union Missionary Society" was founded in New York on an inter-denominational basis, through the efforts of Mrs. Doremus. Miss Britain was sent the same year as its first representative. She, after organizing the work of the Society in Calcutta and neighborhood, left India for Japan. In the late 60's and early 70's, various denominations constituted their Foreign Women's Missionary Societies in America. Their representatives in India rendered valuable service to the cause of the progress of women between 1870 and 1910.

Zenana evangelism was in its infancy in American missions during the period under review. It was mainly carried on by Bible-women and missionaries' wives.

123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
125 Ibid.
126 Ibid.
127 Presbyterian Board, Annual Report, 1870, p. 29.
As the Annual Report of the American Board stated in 1870:

For the last few years several women have been employed to read the Scriptures, and converse with companies of women, as they can be gathered in private houses, or some quiet place by the wayside. Such labors faithfully carried on can not fail to do much good. 128

This type of work served to introduce a new outlook in the secluded Zenanas. It stimulated new subjects of thought and fresh themes of conversation. It helped to generate those tendencies which ultimately led to the emancipation of Indian women. As Mrs. H. Gray has put it:

The position of Indian women had been static for centuries till western rulers, missionaries, Orientalists began to trouble the waters. First a tiny ripple disturbed the dead level, then fresh currents began to flow into the river. Now the whole surface is moving, breaking down the sluices and overflowing the ancient banks. 129

Missionary activity in conjunction with western liberalism provided an impulse to Indian reformers for carrying on agitation for improving the lot of Indian women. The first Indian champion was Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, whose courageous agitation resulted

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128 American Board, Annual Report, 1870, p. 56.
129 Gray, op. cit., p. 483.
in the passing of an Act in 1856 legalizing the re-marriage of widows. 130 The suppression of sati in 1829 by Lord William Bentinck had likewise been supported by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. 131 Another legislative step in 1860 raised the age of consent for married and unmarried girls to ten. 132 Thus, legislative tendencies for the progress of women were set in motion.

Missionaries were the first to organize orphanages for girls and boys. Their activity in this sphere marks the beginning of organized social work in India. After the famine of 1837, American Presbyterians saved hundreds of orphans and established orphanages for their care at Farrukhabad, Allahabad, Saharanpur and Ludhiana. 133 Their orphanages for girls in the last three of these cities also functioned as schools for girls. 134 The United Presbyterians had orphanages for girls at Sialkot and Gujranwala in the Punjab. 135 The Methodists established a large orphanage for girls at

Bareilly, where useful training was given to girls.\(^{136}\)

The orphanages for boys, likewise, did useful work. Several of them were established in different cities in northern India. The Methodists opened a large orphanage at Shahjehanpur, where 500 boys were cared for.\(^{137}\) The Presbyterians had more than one institution established in cities like Saharanpur, Farrukhabad,\(^{138}\) Sialkot and Gurudaspur.\(^{139}\) Far east in the Assam hills, the Baptists had an institution at Nowgong, where they gave the inmates useful training for catechists and preachers.\(^{140}\)

The work done in orphanages was without question an expression of the spirit of "disinterested benevolence." Sometimes small girls were rescued by the British civil servants from low and immoral surroundings and consigned to the loving care of missionaries.\(^{141}\) The boys and girls trained in these orphanages were not

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\(^{136}\) Butler, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 521-525.

\(^{137}\) Barclay, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 480. Also, Thoburn, \textit{India and Malaysia}, p. 268.

\(^{138}\) Brown, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 576.

\(^{139}\) Gordon, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 209.

\(^{140}\) Merriam, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 146.

\(^{141}\) Gordon, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 183.
only saved from starvation and degradation but were moulded into useful citizens and Christian workers. It was in these orphanages that the first beginnings of industrial training were made by American missionaries. The Presbyterian missionaries started a tent factory in their Rakha orphanage at Farrukhabad, while at Saharanpur, they taught shoemaking, carpentry, blacksmithing and stone cutting to the inmates. This type of work taught them dignity of labor and helped to make them independent workers. The Conference on Missions held in Liverpool in 1860 rightly commented upon the usefulness of orphanage work:

In some countries, especially in India where caste is so powerful, orphan and boarding schools, in which young people have been brought up ..., have been found greatly useful in the conversion of their scholars, and in securing well-instructed native agents for the service of the mission.

When modern medical institutions in India were few and far between, and the sufferings of the people were immense, missionaries provided some relief to the suffering through their medical activities. "All that we have as yet done," wrote Sir William Sleeman in 1839,

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142 Brown, op. cit., p. 576. Also, Presbyterian Board, Annual Report, 1854, p. 36.
143 Brown, op. cit., p. 571.
"has been to provide medical attendants for our European officers, regiments and jails." For the great mass of the people there were no modern medical facilities. There were indigenous physicians who helped people through their medicines, but who hardly knew any surgery. Ignorant people in many places believed that every European was skilled in the art of surgery and flocked round travellers and touring officials imploring their aid.

For the purpose of helping people, the missionaries equipped themselves with some medical knowledge. Messrs. Hall and Newell took a short training course in Philadelphia before their departure for India in February, 1812. Likewise, the Presbyterian missionaries, Messrs. John Newton and James R. Campbell, acquired some medical knowledge before their departure in 1836. The former carried a number of books on medicine and surgery which he diligently read during his long voyage around the Cape. On reaching Calcutta, he obtained a good supply of medicines. He soon found

145 Quoted by O'Malley, op. cit., p. 636.
146 Ibid.
147 American Board, First Ten Annual Reports, p. 34.
himself at his headquarters in Ludhiana in the midst of a regular medical practice.149

The first fully qualified American medical missionary was Dr. John Scudder, who went to Jaffna, Ceylon in 1819.150 After spending thirty years in Ceylon, Dr. Scudder started a medical mission in Madras where he worked until his death in 1854.151 He left behind not only a medical mission, but a family of missionaries—his seven sons became missionaries in India.152 One of them, Dr. Henry M. Scudder, was also an eminent medical missionary at Arcot.153 The American Board sent Messrs. John Steele, Charles Sheldon and Nathan L. Lord as medical missionaries who worked at the dispensary at Madura during the period under review.154

The care of lepers was an important branch of

149Brown, op. cit., p. 633.
151Ibid.
153Sherring, op. cit., p. 365. Also, American Board, Annual Report, 1851, p. 103.
medical activity. Missionaries were the only people to care for the unfortunate sufferers of this disease. Dr. Carey had the distinction of founding the first refuge of lepers in Calcutta. He was succeeded in this work by Dr. Ribbentrop, one of Gossner's missionaries, who not only founded an asylum but who also, personally and in the most self-sacrificing manner, took his share of tending the sufferers, binding up their wounds and burying their dead. In the 1840's, Captain J. Ramsay founded an asylum at Almora which he handed over to the London Missionary Society. American Presbyterians founded leper asylums first at Ambala and then at Sabathu in the Punjab. The latter was founded by Dr. John Newton, Jr., who was its superintendent for twenty years (1860-1880). Dr. Newton was widely respected as a medical missionary. He became a specialist on leprosy and was one of the pioneers in the study of Chaulmugra oil as a remedy of

156 Richter, op. cit., p. 356.
157 Ibid.
159 Brown, op. cit., p. 633.
this disease. He was the first medical missionary to do itinerant medical work, always accompanying the treatment of the patient with the preaching of the gospel. It was by virtue of the benign nature of his work that he succeeded in making a deep impression on the public mind, as can be seen from the following comment of an Indian newspaper: "Dr. Newton preached the true gospel of faith and works."161

Medical missionary work was still in its infancy during the period under review. In 1857, there were only six medical missionaries in the whole of India.162 The real foundation of this work was laid during the twenty-five years succeeding the mutiny, when the number of medical missionaries gradually increased.163 Yet, in view of the desperate needs of India, whatever was done by missionaries was of great significance.

The decades between 1810 and 1870 thus saw the introduction, foundation and growth of American Protestant missions in India. The period was marked by the

160 Ibid.
161 Ibid.
163 Richter, op. cit., p. 347.
initial development of methods and policies in several directions. Sure foundations for future work were undoubtedly laid. The pioneering work by missionaries in many areas was gradually to lead to the betterment of social conditions. The modern type of education to which American missionaries made a significant contribution, gradually led to the emergence of a new India with a progressive outlook. The beginnings of organized social work under their auspices served to provide object lessons to social workers in India.\textsuperscript{164}

In the purely evangelistic field, the methods adopted were largely aggressive, reflecting the westerners' belief in the superiority of their culture. This attitude was reflected in sermons, speeches and books which were generally condemnatory of Indian religions and society. A frontal attack on Hinduism, all along the line, but with special attention to the higher castes, was the order of the day.\textsuperscript{165} Evangelical zeal sometimes led to religious propaganda of a "crude character."\textsuperscript{166} As O'Malley puts it, "it was customary in the early part of the nineteenth century for members

\begin{footnotes}
\item[164]D.S. Sarma, \textit{The Renaissance of Hinduism} (Benares Hindu University, 1944), p. 639.
\item[165]Arthur Mayhew, "Christian Ethic and India," \textit{Modern India and the West}, p. 325.
\item[166]O'Malley, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 670.
\end{footnotes}
of Protestant missions to refer to Muhammad as a false prophet and to Hinduism as a mass of idolatry, superstition and ignorance. \footnote{167} Back in the United States also missionary writings and sermons reflected this attitude. \footnote{168} Dr. W. Norman Brown believes that the reporting of returned missionaries which, to a large extent influenced the American public's conceptions of India, was not always happy. \footnote{169}

This was mainly because the missionaries of this period were ardently evangelistic and were sincerely desirous of helping the people "without necessarily understanding them." \footnote{170} They were also generally influenced by the views of British Evangelicals whose zeal and enthusiasm for reforming India, they largely shared.

\footnote{167} Malley, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 670.


Besides, their own observations in India many times served to confirm them in their opinions. They were repelled by some of the external forms of popular Hinduism which appeared to them irrational and superstitious. As a result, their views of Indian culture and society appear similar to those of Grant, Wilberforce and Buchanan. India's salvation in their eyes depended on what the west could give, and particularly on the Bible. Their prescription, therefore, demanded a departure from all that Hinduism involved rather than an adaptation and refinement of Hindu thought and customs. 171

It must be remembered that missionaries were also creatures of their own times and were bound to reflect the general tendencies of the period. Although by no means ignorant of Indian religious system, yet they were not expert scholars devoting themselves to a diligent study of Indian philosophy. Comparative religion as a scientific branch of study had not yet developed. 172 Scholarly study of Hindu philosophy had not yet come in vogue. Therefore, they were not likely to appreciate fully the higher reaches of Hindu religious thought, as


they became inclined to do later on. In the words of D.S. Sarma, "they were unable to penetrate the outer covering of Hinduism which had grown thick during the middle ages."173

The stress on presenting Christianity in its western garb was also strong during the period. The missionaries were anxious to make Indian Christians as western as possible. Children in orphanages were dressed in western clothes, converts were given western or biblical names and imitated their pastors in food, dress and deportment.174 These tendencies served to create rather unhappy images of Christianity in the Hindu mind. As the Rev. J.C. Gangooly, a Brahman who became a Unitarian minister, writing in 1860, said:

The Hindoo's impression of Christianity is this: that in order to become a Christian it is essentially necessary that a young man should treat his parents unkindly, eat animal food, such as beef, pork, ham, etc., which the Hindoos detest, drink wine . . . and forsake all things which bear the name of Hindoo, however beautiful they are.175

Despite the prevalence of these tendencies, it will be wrong to suppose that missionaries were hostile

173Sarma, op. cit., p. 637.
175Quoted by O'Malley, op. cit., p. 674.
to India or that all their writings were denunciatory in nature. One comes across expressions of warmth and friendliness for India in contemporary American missionary literature. Writing in 1848, Dr. H.M. Scudder, missionary at Arcot, said:

I love India. . . . I love her people. I repudiate as a calumny many things that have been said of this country. . . . The Hindoos are an interesting people. They are kind and polite . . . they generally carry themselves toward the missionaries with much civility. The better classes of them have a great deal of dignity.176

George Bowen of Bombay expressed a similar opinion:

There is very much that is pleasing and attractive in the native character . . . and we would much rather hear them commended than hear them disparaged as they often are by men who have enough faults of their own to answer for.177

Emotionally not being involved with the political fortunes of Great Britain in India, American missionaries, even during this period, expressed impartial judgments on the British rule. Writing in 1850, the Rev. John C. Lowrie, of the Presbyterian Board, said:

It must be admitted, however, that the Hindus are losers under their present government in one important matter, though it is difficult to form an accurate opinion of their disadvantages. The revenues of the East India Company and the income


177Quoted by Robert E. Speer, George Bowen of Bombay, p. 321.
of their servants are not all spent in India; nor does commerce restore to the Hindus what they lose by this constant drain of their pecuniary means. . . . About seventeen million dollars, it is stated, are annually remitted to England, being rather more than one-sixth of the whole amount of taxes paid to the British by the Hindus. 178

Likewise, the missionaries appreciated the interest of the Indian people in religious discussions and expressed such an opinion in many a communication. 179

The labors of missionaries were being rewarded gradually. Protestant Christianity was making slow but steady advance. By 1851, there were 90,092 Protestant Christians 180 in India, while in 1871, their number reached 224,258. 181 Conversions were largely from the lower castes, but members of higher castes were also converted. 182 High caste conversions, especially of educated persons, used to create a sensation in the local Hindu society. When Dr. Duff converted some brilliant young men from high castes, there was an unprecedented excitement in Calcutta. 183 Likewise in Bombay, the

178 Lowrie, op. cit., pp. 31-32.


180 Mayhew, op. cit., p. 325.

181 Richter, op. cit., p. 219.

182 American Board, Annual Report, 1832, p. 42.

183 Richter, op. cit., p. 184.
conversion of Narayan Sheshadri, an educated Brahman in 1843, created a stir in the whole of western India.\textsuperscript{184}

Temporary resentment and panic were also sometimes created by conversions.\textsuperscript{185} In 1840, when three Parsee students were converted by Dr. John Wilson in Bombay, some prominent Parsees (including relations of the boys), instituted a legal suit against him for converting immature young men.\textsuperscript{186} But the High Court of Bombay, and later on the Privy Council, both decided in his favor.\textsuperscript{187} Likewise, mission schools were temporarily deserted after some conversions, only to be refilled again.\textsuperscript{188}

The response of the Indian people in general to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{184}J.N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India (London: MacMillan & Co., 1929), p. 75.
\item \textsuperscript{186}American Board, Annual Report, 1840, pp. 115-117.
\end{itemize}
missionary activity was friendly. No doubt, temporary resentment was caused by some denunciatory article or preaching by missionaries, but it never stayed long. Moreover, the Indian press in this connection was by no means innocent. It also published articles attacking Christianity on the basis of Thomas Paine or Voltaire.\footnote{American Board, Annual Report, 1845, p. 127.} Provided the missionaries abstained from virulent attacks, there was little hostility to missions.\footnote{Malley, op. cit., p. 670.} Alarm was, however, created if rumors of government interference with the religious system were spread. The people were not afraid of their religions being subverted by argument, but they were intensely afraid of them being overthrown by the power of the state.\footnote{Ibid.} Vague fears of this kind were undoubtedly responsible in part for the mutiny of 1857.\footnote{Ibid.} As a missionary writing in 1858 pointed out, "few missionary stations were attacked as 'missionary', but because they were foreign."\footnote{The Revolt of the Sepoys," The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Philadelphia: Published by Peter Walker, 1858), p. 37.} The unfortunate massacre of eight American missionaries...
was caused because the mutineers could not distinguish between Americans and British, who were both foreigners to them. Therefore, preaching of Christianity per se was very little disliked or resented in an essentially religious country like India; neither was there any noticeable hostility to American missions as such.

The indirect results of early missionary activity were very important. The beauty of Christian thought and ethics had begun to appeal to intelligent and thinking minds. The very first example of this influence was Raja Ram Mohan Roy himself. Although he rejected the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, yet he admired His ethical teachings. In the preface to his Precepts of Jesus (1820), he said:

This simple code of religion and of morality is so admirably calculated to elevate man's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, . . . and is also well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form.

He founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828 as a purificatory movement to cleanse Hinduism of the errors,

194 A. J. Brown, op. cit., p. 584.
which had crept into its body since the post-Vedic period. He made it clear that he had complete sympathy with the imperishable treasures of the past, but fought against popular idolatry and other pernicious customs. He himself said:

The ground which I took in all my controversies was not that of opposition to Brahmanism but to the perversion of it; and I endeavored to show that the idolatry of the Brahmans was contrary to the practice of their ancestors and the principle of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey.\textsuperscript{197}

The Brahmo Samaj was therefore both an attempt to found a spiritual movement on a genuine Hindu foundation as well as a new creation, finding the sources of its vitality in Christian faith and practice.\textsuperscript{198}

Another attempt to reform Hinduism from within was made in western India. In 1867, a theistic society called the Prarthana Samaj (Society for Prayer) was formed. The inspirational source of the Prarthana Samaj was not so strongly western in flavor as that of the Brahmo Samaj. It was opposed to idolatry, but drew its nourishment very largely from the Hindu Scriptures, and used the hymns of the old Maratha poets in its

\textsuperscript{197}Quoted by S. Radhakrishnan, "Hinduism and the West," Modern India and the West, p. 344.

\textsuperscript{198}Farquhar, op. cit., p. 29.
services. Theistic worship and social reform were the main concerns of the Prarthana Samaj. It advocated the abandonment of caste, the introduction of widow remarriage, the encouragement of female education and the abolition of child marriage. One of its founders, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, was a personal friend of Dr. John Wilson, missionary of the Church of Scotland, and had been deeply influenced by him. Indirectly, therefore, early missionary activity helped to release forces for religious and social reform.

In the final analysis, the early missionaries, as Dr. Furber has put it, "had the welfare of the Indian population primarily at heart." They were the only westerners who were impelled to go to India, for other than worldly motives. As Henry Beveridge, an eminent civil servant in India, pointed out in 1869:

We firmly believe that missionaries are mistaken when they imagine that they will ever convert the Hindoos, but nonetheless do we believe them to be honest and God-fearing men, who have indirectly done a great deal of good in India. . . . Nearly all of them are excellent linguists. . . . Above all, the missionaries are the only

199 Farquhar, op. cit., p. 78.

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid.

202 Furber, John Company at Work, p. 331.
Europeans who come to India for other purposes than to make a fortune or earn a livelihood.203

Early missionary activity (1813-1870), therefore, greatly strengthened the forces of westernization and change in India. Missionaries were apostles of the west as well as the pure spirit of Christ.204 They formed an important channel by which western values and western knowledge were poured into India and spread through the spray of many mission stations all over the country. Their work greatly aided the efforts of liberal administrators, rationalist Europeans and Indian reformers who were trying to transform India on western lines. Their very presence on the Indian soil served to foster the western outlook and awaken Indian society from its age-long torpor.

203Quoted by Lord Beveridge, India Called Them (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1947), p. 44.
204Spear, Oxford History of India, Part III, p. 724.
PART II

AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN INDIA 1870-1910

CHAPTER IV

EVANGELISTIC POLICIES OF AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN INDIA BETWEEN 1870 AND 1910

A remarkable change came over American Protestant thought between 1870 and 1910. This was the shift of emphasis from the regeneration of the individual to that of society through the Christian gospel. Though Christianity always had a definite social element right from its inception, in the earlier period the emphasis had been on the salvation of the individual. By the 1880's, the idea that not only the individual but all of society should be recreated through Christian love and benevolence found concrete expression in American Protestant thought. It was emphasized that the teachings of Jesus had a message not only for the individual, but for his whole environment—social, moral and economic.

The increased emphasis on the social aspects of Christianity had its origin in the thinking and activities of the liberal theologians of this period. It
came to be called the "Social-Gospel" and is regarded as America's "Unique Contribution to the great ongoing stream of Christianity."¹ The social gospel was defined by one of its leaders as "the application of the teachings of Jesus and the total message of Christian Salvation to Society, the economic life, and social institutions . . . as well as to individuals."²

This indigenous and typically American movement came into being through the impact of modern industrial society and scientific thought upon the Protestantism of the United States during the half century following the civil war.³ The great liberalizer of mid-nineteenth century American theology was Horace Bushnell, from whom the social gospel of Washington Gladden, George D. Herron and Lyman Abbott was to stem directly.⁴ In the 1880's, this thought-current was channelled into a fairly definite school of leading Progressive theologians. Among them were the faculty of Andover Theological Seminary,

²Ibid., p. 3.
³Ibid.
whose "Progressive orthodoxy" was widely circulated in the Andover Review, founded in 1884. The prophet of this movement was Rev. Theodore Thornton Munger, Pastor of the New Haven United Congregational Church, who declared that the old theology was "remote from actual life." Rev. Josiah Strong also came to be a leader in this movement after the publication of his book, Our Country, in 1885.

The greatest exponent of the social gospel in American Protestantism was Rev. Walter Rauschenbush (1861-1918), Professor of Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary, who wrote Christianity and the Social Crisis in 1907 and three other works afterwards, in which he gave a classic statement of the social gospel.

As a result of the thought and activities of these progressive theologians and pastors, the social aspects of Christianity came to the forefront of the religious activities of the age. The movement took root and grew most vigorously among Unitarians, Congregationalists and Episcopalians--three American religious

\[5^\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 62.}\]
\[6^\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 260.}\]
\[7^\text{Ibid.}, \text{also Sweet, op. cit., p. 505.}\]
\[8^\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 215, also Beard, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 420.}\]
bodies inheriting the state-church tradition of responsibility for public morals.9

Later in this period, the social aspects of Christianity began to be stressed by leaders of Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and other denominational bodies whose heritage was pietistic and separatist.10 The social gospel of this group was marked by an evangelical fervor looking toward a Kingdom of God raised on earth by a consecrated group of individuals.11

The social gospel exerted a definitely ethical influence upon the conceptions of God, Man, Sin, Salvation, and other doctrines. It proposed a new and realistic view of sin in terms of the implications of a solidaristic society.12 It took account of social facts such as environment and the mores.

Social Christianity began to arouse interest in the 1870's in American divinity schools. It was pioneered effectively at Harvard and at Andover. It became fairly widespread in the early nineties.13 It enlarged the concept of sin from mere heresy or personal vice to

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9 Ibid., p. 318.
10 Ibid., p. 321. Also Beard, op. cit., p. 421.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., p. 167. Also Sweet, op. cit., p. 505.
include what Rauschenbush called "the supernatural forces of evil," pointing out, at the same time, the responsibility of the members of society for its corporate sins.\textsuperscript{14}

Social Christianity expressed itself in concrete forms in the enlarged social activities of the American Protestant churches. A vast literature consisting of books, magazines, essays, and study courses, was created for educating the people about the social aspects of Christianity. The most distinctive organized product of the movement was the institutional church and the religious social settlements. The development of the religious and social census and other sociological techniques was another by-product of social Christianity.\textsuperscript{15}

This changed emphasis reflected itself in the aims and objectives of foreign missionary work. It now began to be stated that the motivation of foreign missionary work was not only the salvation of the individual non-Christian, but the regeneration of society and the Christianization of the whole social order. The spiritual and physical benefits of the Christian gospel for the entire non-Christian world became the new apologetic for foreign missions. Rev. James S. Dennis, who had been a missionary

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 321.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 319. Also Beard, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 421.
in Syria, published his three-volume work entitled *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions*. This book was a definite social apologetic for foreign missions.\(^{16}\) Dennis described missions as a factor in the social regeneration of the world. The aims of foreign missions were to elevate human society, modify traditional evils, and introduce ideals of reform.\(^{17}\) The task of Christian missions was to introduce a spirit of regeneration and a Christian conscience which would protest against moral laxity and social injustice. He believed this could be done only when individuals were won over to Christianity.\(^{18}\)

Dennis' study, embodying the new view of missions, gained him a wide reputation. He was considered an authority on missions. He had been a Professor at the Princeton Theological Seminary and was called upon to lecture in various theological seminaries. He was elected to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and in 1910 was one of its representatives at the World

\(^{16}\)Dennis, Vol. I (Preface), *op. cit.*, p. IX.
\(^{17}\)Ibid., p. X.
\(^{18}\)Ibid., p. 25. Also Vol. II, p. 9.
Missionary Conference. The recognition bestowed on him may be regarded as a tribute to the new emphasis on the social aspects of foreign missions.

After 1900, especially, social work of foreign missions was almost an accepted standard. Robert E. Speer, the Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and a great spokesman for missions, declared: "The world needs to be saved from want and disease and injustice and inequality and impurity; and lust and hopelessness and fear. . . . Christianity alone is the religion which will do this and will struggle until it has prevailed."20

The Ecumenical Missionary Conference, meeting in New York in 1900, looked upon social progress in mission lands as one of the aims of foreign missions. Foreign missions were called the apparatus through which the principles of social progress were to be spread for the purpose of leavening the world with the ideals of Collective progress and peace.21 The Conference stated:

It will be well to bear in mind that communal development depends upon the renewal of the individual. . . . There is no permanent advance in ethical prosperity, or culture, or orderliness in society, which does not begin with the regeneration of the individual soul. 22

The idea that the Foreign Missions were great instruments for social progress, 23 found unanimous support in this conference. In 1915, one missionary leader on the home front looked back on the change in missionary emphases and noted:

One of the most marked changes taking place in the Foreign Mission propaganda during the last century has been the shift of emphasis from the individual to society. The social aspect of Christianity was not given due recognition at home or abroad a generation ago. 24

This changed emphasis in missionary ideals at the home base reflected itself in the new orientation of mission work and the widening of the social activities of American Protestant missions in India between 1870 and 1910. In the realm of evangelism this social approach expressed itself in the following activities:

(1) In the efforts designed to bring communities rather than individuals within the

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., p. 354.

Christian fold, which came to be known as Mass Movements of Depressed classes and primitive tribes.

(2) In the endeavor to convey the Christian message to the educated classes of India—especially the Hindus.

(3) In the promotion of the spirit of self-support in the Indian Christian community.

(4) In infusing the spirit of evangelism and Christian work among Indian Christians.

(5) In the new movements of Sunday Schools, student volunteers, the Y.M.C.A. and the Salvation Army.

Up to 1877, there had been few signs in Protestant Missions on the corporate aspects of Christianity in India. The conviction that the spiritual salvation of the individual is bound up with that of his community, and that the social and economic advancement of a community must proceed pari passu with its spiritual advance, grew steadily in intensity during this period. This conviction found its expression in the growth of the mass movements.

The conversion of groups of individuals belonging to one or two castes and inhabiting neighboring villages in a certain area, has been defined as the Mass Movement. In India, these mass movements to Christianity have generally taken place among the depressed classes of Hindu society. The aim of the missionaries has been to raise the spiritual and social status of these neglected groups of Hindu society through the Christian message. Missionaries believed that these groups had special claims on them because Christianity has always had a message for the lowest and most unfortunate groups. They also appreciated the desire of these outcaste groups for social justice and for relief from the social tyranny to which they were subjected. By converting them "en masse," their communal life was not disturbed and the danger of persecution at the hands of non-Christians was reduced to the minimum.

The pioneer missionary who started these mass movements to Christianity during the period under review was Rev. John Everett Clough, an American Baptist who

27Ibid.
worked in the Telugu speaking area of the Madras Presidency between 1865 and 1905.

After 1870, Dr. Clough turned his attention to these outcaste groups of Hindu society, whom he found ready to receive his message. An impetus in this direction was given by the disastrous famine of 1877-1878 in the Telugu speaking areas of the Madras Presidency. Dr. Clough was the honorary secretary and treasurer of the Famine Relief Committee in Ongole. This gave him an opportunity to impress the famine victims with his Christian love and sympathy. His mission bungalow was the scene of vigorous activity during the period of famine. The amount of money which he handled for relief work was approximately one hundred thousand dollars, which had been contributed by both the Hindus and Muslims of India, Indian Princes and rulers, Englishmen in Madras, and Protestant and Catholic missions in India. Dr. Clough discharged his duties efficiently, for which he was rightfully admired by the inhabitants of the area and government officials.

30 Ibid., p. 237.
31 Ibid., p. 256.
32 Ibid.
For the purpose of providing greater relief and employment to the famine-stricken masses in the Telugu area, the government of India began the construction of the Buckingham Canal. Rev. Clough took a contract for the construction of the canal for four miles and conducted this work very efficiently. Here he impressed the laborers with his personality and kindness, which also was helpful in the conversions that followed. He and his preachers constantly presented the Christian message to them through stories and parables. While they cooked at night, they mixed and mingled with them and told and retold the story of Jesus Christ.

Conversions did not follow immediately. Rev. Clough did not baptize anyone during 1877—the famine year. In July 1878, large in-gatherings took place. On July 2, 1878, he began the process of conversions with the baptism of 614 members of the Madigas, an untouchable caste. In six weeks, 8,691 Madigas were baptized and by the end of the year 1878, the number of conversions had reached 9,606. Those who were baptized were all Madigas, with the exception of a few

33 Ibid., p. 239.
34 Ibid., p. 249.
36 Ibid., p. 289.
who were Malas, or men of another depressed subcaste. 37
All these lived in 400 scattered villages of the Telugu speaking area of the Madras Presidency. 38

Rev. Clough called it a tribal movement. 39
Speaking on the causes of this phenomenal number of conversions, he wrote:

We may dwell on the circumstances of the case: the many years of work which had preceded this event and the tendency toward this movement by reason of tribal spirit and family cohesion. We may admit also that motives of greed fostered by the memory of Christian benevolence may have lurked in many a head. Yet . . . we will find we have given only a partial explanation. Jesus was in it. 40

Dr. Clough had been unwilling to encumber these illiterate, ignorant converts with heavy doses of Christian doctrine. He had looked upon their conversion as the program of their social uprising. 41 Before baptism, they had been taught simple ethical behavior and faith in Jesus Christ. The three injunctions that had been taught them were: "Do not work on Sunday; do not eat carrion; do not worship idols." 42

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37 Ibid., p. 290.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid., p. 318.
42 Ibid.
After the success of Rev. Clough's efforts for spreading the gospel among the depressed classes, the policy of mass movements for the social and spiritual advancement of this class got acceptance among all the American and European Protestant missions in India.  

Thus, in the 1880's, the era of mass movements began in the history of Protestant evangelism in India, which continued right into the 1930's. The American missionary societies which entered upon it most heartily were the American Baptists in the Telugu speaking areas, the American Methodists in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the American Congregationalists in Maharashtra, the American Presbyterians in United Provinces and the Punjab, and the American Lutherans in the Telugu speaking areas. But no missionary society held entirely aloof from this general movement.

This new orientation in missionary policy, while leading to the social uplift of the converted groups, also led to phenomenal increases in the numbers of the Christian community in India. In the area of the Rev. Clough, there had been only 28 converts in 1865 after twenty-eight years of evangelization.

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43 Richter, op. cit., p. 233.
44 Ibid.
45 Pickett, op. cit., p. 48.
Missionary Society had three times been on the verge of closing the mission in Telugu speaking areas in order to concentrate on its work in Burma.\textsuperscript{46} Through the boldness of Dr. Clough's methods and his belief in social Christianity, the number of conversions in one year rose to nine thousand, which within a few years became fifteen thousand.\textsuperscript{47} Through these mass movements, there was a remarkable growth in the numbers of the Christian community in the Punjab between 1885 and 1920, where the American Presbyterians were the leaders of this movement.\textsuperscript{48}

It appears that the greatest accessions to the Christian church in Protestant missions through the mass movements occurred in Madras and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In the United Provinces, the greatest leader of this movement was Bishop J. M. Thoburn, an American Methodist missionary. Bishop Thoburn had been inspired with the example of Rev. Clough.\textsuperscript{49} Here too, the social and moral uplift of the converts was the primary aim. The teaching of Christianity was kept very

\textsuperscript{46}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{47}Clough, op. cit., p. 317.
\textsuperscript{48}A. J. Brown, op. cit., p. 643.
\textsuperscript{49}Eddy, op. cit., p. 86.
simple and the ethical principles (with a belief in Jesus Christ) were emphasized.\textsuperscript{50}

Through the vigorous efforts and the organizing capacity of Bishop Thoburn, large accessions to the American Methodist Church in North India came about. He maintained a large correspondence with his parishioners at home and was an excellent fund raiser.\textsuperscript{51} The baptisms recorded each year by the American Methodists under Thoburn's leadership from 1886 through 1893 were as follows:\textsuperscript{52}

\begin{align*}
1886 & -- 1,772 \\
1887 & -- 1,432 \\
1888 & -- 1,952 \\
1889 & -- 3,791 \\
1890 & -- 6,098 \\
1891 & -- 14,479 \\
1892 & -- 8,660 \\
1893 & -- 8,079
\end{align*}

The greater increase in the number of conversions after


1891 has been explained partly by the fact that in 1890 Bishop Thoburn succeeded in securing a very large sum of money in America for mission work, and he was thus able to appoint additional pastors and teachers, who helped in these conversions.\textsuperscript{53}

The increase in the American Methodist Church as a result of mass conversions by 1906 was phenomenal and can be seen from the following statistics:\textsuperscript{54}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1887</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>Oct. 31, 1906</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full members &amp; probationers</td>
<td>7,944</td>
<td>69,802</td>
<td>132,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian community</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>97,610</td>
<td>190,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptisms during the year</td>
<td>1,959</td>
<td>15,459</td>
<td>18,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Ministers &amp; other workers</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>2,112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This large increase in the Methodist Church was greater in North India than in other portions of the country, because of the larger network of Methodist missions in the United Provinces.

According to Dr. Julius Richter, the famous

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid.
historian of missions in India, "a good four-fifths of the entire success of missionary work in India between 1880 and 1905 was realized amongst the Panchamas"\(^{55}\) (the depressed classes). This was especially true of the Madras Presidency where various missions were engaged in mass movements among the depressed classes. The increase in the number of converts in the Madras Presidency took place as follows between 1871 and 1900.\(^{56}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Converts</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>160,955</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>299,742 (an increase of 138,787)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>365,912 (an increase of 66,170)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>506,019 (an increase of 140,107)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Telugu speaking areas of the Madras Presidency, the entire increase of converts has been traced in the two untouchable castes of Malas and Madigas. The following statistics shows the increase in the number of conversions in the Telugu speaking mass movement areas:\(^{57}\)

\(^{55}\)Richter, op. cit., p. 233.
\(^{56}\)Ibid.
\(^{57}\)Ibid.
Thus, of the entire increase in the Madras Presidency between 1871 and 1881 (138,787), some 60,000, and between 1890-1900 (140,107), some 90,022, have been traced to the five missions among the Malas and Madigas, the two untouchable castes which were situated close together in some 500 villages in a relatively small district of the then vast Presidency of Madras. 58

Similarly, in North India, of the entire Christian community, the Methodist converts from the mass movement areas were in overwhelming majority, which can

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58 Ibid., p. 234.
be seen from the following statistics:\textsuperscript{59}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Christians in U.P.</td>
<td>1,732</td>
<td>3,982</td>
<td>7,779</td>
<td>12,709</td>
<td>30,321</td>
<td>108,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of this number Methodist Episcopalians had</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>1,748</td>
<td>5,416</td>
<td>22,607</td>
<td>96,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e., of the total results</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>22%</td>
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It has been observed that these Methodist converts were almost exclusively recruited from the depressed classes.\textsuperscript{60} Thus, mass movements among the depressed classes were an important feature of mission work during this period as a corporate aspect of Christian sympathy. In 1910, the World Missionary Conference meeting at Edinburgh recommended that the social and moral uplift of the fifty millions of depressed classes in India was one of the most desirable aspects of Christian work in India for the next fifty years.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{59}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{60}Ibid.  
During this period, plague and three severe famines visited India, in 1877, 1896-97 and 1900. All missionary societies worked at high pressure and saved thousands from perishing by means of soup kitchens, road making, chapel building, by improvised industries and many other expedients of Christian benevolence. 62 During the famines of 1896-97 and 1900, there was understanding among the missionaries to admit as few candidates as possible for baptism while the famine lasted, but afterwards mass movements in some of these areas moved forward with greater momentum. 63 Therefore, the benevolent help rendered by missionaries during the stress of plague and famine to poor masses also has been held responsible, to some extent, for the great increase in the results of missions from 559,661 Indian Christians in 1890 to 854,867 in the year 1900, which comes to an increase of 295,201 within a single decade. 64

These mass movements were criticized afterwards in certain sections on the following grounds:

(2) that the motives of converts have been worldly or unworthy;

62 Ibid., p. 239.
63 Ibid., p. 240.
64 Ibid.
(b) that the quality has been sacrificed for quantity;
(c) that inadequate provision has been made for the spiritual and intellectual nurture of the converts after baptism.

Among those who have been critical of the motives of converts have been some prominent Christians and also some non-Christians. Among the Christians, two persons--Rev. Bishop Azariah (an Indian Christian) and Bishop Whitehead--have concluded that "the motives that lead people to become Christians in mass movements are strangely mixed." Among prominent non-Christians, Mr. K. Natarajan, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi referred to mass movements in terms which implied that the motives of mass movement converts were either entirely secular or mostly unworthy. It may be emphasized that conversion is a psychological phenomenon. Dr. Pickett believes that in conversions all sorts of motives, secular and spiritual, play a part. Therefore, in the mass movements also, the fact that a desire for social justice along with spiritual motives played a

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65 Pickett, op. cit., p. 158.
66 Ibid., p. 156.
67 Ibid., p. 164.
part, cannot be doubted. This desire for social uplift was clearly perceived by the missionaries which led missionaries to these efforts. In many areas, mass movement converts rose from a life of ignominy and improved their social status through the acceptance of Christianity to such an extent that their Hindu neighbors no longer regarded them as untouchables.68

Among those who were critical of the quality of converts were a large group of educated Indian Christians who resented the addition of the masses of illiterates to their community.69 They further disliked the fact that in certain areas these mass movement converts introduced the evils of the caste system and child marriage in the Christian community.70

In the 1920's and 1930's a few missionary conferences and the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry Commission brought out the fact that in some areas of mass movements, the converts were nominal Christians71 and there was inadequate provision for their spiritual nurture.72

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68 O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, p. 672.
69 Pickett, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-316.
70 Ibid.
These criticisms apply to some areas of mass movements and cannot be true of all. In some parts of India, there was a remarkable growth in the social and moral stature of the mass movement converts. In 1901 a non-Christian Census Superintendent commented on the success of mass movements in Travancore and paid a tribute to the missionaries for their efforts for the uplift of the depressed classes in the following words:

The heroism of raising the low from the slough of degradation and debasement was an element unknown to ancient India. The action of the missionary was an entirely original idea. But for these missionaries the humble orders of the Hindu society will forever remain unraised.73

In 1911, another Census Superintendent in Mysore noted the enlightening influence of Christianity reflected in the higher standards of the lives of the Christian converts and admired their sober discipline and busy lives.74 As time passed, generally the social and moral standards of second and third generations of Christian converts became better still. The criticisms regarding the inadequate provision for spiritual and intellectual nurture of the converts led to increased efforts on the part of missionaries for providing facilities for

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74 Ibid., p. 334.
intellectual and social uplift of the Christian converts by opening schools and churches and teaching them industries and agriculture.

The indirect result of these mass movements in the contemporary religious and social history of India was greater still.

The movement for the uplift of the depressed classes gradually gathered momentum in progressive Hindu circles. The work of missionaries among the outcastes gave Hindu reformers an inspiring idea and practical guidance. The Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj for sometime had given attention to the depressed classes. Since 1898, the Prarthana Samaj was engaged in efforts for the social uplift of these classes in Manglore, while the Brahma Samaj was active in East Bengal.75

After 1900, things began to take a more practical turn. In 1906, the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India was founded in Bombay by Prarthana Samaj reformers. The object of the Society was to "elevate the social as well as the spiritual condition of the Depressed classes by promoting education, providing work, remedying their social disabilities and preaching to them principles of Liberal Religion, personal character and good

75 Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 372.
citizenship. This Society roused people to the duty of doing something for the outcastes not only in Bombay, but in many parts of Western and Southern India, and by 1910 it was doing good work outside Christian auspices. The Servants of India Society, founded by Gokhale in 1905, also embarked upon a program of uplift of the depressed classes. As a reaction against missionary efforts among the depressed classes, the Arya Samaj in North India began efforts for their social uplift. Therefore, the following remark of Mr. Mayhew is a correct judgment on the indirect efforts of mass movements:

It is the corporate aspect of Christian work, . . . that has affected profoundly the life and thought of India. It is its work for the outcastes that has given non-Christian reformers an original and inspiring idea and practical guidance.

The beginning of Christian effort for civilizing and elevating the moral and social status of the primitive tribes living in the different hilly and jungle tracts of India, after the 1870's, is another aspect of social

76 Ibid., pp. 372-73.
77 Ibid., p. 373.
78 Ibid., p. 378.
80 Mayhew, "The Christian Ethic and India," Modern India & the West, p. 332.
work of missions. In this area, missions--Protestant and Roman Catholic alike--achieved a remarkable degree of success.

Efforts for Christianizing these tribes began before 1870, both by European and American missionaries. The German-Lutheran missionaries had started work in Chotanagpur (Bihar) in 1845 among the Mundas and Oraons. By 1857 they had succeeded in converting 900 Oraons and Mundas. In 1868 the Anglican Society for the propagation of the Gospel had begun efforts in this area. By 1872 the Lutherans had succeeded in converting 17,000 in the Chotanagpur area. 81

The British Baptists had been working among the tribes of Orissa. Among the American societies, the Baptists had done considerable work among the Karens of Burma and also maintained missions in Assam at Nowgong and Gauhati since 1843. 82 In 1867, they started a mission in Goalpara for work among the Garo tribesmen of Assam hills. 83

Up to 1870, this type of work had not advanced beyond the initial stage. After 1870 several other factors stimulated missionary work among these tribes.

81 Pickett, op. cit., p. 46.
82 Merriam, op. cit., p. 123.
83 Ibid., p. 124.
With increasing facilities for transport, tribal areas were opened up. This period saw an increase in transport facilities through the extension of railways. The system of state railways initiated by Lord Mayo (1868-72) added nearly 3,000 miles of rail by 1880.\textsuperscript{84} Construction by private companies was resumed after 1880, which led to further development of railway communications.\textsuperscript{85}

Many coal mines had been located in the hilly areas where these primitive tribes lived. The exploitation of these mines opened up intercourse with these tribal peoples and made it easier for missionaries to reach them. The coal mines of Bihar and Orissa are located in the tribal belt, where missionaries have carried on their mission among these tribes.

Especially among the hill tribes of Assam, the extension of British rule through the subjugation of the warlike tribes of Nagas and Garos was a great stimulus for missionary activity. The Garos of Assam were a tribe of head-hunters over whom the British rule did not extend until 1873. In the winter of 1872-73, a British military expedition was sent to subdue them. The Garos submitted

\textsuperscript{84}O'Malley, "Mechanism and Transport," \textit{Modern India \& the West}, p. 239.

\textsuperscript{85}Ibid.
and the tribe was annexed. Soon after, the whole Garo hills were open to mission work. In 1875, an American Baptist mission was established at Tura in the Garo hills of Assam.

The Naga tribes of Assam were the most warlike of all the tribes inhabiting the Assam hills. Among these, the Angami Nagas were the most powerful and numerous. After a long period of warfare and savage strife, the Government of India subjugated them in 1876 and established a cantonment and civil government in the heart of the tribe at Kohima. In 1878, the Nagas again rose in revolt, and peace was not restored until 1880. Due to unsettled conditions and the warlike tendencies of this tribe, the British Government did not allow any mission to be opened until 1880. In March, 1880, an American Baptist Mission for the Angami Nagas was opened at Kohima.

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87 Ibid.
88 Ibid., p. 84.
89 Ibid., p. 85.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
In April, 1879, the American Baptist Mission had begun a station at Wokha for the Lhota Naga tribe.\textsuperscript{92}

An American Baptist Mission among the Ao Nagas had been established in 1876.\textsuperscript{93} The British Baptists began evangelical work among the Tangkhul Nagas in 1894.\textsuperscript{94}

The success of the work among the Garos, and Nagas, encouraged the establishment of missionary work among other tribes of the same class of people. In 1895 a mission was started for the Mikir tribe in Assam and in 1900 another American Baptist mission station was opened at Dibrugarh for Assamese Hindus.\textsuperscript{95}

The opening of the Suez canal in 1869 greatly stimulated Indian exports.\textsuperscript{96} It led to the opening up of the coal fields and the great extension of tea and coffee plantations, which resulted in the increase of immigrant labor in the tea gardens of Assam, where the missionaries began evangelical work among the laborers.\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{92}Ibid., p. 91.
\textsuperscript{93}Ibid., p. 81.
\textsuperscript{95}Merriam, op. cit., p. 129.
\textsuperscript{96}Anstey, "Economic Development," Modern India & the West, p. 271.
\textsuperscript{97}Merriam, op. cit., p. 125.
Besides American Baptist missions, European societies were also active in the efforts for the social and moral uplift of these tribes. The Roman Catholic and Lutheran missions were working in Chotanagpur and Santhalparaganas, while the Welsh Calvinistic missions were active in the Khasia and Jaintia hills, and in the Lushai hills in Assam. 98

The work of American missionaries, along with the others, proved a definite civilizing influence on these tribes. These tribes did not have a written language. Missionaries reduced their language to writing, translated the Bible and published monthly papers. The American Baptists published two monthly papers—the Dipti (Light) in the Assamese language and Achikin Ripeng (Garo-Friend) in the Garo tongue. 99 The Bible was translated into Assamese in 1900, the New Testament and Genesis in Garo and parts of the New Testament were translated in Mikir, Ao Naga, Tangkhul Naga and Manipuri dialects during this period. 100

98 Hutton, "Primitive Tribes," Modern India & the West, p. 435.


100 Ibid., p. 39.
The converts were organized into churches. By 1910, the organized churches in Assam had formed the following five associations: the Garo Hills, the Kamrup, the Upper Assam, and the Naga Hill Association. They opened primary schools for boys and girls, training schools, orphanages and industrial schools in these tribal areas of Assam. Education was a very important part of evangelistic work among these primitive tribes. Most of these schools were among the villages, teaching the three R's and the Bible. These Christian schools, taught by the Christian teachers, were the nucleus around which the Christian church and the Christian community was built in these areas.

By 1910 many of the churches in Assam were self-supporting. Habits of drinking, devil worship and sexual debauchery were reduced in the areas where Christian missions were at work. Therefore, it is difficult to disagree with the view of L. S. S. O'Malley that "the work of missionaries among the Primitive tribes has been a power for good and a civilizing influence of the highest kind, though it has tended to destroy solidarity."  

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101 Ibid., p. 35.
102 Merriam, op. cit., p. 125.
103 O'Malley, Modern India and the West, p. 738.
It has been pointed out by Dr. Hutton that the advent of civilization to these tribes through government and missionary agencies also brought some disadvantages. In Assam, for example, the introduction of the use of clothes among the hill tribes aided the rapid spread of lung disease, and tuberculosis in particular.\textsuperscript{104} Another effect of the clothing which accompanied conversion was the loss of the bright and highly picturesque costumes of gala days, condemned by missionaries on account of their heathen associations, and the substitution of a drab monotony of unwashed cotton garments.\textsuperscript{105}

Dr. Hutton further believes that missionary influence tended to destroy the social unity and cohesion of the primitive tribes.\textsuperscript{106} Christianity tended to divide the tribes and the households.\textsuperscript{107} For example, in Chotanagpur the Catholic Church set loyalty to itself before loyalty to the tribes to such an extent that Catholic converts were forbidden to join tribal movements which were independent of religious belief but aimed at the social uplift of the tribe as a whole, whether

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{104}Hutton, "Primitive Tribes," Modern India & the West, p. 440.
\item \textsuperscript{105}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{106}Ibid., p. 430.
\item \textsuperscript{107}Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Christian or pagan. A breakdown of communal life of some tribes rendered them far weaker in their struggle against forest laws interfering with their method of life or encroachments and exploitation by Hindus and Muslims coming from other areas among them. Too often, perhaps, rapid changes in their manner of life and interference with tribal customs and belief led to apathy, indifference, deterioration, and a decline in population.

Despite these disadvantages, there is no doubt that there have been definite gains, and that the advantages far outweigh these disadvantages. The Christian missionaries, along with the British Government, have been responsible for civilizing these tribes, making them literate and educated, giving them hospitals, roads, railways, Christian ethics and modern ways of life. Cruel tribal customs have been suppressed and warfare prevented, languages reduced to writing, infant mortality reduced and moral life elevated. In the 1930's some of these tribes had the necessary number of doctors and teachers to fulfill the needs of their own

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108 Ibid.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid., p. 442.
The inhabitants of the Khasia hills in Assam provided, in the 1930's, among other public servants, a minister in the government of that province and a Professor of Philosophy in a Bengal university.\textsuperscript{112} The economic and social position of many tribes in Assam in the 1930's was much better than many other hill tribes, particularly in South India.\textsuperscript{113}

In this connection, reference may be made to a special branch of work among the so-called criminal tribes. These were tribes with whom crime--robbery, theft and burglary in particular--was considered an hereditary occupation. The Government of India was obliged to take measures to protect the general public against the predatory habits of these communities, and in 1871 passed the Criminal Tribes Act for their regulation and control.\textsuperscript{114} Attempts were made to reclaim them by means of agriculture and industrial settlements, to which a certain number were relegated, but the efforts to turn them into honest men failed.\textsuperscript{115}

The attitude of the Hindu society toward them

\textsuperscript{111}Ibid., p. 443.
\textsuperscript{112}Ibid., p. 442.
\textsuperscript{113}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{114}O'Flaherty, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 738.
\textsuperscript{115}Ibid.
made their rehabilitation much more difficult. They were regarded as untouchables and no Hindu of good caste wanted to come in close personal contact with them. The Government of India was baffled by the problem until in the first and second decades of the twentieth century, it began to take help from the missionaries in transforming them into honest men. The Salvation Army was the first to offer its services. Its officers lived among these tribes and exercised a personal and humanizing influence upon them. 116

Among the American missions, the Baptists and Congregationalists started work for the regeneration of criminal tribes in 1914 and 1916. Special work for the reclamation of a criminal tribe known as Erukalas in South India was made over by the Government to the Baptist Mission in 1914. 117 The work consisted in segregating this criminal caste into a settlement on a large farm, under discipline to earn their own living by working under supervision. 118 A missionary, Mr. Bawden, was given judicial and executive power over this settlement. 119

116 Ibid.
118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.
He conducted agricultural and industrial experiments and also tried to bring the gospel home to this criminal caste.\textsuperscript{120}

In the Marathi Mission of the American Board, a similar settlement was started at Sholapur in 1916 at the instance of the Government of India for the reclamation of the criminal tribes of that area.\textsuperscript{121} In the Madura Mission of the same society, work for the uplift of a criminal tribe known as the Kuruars was started in 1914.\textsuperscript{122}

Thus the missionaries during this period took upon themselves the difficult task of transforming these tribes into honest communities, which had never been attempted before and in which the Government of India also had failed in its efforts. In some areas, a remarkable degree of success was achieved in this type of work, as may be seen from the following comment of a visitor to one of these settlements:

\begin{quote}
The least imaginative man, I think could not fail to be struck if he saw these Bhatus (a criminal tribe), these former murderers, burglars and dacoits, working intelligently at the looms, peacefully cultivating the land and
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{120}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{122}Ibid.
\end{flushright}
learning with pleasure and delight to be dairy-
men and poultry-keepers, under the spell of
kindness and the magic of Christian love.  

Another form of corporate Christian activity was
generated in the efforts of missionaries to get the
Christian message to the educated classes during this
period, which was partly necessitated by the changed
political and religious situation in India between 1870
and 1910. By the 1870's and 1880's a sizable group of
educated class had emerged.  
The formation of uni-
versities in 1857 had brought order and uniformity into
the educational scene in India. Higher education had
become institutionalized through the imposition of a
common set of standards and a common cultural disci-
pline.  

In the colleges of India, Western visitors
were impressed by the spectacle of young Hindus engaged
in studying "the works of the highest minds which were
formed and fostered under the influence of Western cul-
ture."  
Six years after the opening of the universi-
ties, English historical and philosophical works were
said to have penetrated every corner of British India.  

123 quoted in O'Malley, Modern India & the West,
p. 739.  
124 McCully, op. cit., p. 391.  
125 Ibid., p. 207.  
126 Ibid., p. 208.  
127 Ibid., p. 225.
According to Keshub Chandra Sen, thousands of admirers of Shakespeare, Milton and Sir Isaac Newton were to be found in India by the 1870's. 128

The study of English history and political theory indoctrinated this educated class with aspirations and potentialities which made it an outstanding element in Indian politics during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Various circumstances contributed to this end, but in large part the phenomenon was an outgrowth of English education and of resentment born of economic and social discontent. 129 Nurtured by the synthetic power of higher education, political consciousness grew steadily in India during the 'seventies and 'eighties. 130 The ideas of nationalism crystallized in this educated class and at length assumed tangible expression in the Congress movement. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, largely through the efforts of this class. The leadership of this movement remained in the hands of this class for quite a long time until the advent of Gandhi, who made this movement a mass organization.

128 Ibid., p. 208.
129 Ibid., p. 225.
130 Ibid., p. 227.
In its religious composition, this class was predominantly Hindu. In 1882, an official analysis of college students, classified by religion, revealed that 73.21 per cent were Hindus, 22.36 per cent were Muslims, .62 per cent Sikhs, .04 per cent were Parsees, .45 per cent were Indian Christians, .08 per cent were Europeans and Eurasians and 3.24 per cent were others.\footnote{McCully, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 179.}

This predominantly Hindu educated class gradually became conscious of India's past glory, which was being unearthed and reconstructed through the labors of European scholars and historians. The years 1828-1870, had seen the flowering of Oriental scholarship.\footnote{Farquhar, \textit{Modern Religious Movements in India}, p. 21.} Rudolf von Roth (1821-95) had published his epoch-making treatise on \textit{The Literature and the History of the Veda} in 1846. Max Müller's text of the \textit{Rigveda} had been issued between 1849 and 1875. Meantime, James Prinsep and Sir Alexander Cunningham had laid the foundations of Indian art, epigraphy and archaeology. By 1900, many ancient buildings had been surveyed, inscriptions read and translated and India's ancient history fairly well reconstructed.

Between 1870 and 1900, the fruits of Oriental
studies had begun to manifest themselves. Great masses of the knowledge acquired by the leading scholars in previous decades were made available for the ordinary man during these years. The Sacred Books of the East series, Trübner's Oriental Series, The Harvard Oriental Series and M. N. Dutta's translation were published during this period.

All these researches and publications led to a revival of pride in India's culture and its storied past in the minds of this educated class, and they began to derive great satisfaction and inspiration from it. They were further influenced by a renaissance of Hinduism, which was inspired during this period by a reaction against Western influences. Three distinct religious movements, whose propaganda and activity added to the growth of a cultural nationalism, a defense of Hinduism and the growth of an anti-Western feeling in India, sprang up. The first was the Arya Samaj, founded in 1875, by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. The watchword of this movement was "Back to the Vedas" which was accompanied with a program of an internal reform of the Hindu religion.

133 Ibid., p. 25.
134 Ibid.
135 Ibid.
by removing idol worship, evil social practices of untouchability, caste system, priesthood and subjugation of women.¹³⁶

The second movement was the Ramkrishna Mission, started by Swami Vivehanada in 1897, which offered a full defense of the Hindu religion.¹³⁷ Last, but not least, was the Theosophical Movement, founded in 1875 in New York by a Russian, Madame Blavatsky, and an American, Colonel Henry L. Olcott.¹³⁸ This movement shifted its headquarters to Adyar, Madras, in 1878, where it was developed by Mrs. Annie Besant. It had many Western features, its declared objects being the creation of a universal brotherhood without distinctions of race, caste, color or creed, the study of Aryan and other eastern religions and cultures, and the investigation of the laws of nature and the physical powers of man; but its distinguishing features were its championship of Hindu ideals and practices, its recognition of the doctrines of Karma and transmigration, its idealization of India's past, and its anti-Christian bias.¹³⁹

¹³⁷Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 204.
¹³⁸Ibid., p. 208.
¹³⁹O'Malley, "The Impact of European Civilization," Modern India & the West, p. 91.
These religious movements profoundly influenced the thinking of the educated Hindus. It gave them a new respect for and confidence in their cultural heritage. Though the great majority of them did not become members of the religious movements mentioned above, they believed now in a refined form of Hinduism, which came into vogue under the name of neo-Hinduism.\textsuperscript{140} It was Hindu in intellectual belief, but not necessarily in practice, external forms being regarded as of little account and social heterodoxy as not incompatible with intellectual Hinduism.\textsuperscript{141} The Vedas and other scriptures underwent critical examination and were interpreted in the light of reason, those portions being rejected which clashed with standards of modern Western thought, while their higher spiritual conceptions, whether theistic or Pantheistic, were retained.\textsuperscript{142} There was no longer felt to be any need to secede from Hinduism and join such a body as the Brahmo Samaj.\textsuperscript{143} "Neo-Hinduism," it was said in 1894, "is becoming the creed of educated India."\textsuperscript{144}

The attitude of these educated Hindus towards

\textsuperscript{140}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{141}Ibid., p. 92.
\textsuperscript{142}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{143}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144}Ibid.
Western learning and Oriental culture was described by Sir Richard Temple in 1882 in *Men and Events of My Time in India* in the following words:

They no longer accept a doctrine, secular or religious, merely because it is a result of European civilization. They search for new standards of their own outside Europe and its ways. . . . Despite their Western preoccupations it is towards their own traditions that their loving gaze is turned. Their study of Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon and Locke does not in the least diminish their reverent allegiance to the Asiatic heroes, poets, saints and law-givers of old. 145

Mr. Farquhar believes that from 1870 a great change manifested itself in the spirit of the educated classes of India. 146 Now they began to show the vigor and independence of youth. 147 Many forms of new efforts and organizations appeared. 148 The most pronounced line of thought was a growing desire to defend Hinduism, and an increasing confidence in its defensibility. 149 This confidence was partly built during this period by the researches and writings of certain Western scholars who came to favorable judgments on Hinduism, after patient study. Prof. Max Muller published his *India: What It

145 Quoted in O'Malley, p. 92.
146 Farquhar, op. cit., p. 25.
148 Ibid.
149 Ibid.
Can Teach Us in 1884, Sir Monier Williams' Hinduism appeared in 1906, Prof. E. W. Hopkins' treatise on Hinduism was published in 1896. Sir William Hunter, in his speeches in England in 1888, presented Hinduism in a favorable light.\textsuperscript{150}

All these researches, while adding to reverence for India's cultural heritage, also probably led to an anti-Western bias in certain sections of the educated Hindus, who came to believe that "the East is spiritual and the West material."\textsuperscript{151} This idea, to some extent, was popularized by Swami Vivekanand.\textsuperscript{152} Among certain sections of this class, this anti-Western strain expressed itself in anti-Christian and anti-missionary prejudice.\textsuperscript{153} This section used arguments from rationalistic, Unitarian and Theosophical sources to criticize Christianity and missionary activity.\textsuperscript{154}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{150}Missionary Herald, 1888, p. 319. Also, American Board, Annual Report, 1888 (Boston: 1888).
\item \textsuperscript{151}O'Malley, op. cit., p. 93.
\item \textsuperscript{152}Farquhar, op. cit., p. 204.
\item \textsuperscript{154}Ibid.
\end{enumerate}
of the Madras Tract Society in 1885, for anti-missionary propaganda, is an example in point.\textsuperscript{155}

Missionaries realized during this period that Christianity's advance in India depended in large part on what appeal it could make to educated people. Without intelligent leaders, the religion would never be more than a small, esoteric, foreign-led cult, incapable of self-expression and self-expansion. Missionaries, therefore, believed that one of their primary aims should be to convert this educated class which had reached the number of one million by 1910.\textsuperscript{156} It came to be believed that through their conversions, the gospel could easily be spread to the masses.

Missionary conferences discussed ways and means of carrying the gospel to this class during this period. The Third Decennial Conference, held in Bombay in 1892, recommended that missionaries should have a more intimate social relation with this class.\textsuperscript{157}

A very representative gathering of Protestant missionaries was held in Calcutta for the purpose of


discussing ways and means for carrying on Christian work among the educated Hindus, on December 26th and 27th of 1907, under the auspices of the Indian Council of the Y.M.C.A. This conference clearly recommended changes in the way of preaching and the presentation of Christian message to this class. This conference decided:

The controversial lecture has distinctly lost in favor. To take up some aspect of Hinduism and to throw stones at it is very tempting; but experience shows that this type of lecture is apt either to irritate the audience or to give them a wrong impression. \(^{158}\)

This change was formulated by this conference as a practical policy on the basis of experience gained in course of evangelistic work. An opinion was expressed by Rev. C. F. Andrews that "Bazaar preaching was proving a terrific hindrance to the presentation of the gospel to educated classes, because the people who preached in the bazaars were usually half-educated men who thought it to be their duty to attack every phase and aspect of Hinduism in offensive language." \(^{159}\)

A similar note was struck by Mr. N. C. Mukherji,


\(^{159}\)Ibid., p. 43.
an Indian Christian, who spoke on "Preaching and Lecturing" in this conference. He said:

In presenting Christianity, therefore, we ought to avoid, first disparaging contrasts, however, true in themselves, between the effects of Hinduism and Christianity on the lives and societies of peoples, and, Secondly, invidious comparisons between Christ and the heroes of Hinduism. We ought instead to aim at preaching Christ as the fulfillment of Hinduism. 160

This conference recommended that the older men among educated Hindus should be approached as friends, and personal intimacies should be formed with them, 161 while the young Hindus—the students—should be approached through Christian hostels and colleges. The missionaries should not approach them in the spirit of spiritual teachers or gurus, but as co-seekers after truth. 162

A wholesome literature, imbued with Christian apologetic should be catered to them, which might wean them away from anti-Christian literature. 163 The true nature of International Christianity, as reflected in the policies and lives of Christian leaders like Gladstone, should be constantly presented to them. 164

160 Ibid., p. 40.
161 Ibid., p. 4.
162 Ibid., p. 7.
163 Ibid., p. 39.
164 Ibid., p. 42.
to this class, should be pure and free from the encum-
brances of Western culture and customs.\textsuperscript{165} Last, but
not least, a preacher and a lecturer among them should
be well acquainted with the history and growth of Hindu
religious thought and well-versed in modern critical
scholarship.\textsuperscript{166} He must establish a bond of sympathy
between himself and his audience.\textsuperscript{167}

After the Parliament of Religions held in
Chicago in 1893, in which Swami Vivekanand’s presenta-
tion of Hinduism favorably impressed a certain section
of the American public, a new method in the presentation
of the Christian gospel to the educated classes of India
was introduced. The Haskell-Barrows Lectures Fund was
created through which eloquent speakers were sent from
America and England to speak on Christianity among
audiences of educated classes in India.\textsuperscript{168} Under this
series, the first lecturer who went to India in 1895 was
Rev. J. H. Barrows, who had been the president of the
Parliament of Religions in 1893.\textsuperscript{169} The second was

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., p. 44.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., p. 42.
\textsuperscript{167} American Board Files--Letter of Rev. R. A.
Hume, March 21, 1903 to Rev. William R. Harper, V. 30,
Mss, No. 74.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid.
Principal Fairburn, head of an Oxford College, who went to India in 1898. The third was Rev. Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall, President of the Union Theological Seminary, New York (1897-1908), who lectured in India in 1892-93. Rev. Hall won many friends among the educated Hindus by his sympathetic understanding of the Eastern mind, revealed in his printed lectures, Christian Relief Interpreted by Christian Experience (1905). Commenting on the effect of Dr. Hall's lectures in India, Rev. Robert A. Hume reported to the home board that "Dr. Hall had done a greater service to India than his predecessors through his genuine and outspoken respect for Indian thought and traditions." The Voice of India, a Bombay newspaper, commented upon Dr. Hall's lectures as follows:

Not a word escapes his lips which is consciously derogatory of other religions: he not only professes veneration for the highest religious aspirations of the Indian mind, but every word of his rings with the genuineness of that profession. His Christian experience takes the Indian experience cordially by the hand, and seems to delight in its company, if only to invite the onlooker to compare, and to comment and to choose.

170 Ibid.
171 Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1932), Vol. VIII, p. 120.
173 Ibid.
In 1907, Dr. Hall went again as a Haskell-Barrows lec­
turer to India and made the same favorable impression on
the educated Hindus. 174

By 1910 we find that this change in preaching
methods had been universally accepted as the sound policy
for evangelical work in India. All missionaries working
in India, in their replies to the questionnaire sent by
Commission IV of the World Missionary Conference, agreed
that those missionaries who in the past did not appre­
ciate the nobler side of the Hindu religion, had done
more harm to evangelistic work in India than they would
have done anywhere else under similar circumstances. 175

Therefore, these correspondents considered the study of
Hinduism to be the first duty of any missionary working
among Hindus. 176

The authors of the Report of Commission IV, to
the World Missionary Conference, in their conclusion
stated:

... The true attitude of the Christian mis­
sionary to the non-Christian religions should be
one of true understanding and as far as possible,

174Dictionary of American Biography, op. cit.,
Vol. VIII, p. 120.

175World Missionary Conference, 1910, Report
of Commission IV: The Missionary Message in Relation to
Non-Christian Religions (New York: Fleming H. Revell

176Ibid., p. 172.
of sympathy . . . the true method is that of knowledge and charity, that the missionary should seek for the nobler elements in the non-Christian religions and use them to higher things.177

We also notice a change in the tone and style of missionary literature dealing with India. We come across a growing sympathetic portrayal of India's culture and civilization in missionary writings. The number of polemical writings begins to grow less and less. Rev. John P. Jones, an American missionary, described this change in his book, India's Problem: Krishna or Christ, published in 1903, in the following words:

Now efforts are being made to understand both the good and evil in Hinduism . . . and it is freely and frankly admitted by missionaries that Hinduism has many elements of truth.178

Mr. Farquhar declared in 1915 that missionary books using denunciatory language and harsh judgments were now a thing of the past.179 This change was partly caused by the study of comparative religion and the large crop of scholarly literature dealing with Hinduism. The growing change in the interpretation of Hindu religion in

177 Ibid., p. 267.


missionary literature is attested by the authors of the Report of Commission IV, of the World Missionary Conference, who in their conclusion expressed the following views:

Our correspondence discloses too the deep sense of many of these critics that in that immemorial thought of India there lie hidden profound and vital truths . . . that no other non-Christian religion approaches this (Hinduism) in the gravity or in the depth of its endeavors after God. 180

This effort to study Hinduism, which grew in this period, led to further changes in evangelical policies. Many points of contact between Hinduism and Christianity, 181 which could be fruitfully used for evangelical purposes were discovered. For example, if Christianity had the concept of the Trinity of God-head, so had Hinduism. 182

The doctrine of Divine Incarnation was common to both. 183

The conception of Bhakti (devotional faith in God) in Hinduism and the doctrine of theism in Christianity were also similar. 184

182 Ibid.
183 Ibid.
184 Ibid.
details, were found to be similar in concept. Among these the doctrine of Bhakti (Hindu Theism) and the doctrine of Incarnation (Avatar) impressed the missionaries more than the other similarities. Rev. C. F. Andrews called the doctrine of Bhakti "the most important praeparatio Evangelica," and he thought that the whole field of Hindu theism should be worked over by missionaries and its treasures should be brought to light by them. 185

Writing in 1902, Rev. John P. Jones, a missionary of the American Board, regarded the Hindu doctrine of Incarnation as a great instrument for evangelical work among Hindus. 186

The policy of emphasizing similarities was advocated by Mr. N. C. Mukherji, an Indian Christian, in The Conference for Christian Work Among Educated Hindus, held in Calcutta in 1907. Mr. Mukherji said:

The Hindu mind is naturally Christian, and there are valuable assets in which we ought to turn to our advantage. Hindu doctrines may be used to help us in the understanding of Christian truths. Thus the Immanence of God may be used for miracles, Avatars for Incarnation, sacrifices for Atonement, Karma for the heinousness and reality

185 Ibid., p. 178.
186 Jones, op. cit., p. 73.
of Sin, the principle of Pantheism for the brotherhood of man.187

By 1910 there was a general agreement among Protestant missionaries that these points of contact should be emphasized and used as a preparation for Christianity.188

Several books were written during this period, like Farquhar's *Gita and Gospel*, Slater's *Higher Hinduism and Christianity*, Grierson's *Hinduism and Its Scriptures*, and Kellet's *Christ: The Fulfillment of Hinduism*, which suggested similarities between the two religions.189

This theme was fully developed and persuasively presented in J. N. Farquhar's work *The Crown of Hinduism*, published in 1914, in which he maintained that the Indian ideal of Incarnation was more than fulfilled in Jesus. Mr. Farquhar believed that the Hindu theory of Incarnation was right in concept, but was defective in accepting Rama and Krishna as historical Incarnations. Since Jesus was the real Divine Incarnation, the ideal of Hinduism was wonderfully crowned in Him.190 Mr. Farquhar concluded his

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work with the following words:

Every true motive which in Hinduism has found expression in unclean, debasing or unworthy practices finds in Him the fullest expression in work for the downtrodden, the ignorant, the sick, and the sinful. In Him is focused every ray of light that shines in Hinduism. He is the crown of the faith of India. 191

This changed attitude of sympathy and appreciation reflected itself in certain other ways. The use of the term "heathen" almost disappeared from missionary writings, and the use of the terms high caste and low caste Hindus came to be in vogue.

Two stanzas of Bishop Heber's famous hymn, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains to India's Coral Strand," were removed from the Congregational Pilgrim hymnal of 1912, because they were found to be offensive. 192

The use and adaptation of certain Hindu religious devices for evangelical work begins in this period. Such a one is Kirttan—a group singing of the praises of God, which was introduced by the famous Vaishnava teacher, Chaitanya, who flourished in Bengal in the 14th century A.D. This was a method designed to rouse people to religious ecstasy. The use of purely Western methods

191 Ibid., p. 458.
was found not very helpful in preaching and evangelism.\textsuperscript{193}

Therefore, Indian tunes, Indian bhajans and Indian musical instruments came to be used more and more. The Annual Report of 1883 of the Marathi Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions stated:

> Abundant use is made of the Sciopticon and of the Kirttan, or trained choirs. By these means prejudice is overcome, and a great deal of plain Christian teaching is given. The higher caste men and women are thus reached as they never would be otherwise.

Bishop Thoburn informs us of the diminishing use of mela and bazaar preaching\textsuperscript{194} and the growing use of persuasion and personal approaches through Indian preachers who visited and sat down at the doorstep of a native hut and talked with the people and persuaded them for conversion. Bishop Thoburn comments:

> The converts are often won after long personal intercourse, one by one, by these workers. In other words, our preaching in India seems to be drifting more and more toward the New Testament standard.\textsuperscript{195}

These changes, reflecting sympathetic understanding of Hindu religion, which replaced the former attitude of


\textsuperscript{194}Thoburn, op. cit., p. 242.

\textsuperscript{195}Ibid.
criticism and contempt, augured well for the future. There began now a new era in the history of the two great religions of the world. Up till now, there had been some amount of suspicion and coldness, without any compensating virtues of appreciation and understanding.

Although the efforts of missionaries for converting the educated classes, were not rewarded with large numbers of conversions, yet some brilliant young men who, through their literary and evangelistic efforts gave depth and meaning to Christianity in India, were brought to Christ. Such a one was Narayan Vaman Tilak, a Marathi Brahman convert who became a professor in the Ahmednagar Theological Seminary of the American Board. 196 He was converted in 1896, 197 and proved of great help in missionary work by virtue of his poetic talent. Dr. Nicol Macnicol believes that Tilak, by bringing together and fusing the Christian message and the Hindu tradition of Bhakti (loving devotion), effected a reconciliation of Christianity and Hinduism, and brought to the Maratha church a renaissance not only of religion but of poetry and literature. 198

196 American Board, Annual Report, 1897, p. 66.
197 Ibid.
198 O'Malley, op. cit., p. 678.
The success of missionaries in this period should not be judged only by statistical results. During this period, the influence of Christianity extended far beyond the circle of the Christian community. The efforts of missionaries to understand and appreciate Hinduism softened prejudices and led to a deeper admiration for Christianity among the educated classes. The intimate contacts of missionaries with the educated people led to a gradual diffusion of Christian principles and study of the Bible. It gave a common ground to talk, read and appreciate, which resulted in reverence for each other's religion. Many educated Hindus who rejected Christianity as a religion deeply admired the sublime ethical ideals embodied in the life of Jesus and the Bible and appreciated the educational and philanthropic activities of missionaries. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay and Justice of the Bombay High Court, in a speech delivered in the Y.M.C.A., Bombay, on June 14, 1910, spoke on the influence of Christianity on Hinduism:

The ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel of Christ are slowly but surely permeating every part of Hindu society and modifying every phase of Hindu thought.199

Some of the missionaries in this period identified themselves with India's political aspirations. In this connection, mention must be made of Rev. Robert A. Hume, who was a missionary of the American Board in Ahmednagar from 1874-1926. He was born of missionary parents in Bombay and regarded India as his motherland. He took a keen interest in the Indian National Congress from the very beginning. In 1907, he was elected a delegate to the Indian National Congress from Ahmednagar and maintained this relation for quite some time. In 1909, he was elected a delegate to the Congress from both Ahmednagar and Bombay. He played an active role in the Congress Session in 1909. He was a member of the Subjects Committee and was one of the seven members who framed the resolutions that were discussed in that session. He also gave an address in that session on Lord Morley's reform proposals. Later on, in 1918, he was the only American called to testify before the

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201 Ibid.
202 Ibid.
203 Ibid.
204 Ibid.
205 Ibid.
Montague-Chelmsford Commission on reforms in Indian government. His death in 1929 was widely mourned in Ahmednagar, which had been the scene of his lifelong activity.

Rev. C. F. Andrews, a British missionary, also completely identified himself with the cause of India's freedom. In the 'twenties and 'thirties, many American missionaries like E. Stanley Jones, Sam Higginbottom, Frederick B. Fisher and Clifford G. Manshardt, developed close and friendly relations with Gandhi. Among these Higginbottom and Jones began their careers in 1904 and 1907 respectively, while the other two went to India in 1904 and 1926.


207 American Board Files, 1929, V. 39, Letter No. 14, Letter from the collector, Ahmednagar, sending copy of resolution by the citizens of that city, on the death of Rev. R. A. Hume, to the Home Board, appreciating his services to Ahmednagar.


This identification of missionaries with India's hopes and aspirations earned them many friends and admirers among India's intellectuals and ultimately led to a better appreciation of Christianity in India.

The gradual commitment to the policy of promoting self-support in the Indian churches, was another important feature of evangelistic policy during this period. Missionaries began to realize that Indian Christians should not be made too dependent on foreign money for the maintenance of their churches. It was considered essential to inculcate in them the habit of giving. In the conference on missions held at Liverpool as early as 1860, the subject of "self-support" was fully treated. \textsuperscript{210} Since then, it gradually occupied a leading place in the literature of missions. Rev. C. H. Wheeler of Harpoot gave a fillip to the movement by his book, \textit{Ten Years on the Euphrates} (1868), in which he dealt at length on the Apostolic method of sustaining missionary operations. He propounded the maxim, "no Christian, however poor, should be denied the privilege of Christian giving." \textsuperscript{211}

At the Shanghai Missionary Conference of 1877,

\textsuperscript{210} American Board, \textit{Annual Report, 1898}, p. xiii.
\textsuperscript{211} \textit{Ibid}. 
Mr. Baldwin of Methodist Episcopal Church said in reference to self-support:

It is beyond dispute that only in this way can a genuine native church be developed. If dependence on foreign aid is encouraged, a church may be expected to disintegrate, when once the flow of the silver stream is checked. 212

In 1884 Rev. Clark, the Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions, read a paper to the Board in Columbus, Ohio, on "Self-Support of Native Churches," in which he reached the conclusion that "Christianity can only prevail over the hundreds of millions of the unevangelized as it develops self-supporting Christian institutions." 213 At the Centenary Missionary Conference in London in 1888, there was no dissent from the proposition that "the native churches ought to become self-supporting at the earliest practicable moment." 214

The 4th Foreign Mission Conference of North America, held in New York in 1896, passed the recommendation "that each Christian community shall bear a definite share of its proper congregational and school expenses." 215

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212 Ibid.
213 Ibid.
214 Ibid.
215 Ibid., p. xiv.
By 1898 all American missions appear to have been committed to this policy of promoting self-support, though they were cautious enough not to make "any too sudden withdrawal of aid or too radical insistence upon self-support because of the general poverty of Christians."  

From a report of "The Committee on Self-Support" of the Foreign Mission Boards of North America, published in 1896, it appears that Indian Christians in twenty stations of American missions of six societies were contributing a modest sum to congregational and school expenses. In 1898 all the thirty-eight churches in the Madura Mission of the American Board were self-supporting. By 1910, the total contributions of Indian Christians belonging to American Protestant Missions, had reached $300,955.

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216 Ibid.
217 Ibid.
The Central Conference of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in India in 1912 noted progress in self-support, and urged that information about tithing be disseminated among the people. For those who had no cash income, the use of "vessels of blessing" (Barkat Ka Bartan) was urged. This "Barkat Ka Bartan" was a simple earthen pot into which many of the village women put a handful of grain before they cooked their meal. The proceeds from the sale of the grain were given to the church. 221

The Committee on the State of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1916 reported that "in practically all of their large centers, their churches were self-supporting." 222

The infusion and inculcation of the spirit of selfless evangelism in the Christian community was another aspect of evangelical policy developed during this period. In several missions, Indian Christians were inspired with the spirit of evangelism. The Annual Report of the American Board in 1885 stated:

What is specially gratifying to notice is the greater interest shown by individual church members in making the gospel known to the

221 Harper, op. cit., p. 316.
222 Ibid.
heathen around them. In Bombay, for example, companies of two and three individuals are found working in different parts of the city.223

In the Madura Mission of the American Board, the Home Missionary Society, founded by Indian Christians, was very active during this period. In 1886, this society collected a source of 1,276 rupees from different sources, of which a part was given for the support of pastors and a part was given for evangelistic labors.224

Students from various theological seminaries established by missions volunteered for evangelical work from time to time.225

The rise of evangelical fervor among a section of the highly educated Indian Christians, which culminated in the founding of the National Missionary Society in 1905,226 largely aided missionary work during this period. "With Indian men, Indian money and Indian management," this society "laid the burden of India's evangelization upon her own sons."227 Messrs. V. S.

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224 American Board, Annual Report, 1887, p. 94.
226 Richter, op. cit., p. 436.
227 Eddy, Path Finders of World Missionary Crusade, p. 144.
Azariah, K. T. Paul and J. R. Chitambar were the moving spirits behind this movement. The leaders of the National Missionary Society were increasingly Oriental in their attitudes and had a deeper appreciation of the spiritual values in the indigenous religions. They achieved a remarkable degree of success in evangelization.

The growth of the Y.M.C.A., Sunday Schools and the Salvation Army are some of the other expressions of the corporate aspect of missionary activity in India during this period. The Y.M.C.A. movement which stirred the student world of Great Britain and America since the year 1886, affected almost every part of the world-wide mission field. The first branch of the Y.M.C.A. in India was formed in Trivandrum, Kerala, in 1870. In 1889 the first secretary of this organization arrived in India and established his headquarters in Madras. The Y.M.C.A. developed several branches of activity, like the Indian National Council of the Y.M.C.A., the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. of India and Ceylon, the Y.W.C.A. and the

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228 Ibid.
229 Ibid.
230 Ibid.
231 Richter, op. cit., p. 326.
232 Ibid.
Student Volunteer Movement of India and Ceylon. All these were branches of the World's Student Christian Federation, which was founded in Sweden in 1895, and of which John R. Mott, a famous American missionary, was the chairman. All these organizations were engaged in service for Englishmen as well as Indians, for Hindus and Mohammedans as well as Christians. The usefulness of the Y.M.C.A. for Christian work among educated non-Christians was acknowledged in the American Board Annual Report of 1895.

The Student Volunteer Movement was born in America in 1886 as a result of Robert Wilder's vision, Dwight L. Moody's spiritual drive and John R. Mott's organizing genius. After organizing this movement, Robert Wilder visited India in 1893 and organized student work in Calcutta, which he continued for eighteen months. In 1895 he moved to Poona, where he succeeded

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233 Ibid.
234 Ibid.
235 Ibid.
236 American Board, Annual Report, 1895, p. 60
237 Eddy, op. cit., p. 41.
238 Ibid.
in converting a young man from the Brahman caste from which no member had been converted in that area for a period of eighteen years. 239 Mr. Wilder returned to India in 1900 again as the College Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. and remained in this post until 1902. 240

The Sunday School Union for evangelical and social work among younger students was founded in India in 1876. 241 The American missionaries were the protagonists and prime movers in this new department of Christian work. 242 These Sunday Schools were established by them, in some places, in connection with Mission Schools and in others, independent of such support. By 1910, American Protestant missions had established 6,744 Sunday Schools all over India. 243

The Salvation Army, after 1875, took its final form in England. It was founded by William Booth, a great evangelist of England. 244 It has been described

239 Richter, op. cit., p. 327.
240 Ibid.
241 Ibid.
242 Ibid.
as "the most significant and notable product of Victorian England."  

The Salvation Army began its work in India in 1878. Its officers worked on the principles of self-sacrifice, simplicity and renunciation. It has been observed that they began "a new era in the history of missionary enterprise in India, through their self-less service and simple living."  

Besides these new methods and policies, the older methods of work like visiting the Zenanas by the Bible-women and women missionaries and spreading the gospel through the use of the Press also continued. All the American Missionary Societies had in this period their Women's Foreign Missionary Boards, which sent their representatives for evangelical and other types of missionary work in India.  

There was a great increase in the emphasis on woman's work in the field. By 1900 women missionaries, including missionaries' wives, outnumbered the male missionaries.

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245 Ibid.  
The period between 1870 and 1910 witnessed an intensification of social activities in the field of American Protestant evangelism in India. These efforts were amply rewarded during this period through large-scale conversions and indirect diffusion of Christian principles and ethics. The phenomenal increase in the number of conversions entailed additional burdens on the part of missionaries, which resulted in an unprecedented increase of educational, medical, and welfare activities of Protestant missions. This increase will be discussed in the following chapters. The missionaries put forth admirable efforts for the creation of a stable and respectable Christian community by enlarging the facilities of intellectual, moral, and economic advancement. By inculcating the virtues of self-support and the evangelical spirit, among Indian Christians, a sense of community, which found concrete expression in the establishment of the National Missionary Society, was developed.

Through their efforts, which were directed toward carrying the gospel to the educated classes, the missionaries succeeded in disseminating widely the principles of Christianity and in getting many friends and admirers among Indian intellectuals. Their sympathetic study of Indian philosophy and religion resulted
in an increased appreciation of Christianity among Indian intellectuals.

Those missionaries who identified themselves with the political aspirations of India got further admiration from the Indians and the way was paved for closer contact, which was to develop later on between some of the missionaries and Mahatma Gandhi.

Missionaries' work for the uplift of the depressed classes and primitive tribes and the work of the Y.M.C.A's, the Y.W.C.A.'s and the Salvation Army, brought to Indian attention the social element in Christianity and led to similar movements in Indian religions. The evangelical work of American Protestant missions in India during this period, therefore, was highly rewarding and fruitful.
CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF AMERICAN PROTESTANT
MISSIONS IN INDIA BETWEEN 1870-1910

There was a growing emphasis on education in the program of American Protestant Missions between 1870 and 1910. Missionaries desired to see Indian education develop on Christian and democratic principles. They established a sizable group of educational institutions, schooling a percentage of students far out of proportion to the size of the Christian population. Their institutions imparted education in a Christian atmosphere which was conspicuous by its absence in the government and indigenous schools and colleges. They maintained their lead over other bodies in spreading education among Indian women. They trained large numbers of girls who became teachers, doctors and nurses. Through their theological schools, they created a corps of Christian workers. Industrial and agricultural education made a direct appeal to missionaries as having for its main object the enrichment of life through labor and honest livelihood. They established a network of village schools for bringing literacy and better life to the
traditionally unschooled castes and classes in India. They were the pioneers of education for the defective persons in India. Some of their institutions provided models for the government and other local bodies. Missionaries were, therefore, a very important group of educators in India during this period.

There was a rapid growth of education in India between 1870 and 1910. The modern system of education initiated by the famous dispatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854, began to show results during this period. The three universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras had been established in 1857. Since then, the development of colleges in India was fairly rapid. Where there had been 27 Arts colleges in 1857, their number reached 72 in 1882. In 1907, there were five universities and 127 Arts colleges in British India including Burma.

The system of collegiate education developing in India had some major defects. It was essentially

1McCully, op. cit., p. 144.


3H. W. Orange, Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-07, Vol. I (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1909), p. 43. The universities of the Punjab and Allahabad were established in 1882 and 1887 respectively.
secular in character and, therefore, no religious training whatsoever was imparted. As a result, it tended to produce a character which was not animated by religious ideals. Higher education was pursued with too exclusive a view to entering government service. Those who failed to obtain government jobs, were ill fitted for other pursuits. The courses of study were too literary. Excessive prominence was given to examinations. As a result, the memory of the student was trained much more than his intelligence. In the pursuit of English education, the cultivation of the vernaculars was neglected. The government was expending funds on higher education to the neglect of the proper development of primary education.

Missionary educators were much more alive to these defects of the educational system than the other groups of educators. They took a large share in the discussions for improving the quality of education in India. Firstly, religious education was very dear to the heart of the missionaries and they made efforts so that Christianity could be taught as a religion. Secondly, they endeavored for a more rapid spread of primary education.

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5Ibid., p. 163.
education. Thirdly, the Despatch of 1854 had given them hopes that higher education would expand under their auspices; therefore, they liked the government to withdraw from the field in their favor.\(^6\)

Missionaries had made efforts for the teaching of Christianity as a religion during the earlier period. Dr. Alexander Duff had proposed that the Bible should be taught as a textbook in the colleges, but this advice had been disregarded in the Wood's Despatch.\(^7\) Again, in 1858, the Church Missionary Society had submitted a memorial to Queen Victoria to the effect that the Bible should be "introduced into the system of education in all the government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude," but the events of 1857 had tended to strengthen the policy of secular education.\(^8\)

For the purpose of carrying on their agitation for educational reforms, missionaries formed "The General Council on Education in India" in 1878, with its headquarters in London.\(^9\) Rev. James Johnston, whose


\(^7\)Manikam, op. cit., p. 11.

\(^8\)Nurulla and Naik, op. cit., p. 246.
energetic appeals for reform attracted much attention, was its Secretary. In 1881, this Council presented an address to Lord Ripon, the newly appointed Viceroy, begging him to institute an inquiry into education in India.\textsuperscript{10} The following reply of the Viceroy reveals the keen interest shown by missionaries in the extension of elementary education for the poorer classes:

\begin{quote}
I do not think I shall be guilty of any indiscretion if I tell you even now how much I sympathize with your desire to promote the extension of elementary education among the poorer classes. This has been an especial object of interest to me for many years in England, it will not be less so in India.\textsuperscript{11}
\end{quote}

On the question of religious education, the ranks of missionaries were soon strengthened by Indian religious groups. The Brahmo Samajists, the Prarthana Samajists and the Arya Samajists began to demand religious education in schools on the lines of their own faith, while the Orthodox Hindus, who, in the earlier period had fought against the new education, desired that the new schools should combine instruction in the principles of Hindu religion, in the case of all Hindu children.\textsuperscript{12}

The Muslims who were now coming under the system of

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\textsuperscript{10}Zellner, op. cit., p. 84.
\textsuperscript{11}Quoted by Zellner, op. cit., p. 84.
\textsuperscript{12}Nurulla & Naik, op. cit., p. 246.
\end{flushright}
modern education insisted that the Koran should be taught to Muslim children.\textsuperscript{13} In short, by 1882, there was a general feeling among several sections of the Indian people that religious education should be provided to each child in the principles of his faith.

In order to inquire into Indian educational problems and also to satisfy the missionary demand for a thorough investigation, Lord Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir W. W. Hunter, on February 3, 1882.\textsuperscript{14} Three prominent missionary educators of this period--the Rev. William Miller, Principal of the Madras Christian College; the Rev. W. Blackett, Principal of the Church Mission Divinity College, Calcutta; and the Rev. Dr. H. Jean, Rector of the St. Joseph College, Trichinopoly--were members of this Commission.\textsuperscript{15}

On the question of religious education, the Indian Education Commission did not fully satisfy the demands of missionary educators. It upheld the policy of secular education in government institutions, but declared that private schools should be permitted to

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{14}Zellner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 87.
\item \textsuperscript{15}Manikam, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 22.
\end{itemize}}
impart such religious instruction as they chose and the government should pay grants-in-aid on the basis of secular education imparted in them.\textsuperscript{16} This view had been propounded by the Despatch of 1854, and the Commission, in deference chiefly to missionary opinion, reiterated it with equal firmness, which satisfied the missionaries to some extent.\textsuperscript{17} They could freely teach Christianity in their schools and receive grants-in-aid from the government.

By 1910, missionary educators succeeded in bringing about a significant change in the tone of official pronouncements upon religious education in India. Administrators came into closer sympathy with the missionaries on the question of imparting faith in a spiritual ideal.\textsuperscript{18} They also succeeded in creating a sizable public opinion in favor of a religious basis for education in India.

In the realm of primary education also, the Hunter Commission of 1882 did not satisfy the demands of missionaries for its rapid growth. The Commission


\textsuperscript{17}Ibid.

recognized a need for its acceleration, but made no drastic or revolutionary proposals. In 1902, the Decennial Missionary Conference, meeting in Madras, passed the following resolution:

The Conference recommends that missionaries persistently press upon government the necessity of devoting an ever-increasing amount of money to grants-in-aid for the maintenance and extension of primary education and that missions assure government of their willingness to co-operate.

In 1904, there came an important change in the educational policy of the Government of India. Lord Curzon, through his resolution of 1904, emphasized in forceful terms the need for an aggressive campaign for literacy in India. This was followed up by princely grants from imperial to provincial funds for expansion of primary education, which led to a greater increase in the number of pupils in primary schools by 1910. The credit for presenting the needs of primary education to the government, in an organized fashion, goes to missionary educators of this period.

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19 Mayhew, op. cit., p. 230. It recommended an increase of ten lakhs of rupees in the annual budget for primary education.


21 Mayhew, op. cit., p. 231.

22 Ibid.

23 By 1900, Mr. Gokhale and other Indian leaders began to agitate for a more rapid growth of elementary education. In 1910, he pleaded for a compulsory primary education in India.
Missionaries were not allowed to control higher education and develop it according to their own convictions. The Indian Education Commission of 1882, did not approve of a policy of state withdrawal from higher and secondary education in favor of missionary enterprise.\(^{24}\) Instead, the Commission recommended a complete withdrawal of the state in the sphere of primary education in favor of local boards and municipalities and a gradual withdrawal in the realm of secondary and collegiate education in favor of private Indian enterprise.\(^{25}\) The Government of India accepted the recommendation of the Commission in regard to primary education, but in the realm of secondary and collegiate education, the government did not withdraw completely in favor of private Indian enterprise.

Higher education in India, therefore, did not develop on religious principles. Christian thought did not get an opportunity to transform the entire personality of educated Indians who came to government schools and colleges for equipment in the struggle for existence, but who looked elsewhere for the secret of happy living. Mr. Mayhew believes that a fully Christian

\(^{24}\)Manikam, op. cit., p. 24.

\(^{25}\)Nurulla & Naik, op. cit., p. 259.
education could have made a greater contribution to the moral progress of India than secular education, which vaguely affected the thought and sentiment of educated India.  

He comments:

The writer's personal view is that moral progress in India depends on the gradual transformation of education by explicit recognition of the spirit of Christ. All that he has seen of Christian mission work, . . . has convinced him that work inspired by some such aim can alone supply the necessary basis.  

American missionaries became highly active in educational work during this period. This heightened interest in education arose from certain aims and needs of Protestant Christianity in India. Firstly, there was immense illiteracy in India. Only six per cent of the male population of India was literate in 1881.  

Every year, thousands of persons from traditionally illiterate classes were accepting Christianity through the mass movements. These had to be intellectually and spiritually nurtured. The Christian community in India had to be provided with intelligent leaders. There was a dearth of educated leaders in this community. In 1881, only 3.07 per cent

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26 Mayhew, *op. cit.* , p. 4.


of the college students were Indian Christians.\textsuperscript{29} The development of the Christian community demanded the growth of a Christian education under missionary auspices. Rev. James C. R. Ewing, Principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore (American Presbyterian), thought that "the upbuilding of the Church through the training of the children and youth of the community, was one of the essential aims of missionary education."\textsuperscript{30}

In a predominantly non-Christian country like India, Christian education had also certain evangelistic purposes. Missionary educators desired as the result of their efforts the direct conversion of those under their influence to a faith in Jesus Christ. As the Rev. W.A. Stanton, of the American Baptist Telugu Mission, pointed out: "The real purpose of educational missionary work is not merely to educate, nor merely to remove obstacles and breakdown barriers, but to win our pupils to Christ."\textsuperscript{31}

Side by side with the opportunities accorded for the conversion of individuals, and the dominant necessity for training the young Christians in a Christian

\textsuperscript{29}McCully, op. cit., p. 179.


\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., p. 17.
atmosphere, a leading motive for American Protestant missionary education is found in the diffusion of Christian ideas and ideals. Education was to be the "Praeparatio Evangelica," a leaven in the midst of that non-Christian land and an instrument for bringing the Kingdom of God to that nation. As Dr. John P. Jones, American Board missionary to Madura wrote:

The schools of our Missions throughout India have perhaps their highest function to perform, ... in their evangelising work, and in pre-disposing the non-Christian community to our faith and in preparing them for fuller acceptance of Christianity.

The Christian colleges, it was believed, afforded "the unique opportunity for evangelizing those classes (like High Caste Hindus and Mohammedans) which were largely inaccessible to other methods of missionary agency." The government colleges in India were promoting the growth of an education which was divorced from religion. Consequently, this education tended to create a civilization which, on the religious side, was

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becoming agnostic and materialistic. Missionary educators, therefore, aimed at checking the advance of agnostic and materialistic tendencies by promoting Christian education.

American missionaries, in their educational efforts were also inspired with the social Gospel. Education was one of the best means for Christianizing the whole social order. They also believed in the democratic ideals of education. As Rev. Clough commented, "an aristocracy of learning, as represented by the Brahmans was foreign to my way of thinking." Probably, the efforts of the United States to promote the growth of education in the Philippines after 1900, on a vaster scale than was being done by the Government of India, also might have kindled the educational zeal of American missionaries. Last, but not least, they tried to promote ideas of liberalism, democracy, and freedom for

\[35\text{Clough, op. cit., p. 318.}\]

\[36\text{Ibid., p. 118.}\]

\[37\text{In 1910, Mr. Gokhale in his speech on primary education, praised the efforts of the United States for education in the Philippines.}\]
women through their educational institutions. 38

American missionary literature of the period
points to the general acceptance of the importance of
education--higher and primary--in the program of mis­sions. This is a notable change from the earlier
period when two deputations sent by the American Board
of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American
Baptist Missionary Union in 1856 and 1854 respectively,
had considered education as an auxiliary to evangelistic
work of missions and recommended the closing of high
schools teaching English. 39 Rev. N. G. Clark, the
Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners
for Foreign Missions, declared in 1890:

As Christianity is akin to the highest thought
of man, it demands an education that shall not
only be high, but higher than that of any other
system of religion. It is only such higher edu­
cation, whether at home or abroad, that can se­
cure the triumph of Christian ideas, of Chris­
tian institutions, in short, of the Kingdom of
God upon earth. 40

38 World Missionary Conference, 1910, Report of
of Commission III, p. 370. Also, Ecumenical Missionary
1900), p. 139.

39 American Board, Report of the Deputation to
India & Ceylon, 1856, pp. 27-28. W. H. P. Faunce, Social
Aspects of Foreign Missions (New York: The Methodist

40 N. G. Clark, "Higher Christian Education As Re­
lated to Foreign Missionary Work," American Board, An­
nual Report, 1890, p. xxiii.
Rev. Clough of the American Baptist Mission at Ongole thought that "education would form the bridge between the Christian community and the rest of Indian society and would eventually lead to the elevation of the social status of the Christian converts." 41

This conviction found expression in the proceedings and resolutions of important Protestant missionary conferences. In the Decennial Missionary Conference, meeting in Bombay in 1893, Dr. J. C. R. Ewing declared educational mission work to be "as important as any other type of work." 42 Bishop J. M. Thoburn, missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, wished there might be a hundred more colleges under missionary auspices. 43 The Ecumenical Missionary Conference, meeting in New York in 1900, declared "the Christian high school or college as the expression of the Church's faith in its own future as a permanent factor of the national life." 44

41 Clough, op. cit., p. 117.


43 Ibid., p. 283.

The most emphatic declaration in favor of educational work of missions came in the recommendations of the Report of Commission III of the World Missionary Conference, 1910. The Commissioners stated their opinion as follows:

It is the deliberate judgment of the Commission that such schools and colleges in India constitute an indispensable agency for the achievement of the purpose of Christian missions and that the great help which they have rendered and are rendering, . . . ought to avail to prevent any recurrence of those waves of anti-educational sentiments which have in times past checked or undone the educational work of missions.45

American Protestant missionaries translated these convictions into action by founding an impressive number of colleges in India during this period. In the Presidency of Madras, where more than one-third of the missionary colleges were situated,46 American Protestant missions contributed four colleges. The American College, Madura, managed by the American Board Mission was established as a second grade college, affiliated with the University of Madras in 1881.47

The Arcot Mission of the Reformed Dutch Church in

46 Ibid., p. 12.
America contributed the second institution in Madras Presidency. The mission raised its high school—the Arcot Seminary—to the rank of a second grade college, affiliated with the Madras University, in 1898.\footnote{Ibid., p. 87.}

Rev. Clough, the leader of the Mass Movements in the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency, through his zeal and vigorous efforts, started the American Baptist Mission College at Ongole in 1892.\footnote{Clough, op. cit., p. 375.}

The Andhra Christian College, was founded in 1885, at Guntur in the Telugu-speaking area of the Madras Presidency, by the United Lutheran Church Mission of America.\footnote{Manikam, op. cit., p. 88.}

This period saw the growth of the principle of cooperation and union in the educational enterprise of Protestant missions in India. The Decennial Missionary Conference, in 1902, called upon Protestant missions to observe, wherever possible, the principle of cooperation in the realm of higher education in India.\footnote{Quoted in Rajah B. Manikam, op. cit., p. 38.} The Report of Commission III of the World Missionary Conference, 1910, recommended that missions engaged in higher
educational work in India should avoid "duplication of work and combine Christian colleges in the same region wherever possible."  

In pursuance of this policy, American Protestant missions contributed to the growth of certain Union Mission Colleges in India. The Madras Christian College, which was one of the most famous Protestant colleges in India, was operated jointly by American and British Protestant missions.  

In North India, especially in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Punjab, American Missions found a freer scope for contributing to the growth of higher education. In Bombay, Central Provinces and Bengal, the Church of England, Scottish churches and the Roman Catholic Missions had preceded the American missionaries and were, therefore, more active educationally in these areas. The metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were already overcrowded with mission colleges. In order to avoid duplication of work, American Protestant missions did not embark upon any higher educational enterprise in these areas and concentrated


53 Manikam, op. cit., p. 77.
their efforts, after Madras Presidency, in U. P. and the Punjab.

In the United Provinces, the two government colleges--the Muir Central College at Allahabad and the Queen's College at Benares--were secular institutions and there was no place for Christian students, (especially in Eastern U. P.) to receive higher education in a Christian atmosphere. Therefore, missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. decided to open a college in Allahabad. Through the vigorous efforts of the Rev. James J. Lucas and the Rev. Arthur H. Ewing, funds were raised in the U.S. and the college, after construction of buildings, was opened in 1902. Friends of the mission in America, notably John Wanamaker and others in Philadelphia, and the alumni of the Princeton University, provided funds for additional land and buildings and agricultural, electrical and mechanical courses were added. After ten years of indefatigable labor, Dr. Ewing was able to see his institution develop

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54 St. John's College, Agra, maintained by Church Missionary Society was situated in Western U. P. A. J. Brown, op. cit., p. 611.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.
into a first grade college, with a spacious campus, fine buildings and 290 students on the rolls. At the death of Dr. Ewing in 1912, thousands of the people of the city of Allahabad shared in the mourning and the college, as a memorial to his services, was named the Ewing Christian College, Allahabad. 57

A very notable contribution to the cause of higher female education in North India was made through the creation of the Isabella Thoburn College in Lucknow. Miss Isabella Thoburn, the founder of this institution, devoted her whole life to the cause of female education in India. This remarkable woman was the first missionary sent by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S. in 1869. 58 In 1870, she established a girl's school in a mud-walled room in the Lucknow bazaar, which through her devoted zeal and efforts, developed into a college in 1895. 59 Miss Thoburn desired to set a standard of education for the women of India equally as high as that projected for men, and she was able to see her little school develop into a first grade college by the time of her death in 1901. 60 The college was named the Isabella Thoburn

57 Ibid.
59 Ibid., p. 507.
College, as a memorial to her work. After the death of Miss Thoburn, this college was nurtured by Miss Lilavati Singh, a disciple of Miss Thoburn and a Christian convert.\textsuperscript{61} The college was one of the two first grade colleges for women in the whole of India and the only first grade college for women under mission management during the period under review.\textsuperscript{62} The ideals of social service and the spirit of passionate sacrifice for others, embodied in the life of its founder, formed a strong tradition in this college. The American sense of community life was transferred with wise adaptation to the Indian environment in the college.\textsuperscript{63} This institution has undoubtedly been one of the remarkable contributions of American missionary enterprise to India.

The Reid Christian College, Lucknow, was established in 1877 by the North India Conference of the

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{62}]H. W. Orange, Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907, Vol. II (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1909), pp. 75-82. The second first-grade college for women in India was the Bethune College, a government institution established in 1859 in Calcutta.
\item[\textsuperscript{63}]Cowan, op. cit., p. 138.
\end{itemize}
Methodist Episcopal Church. 64 The American Methodists were closely associated with this institution.

In the Punjab, too, the American Protestant missions made notable contributions to the cause of higher education. The Forman Christian College made remarkable progress under the Principalship of the Rev. James C. R. Ewing. 65 Between 1902 and 1907, the Government of India, gave liberal grants to this college, through which its buildings were remodelled and several large additions were made to the boarding accommodation. A chemical laboratory was added and the physical laboratory was enlarged. 66 It was one of the very few colleges offering science courses during the period.

Dr. James C. R. Ewing, was one of the outstanding missionary educators of this period. He served the Punjab University in various capacities. From 1894 to 1907, he was the Dean of the faculty of Arts in that University and from 1910 to 1917, was the Vice-Chancellor. 67 He was a great supporter of higher education

under missionary auspices, and pleaded for it vigorously during the Third Decennial Missionary Conference, held in Bombay, in 1892. 68 His love for India was so great that he rejected the offer of Presidencies of Wooster College (Ohio) and Center College (Kentucky) and preferred to continue his services in India. 69 In 1917, the British government honored him with an honorary knighthood and the Punjab University conferred upon him the honorary D.Litt. degree. 70 Dr. Ewing, along with Miss Isabella Thoburn and his brother, A. H. Ewing, rank as the three greatest American missionary educators of India during this period. The contribution of these three missionaries to the cause of higher education forms a notable chapter in the history of the cultural relations of the two countries.

The second institution contributed by the American missionaries to the Punjab was the Gordon Mission College, Rawalpindi, which was established in 1893 by the American United Presbyterian Mission. 71 It was named

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71 Mukerji, op. cit., p. 81.
after the Rev. Andrew Gordon, the pioneer missionary of the church in India.\textsuperscript{72} Two out of the three first grade colleges under mission auspices in the Punjab were managed by American missions.\textsuperscript{73}

In Burma, one out of the two Arts colleges was managed by the American Baptist Mission at Rangoon. This college, known as the American Baptist Mission College, was the only college under mission management in Burma.\textsuperscript{74}

In the quinquennium that ended in 1907, there were 127 Arts colleges in British India, including Burma.\textsuperscript{75} Among these, 28 were managed by the government, 53 by private Indian enterprise, and 46 by missionary agencies.\textsuperscript{76} American Protestant missions in India and Burma were managing 10 colleges, apart from their cooperation in Union institutions.\textsuperscript{77} They contributed


\textsuperscript{73}Orange, Vol. II, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 81.

\textsuperscript{74}\textit{Ibid.}, Vol. I, p. 47. The second college was managed by the government.

\textsuperscript{75}\textit{Ibid.}, Vol. I, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{76}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{77}\textit{Ibid.}
almost one-fourth of the number of missionary colleges in India. In U.P. and the Punjab, their contribution to the growth of higher education was even greater, where more than 70 per cent of the mission colleges were being managed by them.\(^{78}\)

Christian colleges in India functioned under certain serious handicaps which prevented them from realizing their missionary objectives fully. The pressure of examinations made students reluctant to listen to Scriptural instructions.\(^{79}\) The bureaucratic nature of Indian universities imposed many restrictions on the Christian colleges in working out their proper purpose. The missionary teacher had hardly any time left for teaching anything but the text books.\(^{80}\) The University regulations deprived the colleges of their educational initiative. They had to conform to University regulations, to maintain a certain standard of equipment, and to follow a curriculum which was professedly impartial as regards religion.\(^{81}\)

\(^{78}\)In the Punjab, two out of the four mission colleges were managed by American Protestant missions, while in U.P., three out of the five were American mission colleges. Women's colleges which developed later on, added to the American missionary contribution.

\(^{79}\)Lindsay, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94.


\(^{81}\)Lindsay, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94.
The size of the college was also determined by alien considerations. The dependence of college finance upon fee income was often a more serious danger than their dependence upon government grants.\textsuperscript{82} It led them to increase their strength, which sometimes undermined their missionary character. Many times, missionary educators failed to maintain a Christian faculty, because they were obliged to fill a vacancy within the prescribed time limit according to University regulations.\textsuperscript{83}

As a result, direct conversion through Christian colleges was rare.\textsuperscript{84} But, it was mainly through these institutions that Christian ideas and ideals were diffused to a very great extent in India.\textsuperscript{85} They not only broke down the prejudice against Christ and Christianity, but created a reverence for the personality of Christ among a large segment of the educated Indians.\textsuperscript{86}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{82}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., p. 95.
\textsuperscript{84}Mayhew, "Christian Ethic and India," \textit{Modern India and the West}, p. 328.
\textsuperscript{86}Mayhew, "Christian Ethic and India," \textit{Modern India & the West}, p. 328.
\end{flushright}
Those trained in missionary colleges were accessible to Christian preaching to a far greater degree than those who had never been under Christian instruction.\footnote{World Missionary Conference, 1910, Report of Commission III, p. 25.}

Missionary educators in the Christian colleges proved a bond of spiritual fellowship between America and India. The intimate relations between pupils and teachers existing in these institutions tended to remove prejudice and misconception and contributed to a better understanding between the two cultures. Some missionary teachers and students became life-long friends. Miss Isabella Thoburn and Miss Lilavati Singh, who were teacher and pupil, became very intimate friends and both contributed to the growth of the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow.\footnote{Minna G. Cowan, op. cit., p. 137.} Miss Singh accompanied Miss Thoburn to the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900, where both of them presented the case of female education in India very forcefully.\footnote{Ecumenical Missionary Conference, 1900, Report of the Conference Held in Carnegie Hall & Neighboring Churches, April 21 to May 1, 1900, Vol. II, pp. 135-141.} Rev. Dr. James C. R. Ewing, the Principal of the Forman Christian
College, Lahore (1888-1918), was not only loved and respected by his students, but was one of the best known and most trusted foreigners in the Punjab.  

The ideal of Christianity for exercising Christian love in the service of those who are in need was expressed through the social service activities of many of these colleges. The American College, Madura, the Forman Christian College, Lahore and the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, were noted for their social service leagues and their activities.  

The Y.M.C.A.'s and the student Christian associations were active in these colleges and helped in conveying the Christian message to the general body of students. The college hostel and the chapel were important elements in the creation of a Christian atmosphere in which the reality of the Christian life was effectively demonstrated.

90 Johnson & Malone (ed.), Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. VI, p. 235. Among the British educational missionaries, Dr. Miller, the Principal of the Madras Christian College, was very widely respected and loved by his students.

91 Lindsay, et al., op. cit., p. 105. Also, M. G. Cowan, op. cit., p. 138.

92 Lindsay, op. cit., p. 104.
They contributed to the growth of the Indian church by producing men of character and ability who added lustre to the prestige of the Indian Christian community. Some of the prominent Indian Christians who distinguished themselves in social reform and education were alumni of these Christian colleges. Messrs. K. T. Paul, S. K. Rudra, Dr. & Mrs. Satthianadhan, and S. K. Datta had a widely recognized national status and influence.93

Many prominent non-Christians were also products of these Christian colleges. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the present President of India, is an alumnus of the Madras Christian College,94 while the late Sir Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar, a famous physicist and the ex-chairman of the Universities' Grants Commission, was a product of the Forman Christian College, Lahore.95 Frequent testimony was given by Viceroy's and Governors to the character and ability shown by ex-students of Christian colleges in posts of high responsibility.96

93Mayhew, "Christian Ethic and India," Modern India & the West, p. 332.


95A. J. Brown, op. cit., p. 610.

96Mayhew, op. cit., p. 329.
The Christian colleges established by missionary educators served a useful purpose. Indian public opinion valued Christian colleges because of their character and spirit, given by their missionary purpose. The Sadler Commission Report in 1917 rightly observed that "the distinctive character of the Christian colleges contributed a most valuable element to the educational system in India." 97

Christian colleges inspired Indian religious leaders to establish colleges on missionary principles. Mrs. Annie Besant established the Central Hindu College at Benares in 1898, where Hinduism took the place of Christianity. 98 The leaders of the Arya Samaj established the D.A.V. College, Lahore, in 1886, on similar principles. 99

The efforts of American Protestant missions in the realm of secondary and college education for Indian women were praiseworthy. Apart from the Isabella Thoburn College in Lucknow, some other institutions were developed through missionary cooperation. The Woodstock College in Mussorie was developed and, later on, supported by various British and American Mission Boards.

97 Quoted in Lindsay, op. cit., p. 86.
98 Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 271.
In 1876, the Presbyterian Women's Foreign Missionary Society of Philadelphia purchased the school from the London Society for the promotion of female education. In 1906, the school developed into a college affiliated with the Allahabad University. A college of music, affiliated with the London Trinity College of Music, was added. A large majority of students in this college were Americans, while European and Eurasian children were also enrolled.

The Women's Christian College at Madras, and the Kinnaird College for Women at Lahore, were other examples of cooperative venture on the part of Protestant missions. After the World Missionary Conference of 1910, British, American and Canadian Mission Boards decided to open a Women's College at Madras, which materialized a few years later. Kinnaird College for Women grew out of a school for girls conducted by the

100 A. J. Brown, op. cit., p. 618.
101 Ibid., p. 619.
102 Ibid.
103 Manikam, op. cit., p. 78. The College began to function as a Union institution in July, 1915.
Zenana Bible and Medical Missions. 104

The medical education of Indian women assumed new importance in the educational policy of American Protestant missions. The want of woman doctors was the cause of thousands of premature deaths of Indian women. In 1869, Miss Clara A. Swain, arrived as a representative of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the American Methodist Church. She was not only the first woman medical missionary, but also the first qualified female doctor in India. 105 Apart from her activities as a doctor, Miss Swain started teaching medicine to sixteen orphanage girls and three women at Bareilly. 106 In 1872, the first graduating class, thirteen in number, received certificates for practice. 107 Miss Swain taught medicine to Indian girls for 15 years in her medical school at Bareilly. 108

104 A. J. Brown, op. cit., p. 619. It developed into a college in 1913 and became a Union institution in 1918, managed jointly by British and American Protestant missions.


106 Ibid., p. 508.

107 Ibid.

Two out of the three medical schools for women were established by Protestant missions during this period. The North India School of Medicine for Christian Women, was established at Ludhiana in 1894, in which the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. cooperated.\textsuperscript{109} The second medical school for women was developed at Vellore, by the American Arcot Mission.\textsuperscript{110}

Christian missions contributed a great deal to the cause of medical education for women during this period.\textsuperscript{111} In 1887, Sir Charles U. Aitchison, one of the Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, acknowledge the contribution made by missions in this field in the following words:

It is to the example set by missionary ladies in mission hospitals, and in house-to-house visitation, that the present demand for medical aid and the medical training for the women of India is mainly due.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{109} A. J. Brown, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 636.
\textsuperscript{110} Eddy, \textit{Path-Finders for World Missionary Crusade}, p. 134. The medical schools for women at Ludhiana and Vellore became medical colleges in 1915 and 1918 respectively.
\textsuperscript{111} Gray, "The Progress of Women," \textit{Modern India & the West}, p. 464. There was only one government school for their doors to women in 1875 and 1885 in Madras and Bombay respectively.
\textsuperscript{112} Quoted in Dennis, \textit{Vol. II, op. cit.}, p. 408.
The missionaries in their schools inculcated the spirit of social service among Christian girls, and thus created a corps of female doctors and nurses who contributed a great deal to the alleviation of the physical sufferings of Indian women. A very large portion of female doctors and nurses during this period were either Christians or Parsis. In 1907, 70 out of the 76 female students qualifying for a medical degree, and 141 out of the 168 female students qualifying for a lower medical qualification, were Christians or Parsis. The League of Nations Report on Health, in 1928, rightly pointed out that "for a very long time practically all the Indian nurses who underwent training were Christians."

Missionaries (both British and American) had pioneered the cause of education for girls in the 1820's. During the period under review, they maintained their lead over other agencies in this sphere. In American Protestant missions, female education in all its branches received special attention. Nearly all missionary societies in America had their boards of

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114 Quoted by Gray, "The Progress of Women," Modern India and the West, p. 467.
115 O'Malley, Modern India & the West, p. 688.
Women's Foreign Missionary Societies, which sent their representatives to work among Indian women.\textsuperscript{116} By 1910, the number of women missionaries in India was more than the number of male missionaries.\textsuperscript{117} Most of the female missionaries were engaged in educational work.\textsuperscript{118} A large number of Indian girls were receiving education in American mission schools, which were meant for Christian, Hindu and Muslim girls alike. Sometimes, these schools were named as Hindu girls' school or Mohammedan girls' school. The mission of the Presbyterian Church had both a Hindu girls' school and a Mohammedan girls' school in Lahore, while their Mary Wanamaker school at Allahabad was meant for Christian girls.\textsuperscript{119}

The important American missionary societies, like the Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Lutherans and Methodists, maintained high and primary schools for girls in almost all of their mission stations. In 1910, the number of Indian girls (Hindus, Hindus,


\textsuperscript{117}"Statistics of Protestant Missions in India," Quoted in Sherwood Eddy, \textit{India Awakening}, Appendix.

\textsuperscript{118}\textit{Ibid}.

Muslims, Christians, Parsis), receiving education in American mission schools was as follows:120

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normal Schools</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding &amp; High Schools</td>
<td>7,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Schools</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Village Schools</td>
<td>14,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergartens</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>23,401</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

American missionaries were, therefore, an important agency for spreading education among Indian girls.

Missionary contribution to the cause of female secondary education in India was acknowledged in the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907:

The bulk of female secondary education in India is provided by missionaries, the principal difficulty in maintaining secondary school for Indian girls is to provide a staff of qualified teachers; it is by their willingness to undertake these duties that the missionaries have

succeeded in occupying so large a portion in the field.\textsuperscript{121}

The efforts of missionaries resulted in a larger percentage of literacy and education among Indian Christian girls in comparison to Hindu and Muslim girls. In 1907, the number of girls who passed the Matriculation examination in India was 178.\textsuperscript{122} The race and creed of only 98 of them was known, which was as follows:\textsuperscript{123}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Christians</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmans</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsis</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammedans</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhists</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that the largest number of girls in the above list was that of Indian Christians is a tribute to

\textsuperscript{121}Orange, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. I, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{122}Ibid., p. 255.
\textsuperscript{123}Ibid.
the efforts of missionaries in the realm of female secondary education. In the sphere of higher female education, almost all students during this period were either Christians or Parsis. Out of the 160 female students receiving instruction in Arts colleges in 1907, 48 were Europeans or Eurasians, 43 were Indian Christians, and 33 were Parsis. The missionaries, therefore, succeeded in raising the educational and intellectual level of Indian Christian girls to a very high degree. The fact that some of the first lady graduates of Indian universities were Christians as well as products of mission schools is a further testimony to the success of missionary enterprise. The first Indian girl to take the degree of M.A. in Bengal was Miss Chandramukhi Bose, a Christian convert, while the first lady graduate in Law was Miss Cornelia Sorabjee, who also was a Christian. Miss Lilavati Singh, another Christian girl who passed M.A. from the Allahabad University with very high honors, was the product of the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow. Miss Toru Dutt, the first Indian girl to compose poems in French, was also a Christian.

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124 Ibid., p. 254.
125 Dennis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 188.
126 Gray, op. cit., p. 464.
The educational achievement of Indian Christian girls created an impression on contemporary India which is attested by the following comment, made in the columns of *The Hindu*, Madras, in 1894:

The community of native Christians has not only secured a conspicuous place in the field of higher education, but in the instruction of their women, and in availing themselves of the existing means for practical advancement, they are far ahead of the Brahmans.\(^{127}\)

Sir William Hunter, in a speech delivered in 1895, paid a high tribute to the missionary bodies for their contributions towards female education. He said:

You will find that almost all the educated women of India who have made their mark in our day are native Christians, or were educated under missionary influence.\(^{128}\)

Missionaries aroused the conscience of Indian reformers to the need of female education in India. Reformers like Gokhale and N. G. Chandavarkar began to impress upon the Hindu mind the urgent need of better educational facilities for women.\(^{129}\) In 1896, the Indian National Social Conference, organized by Mr. M. G. Ranade and other members of the Prarthana Samaj, at its meeting in Calcutta, passed a resolution for "a further spread of

\(^{127}\)Quoted by Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

\(^{128}\)Ibid., p. 180.

\(^{129}\)Ibid., pp. 182-83.
female education in India, without which the progress of Indian society was not possible."¹³⁰ In 1889, Professor D. K. Karve of Poona started a school for Hindu Widows, which later on developed into the Indian Women's University.¹³¹ By 1900, the Arya Samaj, Theosophical Society and the RamKrishna Mission also began to help in women's education.¹³² The progress was still very slow. It was only after 1910 that large numbers of Hindu girls began to attend schools and colleges.¹³³

Indian women have acknowledged the debt that they owe to missionaries for pioneering the cause of female education. Mrs. Muthu Lakshmi Reddi, in an address to the All-India-Women's Conference said:

I honestly believe that missionaries have done more for women's education in this country than government itself. The woman population of this country has been placed under a deep debt of gratitude to the several missionary agencies for their valuable contribution to the educational uplift of Indian women. . . . In the past, the missionaries were the only agencies in the field. Had it not been for these noble band of Christian women teachers, who are the product of the missionary training schools, even this much

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 182.
¹³¹Gray, op. cit., p. 457. It became a University in 1916.
¹³²Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 417.
¹³³Nurulla & Naik, op. cit., p. 573.
advancement in the education of Indian women would not have been possible.\textsuperscript{134} American Protestant missions contributed to the cause of secondary education for boys also. In 1910, they were managing 192 boarding and high schools, in which 21,420 boys were receiving instruction.\textsuperscript{135} The important missionary societies—American Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists—were operating the largest number of high schools.\textsuperscript{136} This was partly because they wanted to raise the educational level of their mass movement converts, and partly because of their increased interest in the general spread of education in India.

For the purpose of creating a self-propagating and self-sustaining church in India, American Protestant missionaries tried to create a band of well-qualified preachers and pastors.\textsuperscript{137} They also wanted to supply the Indian Christian community with the stimulating and refreshing streams of Christian literature and Biblical scholarship. For this purpose, they created a number of

\textsuperscript{134}Quoted by Gray, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 455. Mrs. Reddi delivered the speech in 1931, as the President of the Conference.


\textsuperscript{136}\textit{Ibid.}

theological seminaries. The Rev. Robert A. Hume, missionary of the American Board, founded the Ahmednagar Theological Seminary in 1878.\textsuperscript{138} Under his leadership, this institution developed into a front rank theological seminary and was referred to as "the crown and flower of all the educational work in the Marathi Mission."\textsuperscript{139} Here, along with Biblical theology, church history and homiletics, special lectures were given on the principal philosophical systems of Hinduism and the Bhagavad Gita was taught in Marathi.\textsuperscript{140} The medium of instruction in this seminary was both English and Marathi.\textsuperscript{141} The Pasumalai Catechists School, founded in 1842 in the Madura Mission of the American Board, was developed into a full fledged theological seminary in 1892.\textsuperscript{142}

In North India, the American Presbyterians established the Theological Seminary at Saharanpur in 1883, for the purpose of training Christian students for the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{138} American Board Files, Letters of Rev. Robert A. Hume, July 30, 1908, Vol. 30, Mss. No. 265.
\item \textsuperscript{139} American Board, Annual Report, 1897, p. 70.
\item \textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{142} American Board, Annual Report, 1929, p. 129.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
ministry.\textsuperscript{143} The American Methodists established a Theological Seminary at Bareilly in 1872,\textsuperscript{144} while the American Baptists developed the Rampatanam Bible School into a theological seminary in the Telugu-speaking area of the Madras Presidency.\textsuperscript{145}

Through the united efforts of four missionary societies (including American societies), the United Theological College, Banglore, one of the strongest institutions of its kind, came into existence in 1910.\textsuperscript{146} In that year American Protestant missions were managing 62 institutions (theological and Bible schools), in which 2,270 students were receiving training.\textsuperscript{147} These institutions created a corps of Christian workers imbued with the ideals of Christian religion, who devoted their lives to the cause of ministry in India.

Industrial training was one of the important branches of American missionary effort. This new orientation in educational policy took place due to certain needs.

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\textsuperscript{143}Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., \textit{Annual Report, 1909}, p. 183.

\textsuperscript{144}Yorke Allen, Jr., \textit{A Seminary Survey} (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1950), p. 99. In 1923, it was transferred to Jubbulpore and became the Leonard Theological College.

\textsuperscript{145}Clough, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 227.

\textsuperscript{146}Allen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 98.

and ideals of Protestant Christianity in India. The recurrent famines during this period led the government of India to think of starting some industrial schools in order to save people from starvation. Industrial education was for the first time recommended in the Report of the Famine Commission of 1877-78.\textsuperscript{148} American Protestant missionaries who were so active in relieving the distress of the people during these famines could not fail to think of ways of providing the famine victims with some permanent means of livelihood. The urgency of this question increased especially after the terrible famine of 1897-1900, which, to make matters worse, was also accompanied with bubonic plague. Thousands of orphans and widows were thrown upon the care of missionaries. In the American Marathi Mission alone there were nearly three thousand famine children and helpless women. Their education, maintenance and future usefulness to the Indian society was a baffling problem for the missionaries. The concern of missionaries on the point is seen from the following extract from a letter written by the Rev. Robert A. Hume to The Congregationalist, Boston, on September 21, 1900:

The famine has left us a legacy in the form of about 2800 famine children and helpless women,

\textsuperscript{148}Nurulla & Naik, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 385.
for whose support we are responsible for a number of years, until we can teach them to support themselves. We desire, therefore, to make a most earnest plea that you will continue to keep your columns open to subscription for the famine children, until we are able to teach them industries through which they can support themselves.\textsuperscript{149}

It has been, therefore, rightly observed that the effects of the famine of 1897-1900 were nowhere more profound than in the educational policy of American Protestant missions.\textsuperscript{150} Industrial education came to be considered essential for these famine victims.

The general poverty of a large number of Christian converts made it imperative that they be taught some useful skills and crafts. Their conversion to Christianity sometimes resulted in a loss of means of their livelihood which were connected with Hindu religious worship.\textsuperscript{151} In certain cases, they were persecuted by their relatives and caste groups on account of their conversion and were also excluded from their parental professions.\textsuperscript{152} Some of them were so poor that "a day

\begin{footnotes}
\item[152]Ibid.
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without labor meant a day without food.\textsuperscript{153} These facts made the question of the introduction of some kinds of industries for them a matter of vital importance.

Many of these Christians wanted to have their children educated, free of cost in the mission schools, and when the course was completed, they also seemed to feel that it was the duty of the missionary to provide a position at a living salary for their children.\textsuperscript{154} This situation led the missionaries to the conclusion that mission educational system should train men for greater independence.

Missionaries also desired to teach dignity of labor, virtues of self-reliance and self-help to their students. Therefore, character-building through work was also one of the aims of industrial education. They were aware that manual labor was looked down upon by educated Indians. Therefore, they wanted to impress upon their students that Christianity blessed and ennobled every type of honest work. As the Bishop of Lucknow, exhorted Indian Christians at the Indian Christian Association at Cawnpore, in 1896:

\begin{quote}
You should be as ready to drive a plow as to drive a quill, to make a desk as to sit at one, to dig a
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{153} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{154} Ibid., p. 47.
\end{itemize}
potato as to eat it. While Indian traditions taboo work, Christianity blesses it to the followers of the Son of the Carpenter. 155

Missionaries were aware of the defects of the Indian Education System which fitted men only for literary professions and government jobs, and failed to provide any training for independent living. As the missionaries of the Marathi Mission stated in 1897:

To give to the son of a common laborer mere book learning is to practice the grossest deception upon the poor lads who attend our schools. 156

Last, but not least, a large number of American missionaries were believers in the Social-Gospel and wanted to create a respectable and self-reliant Christian society. For this purpose, economic betterment through industrial training was considered essential. The educational experiments of Booker T. Washington at his Tuskegee Institute inspired them with the vision of establishing a similar institution in India. As the Rev. Robert A. Hume wrote in 1903:

In addition to maintaining industrial missions on their present scale, we sometimes long that some philanthropic men of large means would enable us to organize near Ahmednagar or elsewhere an Indian Institute like that at Tuskegee. . . . We have admiration for the ideas and methods of Booker T. Washington. . . . We know we could do

155 Quoted by Dennis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 163.

a work somewhat like that done at Tuskegee, if
the means for it were available. 157

Later on, the Rev. Sam Higginbottom, missionary of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., also expressed similar views:

If America can give to India a few missionary
institutions like Hampton or Tuskegee, co-
educational, properly staffed with adequately
trained Americans, she will do India an in-
estimable service. 158

The Marathi Mission of the American Board was the pioneer
of industrial education. It was in this mission that
industries were first taught in the "Boys Industrial
Home" at Satara, by the Rev. R. Winsor in 1874. 159 In
1879, the school was transferred to Sirur, where it
developed into an impressive industrial school. The
course of instruction was for three years which con-
sisted of training in the manufacture of aloe-fibre mat-
ting and carpentry. 160

In 1891, the Ahmednagar High School, under the

157 American Board Files, Letter of Rev. Robert
A. Hume to Henry Phipps, Esq., March 6, 1903, Vol. 30,
Mss. No. 68.

158 Sam Higginbottom, The Gospel and the Plow
(New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), p. 43. Mr. Hig-
ginbottom went to India as a missionary in 1903.

159 American Board, Annual Report, 1876, p. 49.

160 American Board File, "The Development of
Social Work & Social Motive in the Marathi Mission,"
1922, Vol. 39, Mss. 16.
leadership of the Rev. James Smith, commenced its manual training department which soon grew into an impressive industrial school.\footnote{161} This school blossomed forth under the name of Sir Dinshaw M. Petit Industrial School, with a fine equipment of machinery and building, which was in large part the effect of a large donation from the beneficent Parsi gentleman of Bombay whose name it bore. After the famine, 1897-1900, the necessity for fitting the large number of orphans for life led the Ahmednagar missionaries to secure two industrial experts from America, one mechanical and the other agricultural, for working in this school.\footnote{162} After sometime, Mr. J. B. Knight, the agricultural expert, who was a graduate of the Massachusetts College of Agriculture, was taken over by the Bombay Presidency government for teaching in a government agriculture college.\footnote{163} The mechanical expert, Mr. D. C. Churchill, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, gave his principal attention to improvements in handweaving, the chief industry of Ahmednagar.\footnote{164}

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\footnote{161}{Ibid.}
\footnote{162}{American Board, Report of the Deputation to India and Ceylon, 1901, p. 49.}
\footnote{163}{World Missionary Conference, 1910, Report of Commission III, p. 281.}
\footnote{164}{Orange, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 198.}
By 1910, Mr. Churchill had invented improvements in winding, warping, sizing, and especially in weaving, which was of great value. His fly shuttle, worked by the feet, could turn out at least three times as much cloth as the indigenous handloom. Mr. Churchill had also devised an improved and cheap water-gauge for use in the irrigation canals. 165

In the Sir Dinshaw M. Petit Industrial School at Ahmednagar, excellent carpentry, rug-weaving, cloth-weaving, smithing, repoussé work in cooper, brass, silver and aluminium and typing were successfully taught. The Bombay government was very much interested in this school and paid one-half of all the allowances of missionary and Indian instructors and made considerable grants for building, equipment and experiments. 166

In their Bombay High School, American Board missionaries, provided instruction in shorthand and type-writing, for boys and in gold and silver embroidery for girls. 167 The Ahmednagar Girls School gave training

166 Ibid. In 1915, it developed into the American Deccan Institute of Industrial Training, p. 282.
in lace-making. The school gave employment to many girls and needy women by selling its products in America to friends of the mission.\textsuperscript{168} At Vadala, the Marathi mission provided training to Christian boys in village masonry.\textsuperscript{169}

Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church developed an industrial school at Saharanpur. Under the supervision of the Rev. Charles W. Forman, it was greatly enlarged. Boys were taught carpentry, cabinet making, blacksmithing, mechanics and tailoring.\textsuperscript{170} During the famine of 1876, the Presbyterian missionaries established an orphanage in Kolhapur in Bombay Presidency, which was removed to Sangli to form the nucleus of the Sangli Industrial and Agricultural School, which was the only school of its kind in a very large area.\textsuperscript{171} Connected with this school was the Sangli Movable School, patterned after the Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on wheels of Tuskegee Institute.\textsuperscript{172}

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\textsuperscript{168}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{169}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{170}Arthur J. Brown, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 571. Also, Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., \textit{Annual Report, 1910}, p. 226. \\
\textsuperscript{171}Ibid., p. 598. \\
\textsuperscript{172}Ibid.
\end{flushright}
designed for extension work and served many thousands of needy people in the rural areas of this mission.

The American Methodists were likewise interested in industrial schools. Their Industrial School at Ushagram, illustrated an excellent method of industrial school operation. Here, boys and girls and missionary teachers lived in small, but neat clay cottages, largely built with their own hands. In addition to the regular course, each student chose a vocation and passed an examination in it. The vocations offered included: carpentry, agriculture, bookbinding, printing, tinsmithing, weaving, home science, cookery, sewing, art and music. Manual labor was a part of the curriculum. A large part of the care of buildings and grounds, cooking and housework, was done by the students. At this school, students and teachers demonstrated their Christianity by deeds.

The United Presbyterians developed the Boys'

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174 Ibid.
175 Ibid.
176 Ibid.
Industrial Home at Gujranwala in the Punjab and the Reformed Church of America established a large industrial school at Katpadi in the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras Presidency.177

Under the leadership of the Rev. S. W. Bawden, the American Baptists began industrial education in their South India Mission.178 They also developed industrial schools at Santipore and Balasore in Orissa where instruction was given in carpentry, ironwork, canework, bookbinding and tailoring.179 Their industrial schools in their Assam Mission were also quite successful.180

By 1910, American Protestant missions were operating 29 industrial schools in India, in which 1,789 pupils were receiving instruction.181 Through these industrial schools, American Protestant missions helped in the development of local industries, such as soap-making, lace-making, basket-making, cloth weaving, and

179 Ibid., p. 90.
180 Ibid.
other home operations. By the establishment of new enterprises and by the improvement of methods already in use, missions stimulated efforts for economic advancement. Such programmes gave practical-minded missionaries an opportunity for effective work.

The better types of practical schools like the Ushagram and the Dinshaw M. Petit Industrial School at Ahmednagar trained the pupil in initiative, gave him a certain amount of technical skill, and did not tend to separate him too far from the environment in which he was later placed. They taught dignity of labor and developed habits of industry and thrift among their pupils. These students tended to lift the economic and socio-religious level of the communities to which they eventually went.\(^\text{182}\)

But, due to certain peculiar social conditions obtaining in India, the industrial work of missions could not prove an unqualified success. The great difficulty experienced by missions, after training the boys in useful arts, was in getting them to stick to it.\(^\text{183}\) Some of these students, after getting excellent training

\(^{182}\) Ibid.

in crafts or industries, went back to preaching or teaching or took up some easy job for a livelihood.\textsuperscript{184} In certain areas, the ordinary trades like carpentry, weaving or smithing, were controlled by caste-guilds, which raised barriers to Christians in joining them. Therefore, such trained Christians had to take up work in railway workshops, cotton mills or industries run by missions.\textsuperscript{185} Despite these difficulties, efforts of missionaries were rewarded in making them more skilled, more self-reliant and more independent than what they had been before.

Industrial training did not prove very useful in the case of the village Christians, who were being added to the Christian community in very large numbers through the mass-movements. Most of them were landless agricultural laborers, who were hired by the village landlords in their farms. Missionaries discovered that these depressed class village Christians were suffering from lack of nutrition.\textsuperscript{186} This led them to introduce agricultural missions in a number of locations, where

\textsuperscript{184}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{185}Ibid., p. 289.

agricultural skills were taught.

The agricultural missionary focused upon those types of work which meant something practical to these people. He found that these village Christians were not farmers, though some of them had little land. But, they kept chickens, pigs, and goats and sometimes a buffalo. Therefore, poultry work held the central position in the work of the agricultural missionary during this period.  

As a result, White Leghorns, White Orphingtons, Black Minorcas, and Rhode Island Red Chickens were introduced by American missionaries in hundreds of villages in the various parts of India.

By training these village Christians in raising poultry, American missionaries helped them to increase their income. Sometimes, at the Annual Poultry Shows in district towns, pure bred fowls raised by these Christians, won the prizes.

The goat also received the attention of American agricultural missionaries. The Rev. A. E. Slater,

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187Ibid.
189Higginbottom, Sam Higginbottom: Farmer, p. 118.
missionary of the Presbyterian Church, called the goat "the Poorman's cow." He raised goats at the mission farm at Etah in U.P. The goats bred by him gave more milk than the average cow. Village Christians were taught by him to raise goats in similar fashion. Agricultural missionaries also taught improved methods for producing fruits and vegetables.

Parallel with these types of extension work in the depressed class villages, agricultural missionaries participated from the beginning in the educational work for the depressed classes. This sometimes took the form of vocational schools, but more frequently that of an agricultural emphasis in the regular or normal school. The work was introduced into the regular school curriculum as early as the 5th standard, but most of the fruitful work in this field followed the 7th standard when boys were old enough to appreciate its importance, and were likely to return to the villages as teachers or farmers and to exert an influence as leaders in their communities. In the best of these schools small groups

190 Ibid., p. 119.
191 Ibid.
192 Ibid.
of boys were assigned definite areas of land on which to carry on farming essentially on the same scale as they would in the village. Each boy gave at least three hours a day to this work. The group received all of the products, paid rent for the land and hire for the use of the bullocks. In some instances, the boys operating the land in this way made the entire cost of their education and got invaluable practical training to supplement the teaching of the classroom.

The most notable institution of this type was developed at Moga in the Punjab Mission of the American Presbyterian Church. The plans for beginning a rural training school at Moga were made in 1905 by the Rev. Ray Harrison Carter, who being influenced by the poverty of the mass movement converts in that area, drafted the "Moga-Plan," for their betterment, through the establishment of village schools and a training school imparting agricultural education. In 1908, the school was started at Ferozepur under the Principalship of the Rev. Carter. Three years later, the school was moved to Moga village where a farm of ten acres was bought, two small

194Ibid., p. 9.
195Ibid.
hostels and a residence for the missionary were erected. Here, instruction was given in three R's, a few simple trades and agricultural methods. By 1912, nearly fifty Christian students were receiving training in village handicrafts and projects. A love of village-life was instilled into them so that they might return to villages and work there.

The school at Moga provided a model for government training schools in the Punjab, and also inspired several other missions to develop similar institutions.

197 Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Annual Report, 1912, p. 233.

198 Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Annual Report, 1912, p. 233. Also, A. J. Brown, One Hundred Years, p. 614.

From 1918, this school progressed rapidly and became one of the finest training schools in all India. In the 'twenties, its fame reached England and America for its project-method of instruction. In 1928, the Royal Commission on Agriculture, in its report to the government of India, commented:

"The new scheme for training village teachers which has been worked out by the American Presbyterian Mission at Moga has been adopted and extended by the Punjab Education Department and now prevails in every training institution for village teachers in the Province. . . . This system of teaching at Moga is but one example of the valuable pioneering and experimental work accomplished by missions, to which education in India, owes so great a debt."
Missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. added village handicrafts and agricultural training to the curriculum in their industrial school at Ushagram, near Asansol in Bengal. The American Baptist Mission developed similar institutions at Cumbum, and Tirumangalam in Madras Presidency.

These experiments probably inspired the Indian National Council of the Y.M.C.A. to begin its rural reconstruction work for the purpose of "building a rural civilisation, which should be Christian to the core and also for the creation of happy, upright, useful citizenship in village life."

Some American missionaries of this period did not believe that their duty ended with just improving the status of the Indian Christian community. They were inspired with a loftier ideal of promoting the economic well-being of India as a whole--both Christian and non-Christian. The Rev. Sam Higginbottom believed that

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"missionaries should lead India out of economic bondage into economic freedom."\textsuperscript{202} Giving his reasons for becoming an agricultural missionary in India, he stated:

In choosing agriculture, I felt that training in it would give the educated non-Christian India opportunity to earn a decent livelihood, and to keep his own independence and self-respect. If a large body of such men could be created in India, they would be of great assistance both to the government and the people.\textsuperscript{203}

In order to realize these objectives, Mr. Higginbottom decided to found an Agricultural Institute in Allahabad to which he devoted almost forty years of his life. In 1909, the mission authorities allowed him to return to the United States for the purpose of studying agriculture for the B.Sc. degree at the Ohio State University and also for raising funds for his project.\textsuperscript{204} For two years, while attending to his course work, he worked incessantly for raising funds in America. He made exhausting tours and numerous speeches in churches, schools, colleges, theological seminaries and clubs in various cities in Midwest and the Atlantic coast. He

\textsuperscript{202}Higginbottom, \textit{The Gospel and the Plow}, p. 91.

\textsuperscript{203}Ibid., p. 47. The Rev. Higginbottom went to India as a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. in 1903 and by 1907, he decided to devote his life to agricultural education in India.

\textsuperscript{204}Ibid., p. 58.
ultimately succeeded in collecting thirty thousand dollars for his project. 205

After graduating in agriculture, he returned to India in 1911, and purchased a farm of 275 acres, for the site of the future Allahabad Agricultural Institute. 206 Gradually, through his efforts, the department of agriculture in the Ewing Christian College blossomed forth into a full-fledged agricultural college. Modern India owes a debt to the Rev. Higginbottom, for the promotion of agricultural education outside government auspices. The credit for founding the only Christian college of agriculture in India also goes to him. 207 The following concluding lines of his autobiography reveal his love for India:

> How Ethelind and I would rejoice if we could give ourselves to India and her beloved people for another forty-year life. 208

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205 Ibid., p. 59.

206 Sam Higginbottom, Sam Higginbottom: Farmer, Autobiography, p. 224. The Institute began as a department of the Ewing Christian College at Allahabad. It became a separate institute under the name of the Agricultural Institute at Allahabad in 1925. In 1926, the first class to be prepared for the govt's intermediate examination in agriculture was graduated. In 1932, the Institute became associated with the University of Allahabad and in 1934, the first class of candidates in B.Sc. agriculture was graduated.

207 Ibid., p. 222.

208 Ibid., p. 226.
Mr. Higginbottom was widely respected in India for his services to the cause of agricultural education, and was also a close friend of many prominent Indian leaders. 209

By virtue of their belief in a democratic principle of education, American missionaries made commendable efforts for the spread of literacy and culture among the depressed classes and primitive tribes of India. They were very much alive to the question of appalling illiteracy among their mass movement converts. 210 The government of India's policy on primary education had resulted in the increased facilities for those castes and classes who had always desired and managed to achieve a reasonable standard of literacy. 211

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209 He was the President of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute from 1925-1945. In 1916, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Benares Hindu University, he was requested by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the founder of that University, to speak for the inclusion of agriculture as a course of study in that new seat of learning. He shared the platform with Mrs. Annie Besant and Mahatma Gandhi. He was the adviser for the Benares Hindu University from 1916 to 1936. He came in close contact with Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. He was a member of the All-India Board of Agriculture. The Maharaja of Gwalior made him the adviser for agricultural problems in the state and contributed $7,500 a year to the Institute at Allahabad in the twenties. He also became a recognized authority on Indian agriculture.

210 Clough, op. cit., p. 117.

211 Mayhew, op. cit., p. 227.
wrong theory of "Filtration," the belief in the gradual awakening of a demand among the illiterates after the literate castes had received education, had prevented the spread of literacy among the traditionally backward classes.212

The credit for spreading literacy among these backward classes goes to the Christian missionaries. American Protestant missions were operating a total of 4,597 village primary schools in 1910, in which a total number of 125,154 children were receiving instruction.213 Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. and of American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, who were very active in the mass movements, were maintaining the largest number of village schools—1,441 and 1,358 each respectively.214 The other American missions also maintained an impressive number of village schools.215

American missionaries tried to make these village schools a real and integral part of the life of the

212 Ibid., p. 231.
214 Ibid.
215 Ibid.
community. They endeavored to make the school a social center, on the model of schools in certain needy areas of America.\textsuperscript{216} The school teacher, as a respected member of the community, tried to inculcate the virtues of social service, personal hygiene and Christian ethics among the villagers.

Among the aboriginal tribes, the missionaries were almost the only agency for the spread of education. Mr. Barrow, the Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley and Hill districts, commented in 1907:

\begin{quote}
The distinctive feature of education among hill tribes of the Province is the part played in it by Christian missions. \ldots Missionaries attach extreme importance to education. And, roughly speaking, the plan generally adopted by the government, finding the missionaries on the spot, has been to give pecuniary aid and leave the work to them.\textsuperscript{217}
\end{quote}

American Protestant missionaries developed an impressive network of schools in Assam Hills during the period. In the Garo Hills there were 110 schools, under the management of the American Baptist Mission, in which 1,987 pupils were receiving instruction.\textsuperscript{218} The government schools were started in the quinquennium 1902-07, with the

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\item \textsuperscript{217}Quoted by Orange, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. I, p. 308.
\item \textsuperscript{218}\textit{Ibid.}
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idea of "affording a healthy rivalry to the schools of the American mission." 219 In the Naga Hills American Baptist missionaries operated all the village schools until 1907, when the government of India took them under their own charge after "delicate negotiations with the missionaries." 220 The missionaries, at the request of the government, continued to maintain training schools in the Naga Hills which supplied the village schools with teachers. 221 The education of the Miris and Abors tribes in the Assam Hills was also in the hands of the American Baptist Missions. 222 Missionaries reduced the tribal dialects to writing and produced all textbooks for the schools. They succeeded considerably in spreading education and enlightenment among these tribes.

American missionaries achieved their most remarkable success in popularizing education among the girls of these primitive tribes. Where education had been almost unknown, the percentage of girls who went to school rose to 16 per cent in the Assam Hills by

219 Ibid.
220 Ibid.
221 Ibid. In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills of Assam, all the schools were managed by the Welsh Mission, while the Welsh Presbyterian and English Baptist Missions operated schools in the Lushai Hills of Assam.
222 Rev. E. G. Phillips, Missions in Assam, p. 34.
1907.\textsuperscript{223} In the Garo Hills 25 per cent of the pupils in American mission schools were girls.\textsuperscript{224} The success of missionaries, in this respect, excited the admiration of government officers, which can be seen from the following comment of Mr. Barrow, the Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley and Hill districts:

In fact, it is in the attraction of girls to school that missions in general (in the hill districts of Assam) have scored their most distinct success. The success of missionaries, in this respect must be attributed to their influence over their converts. This is an important argument in their favor.\textsuperscript{225}

Efforts of missionaries in spreading literacy were rewarded with success to a great extent. According to the census of 1911, the percentage of literacy among Indian Christians was 16.3 per cent.\textsuperscript{226} Taking the Christian community as a whole (including Europeans and Anglo-Indians), only Parsees and Jains, who had 71.1 per cent and 27.5 per cent of literacy figures respectively, surpassed the Christians.\textsuperscript{227} Christians compared well with other religious groups of Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims who

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{223} Orange, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 309.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{226} Fraser, et al., op. cit., p. 15.
\item \textsuperscript{227} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
had a lower rate of literacy--6.7 per cent, 5.5 per cent and 3.8 per cent respectively.228 In the matter of education of girls, the Christian community came next to the Parsees, and was distinguished from all others by having a percentage of literacy for women more than half that for men.229

There was still much room for improvement. In certain provinces of India, the percentage of literacy among Christians showed a decline in 1911 as compared with that of 1901.230 In the United Provinces, for instance, the Christian population increased in the decade (1900-1910) from .22 per cent of the population to .38 per cent, while the percentage of literacy fell from 48.1 per cent to 34.6 per cent for males, and 31.8 per cent to 23.2 per cent for females.231 In the Punjab, the proportionate increase in the Christian population was much greater, and there was a similar decline in the percentage of literacy.232 This decline was largely due to the fact that large number of illiterates had been

228 Ibid.
229 Ibid.
230 Ibid., p. 15.
231 Ibid., p. 17.
232 Ibid.
gathered during the decade in the mass movement areas. Therefore, rural Christians still remained illiterate on a large scale in some of these provinces. In order to make them literate, increased efforts were put forth by missionaries in the succeeding decades.

By virtue of the essentially religious nature of their educational system, the success of missionaries in spreading literacy and enlightenment among the depressed classes was greater than that of government or other local bodies. The necessarily chilly efforts of the non-religious bodies made no impression on these classes, while they were favorably disposed to education through the efforts of missionaries, who through their love and sympathy, succeeded in touching their hearts and gaining their affection.

Protestant missions made notable contribution to the education of defective persons in India during this period. This area was a distinct expression of their Christian compassion. Their work for the education of the blind children especially, was commendable. Eight out of the twelve schools for the blind in British India

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233 Ibid.
234 Mayhew, op. cit., p. 261.
235 Ibid.
(including Burma) were maintained by British and American Protestant missions. 236

In the Bombay Presidency, the Marathi Mission of the American Board started two schools for the blind during this period. In Bombay City, Miss Anna Lane Millard founded the American Mission School for the Blind in 1900. 237 This was a primary school where English and Marathi were taught in the Braille System. Music and the Scriptures were also taught. 238 Pupils in this school were engaged in some handicrafts like making baskets, tables and beadwork. Some of the articles prepared by them were sent to America and Europe. 239 The American Mission Anglo-Vernacular School for the Blind was founded at Sirur Station of the Marathi Mission. This school was the only secondary school of its kind in the Bombay Presidency. 240 Along with general education in the Braille system, weaving and religious music were

236 Orange, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 312. The Provincial Governments maintained four schools for the blind in the whole of India during the period under review.

237 Ibid. Also, American Board, Annual Report, 1902, p. 81.

238 American Board, Annual Report, 1902, p. 81.

239 American Board, Annual Report, 1908, p. 81.

taught to pupils. \textsuperscript{241} Protestant missions, therefore, contributed to the education and welfare of defective persons in India, in a truly Christian way. \textsuperscript{242}

The educational work of American Protestant missions during this period was broader, and more vigorous than what it had been in the earlier period. American missionaries built up a diversified educational system and contributed a great deal to the educational progress of India. The educational missionaries of this period were much more interested in the diffusion of knowledge and dissemination of Christian principles than in direct conversion. Their ambition was to educate and spread enlightenment which they hoped would someday lead to the Christianization of India. The leavening purpose of education, got a precedence over its evangelistic purposes. American missionary educators were trying to create an atmosphere in which it was possible for the Church to live and grow. By exhibiting the relation of Christianity to learning and progress, they were

\textsuperscript{241}\textit{American Board, Annual Report, 1904}, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{242}\textit{The Church Missionary Society and Christian Association for the Education of the Blind managed four schools in Madras, the Anglican Mission had one school in Bengal and the Zenana Mission had one school for the blind at Poona. The Church Missionary Society had one school for the deaf-mutes also in Madras.}
endeavoring to generate a more friendly feeling toward Christianity, and a greater readiness to consider its claims, among the influential classes of India. They were also aiming at providing a new spiritual basis of society in the place of old foundations, which appeared to be passing away.

Their efforts were rewarded to a large extent. Through their institutions of higher learning, they imparted true notions of Christianity to a large number of people. They created almost universal reverence for Christ and His personality. By including religious knowledge and moral training, they gave their students a broader training and a better preparation for life. Through intimate contacts with their students, they created a corps of admirers and promoted understanding between the two countries. Prominent Indians and government officials from time to time paid high tributes to them for their educational contributions.

They were genuinely interested in promoting the general welfare through education. Some of them wanted to secure the very best equipment and the highest efficiency in their educational work and sometimes carried on a zealous rivalry with government and indigenous institutions. When we see an Isabella Thoburn, or a Sam Higginbottom, making strenuous efforts for years in America for establishing a college in India, we cannot
but admire their devotion to the cause. Some of them actually devoted their lives in nurturing these tender saplings which they planted.

Missionaries were the most important agency for the spread of female education in India. They built up some first rate institutions where they created a new and happier environment for the intellectual and social development of Indian girls. Some of their students became the leaders and distinguished representatives of Indian women. They roused the conscience of India for spreading education among Indian women.

Their efforts for raising the status of the Christian community were rewarded to a great extent. The rate of literacy was raised and some brilliant leaders who made a mark in contemporary Indian life were produced. Industrial and agricultural training gave greater economic independence to this community. The large number of Christian nurses and doctors educated by them contributed notably to the social progress of India.

The efforts of missionaries for spreading education among the hill tribes and the defective persons were commendable. Through their diversified educational activities, therefore, American Protestant missionaries made a notable contribution to the building of modern India.
CHAPTER VI

MEDICAL WORK OF AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONS
IN INDIA BETWEEN 1870 AND 1910

The growing importance of medical work was one of the marked features of American missionary activity in India between 1870 and 1910. Medical work had received the attention of American missionaries even earlier, but it came to occupy an outstanding position in their program during the period under review. American missionaries made notable efforts for the alleviation of physical sufferings of the Indian people—men, women and children. They established a number of hospitals and dispensaries for giving medical help. In times of plagues, famines and epidemics, they worked hard to save people from suffering and death. Their compassion led them to take kindly care of people suffering from leprosy for whom they established many asylums. Some of the American medical missionaries became known all over India for their professional skill and compassionate disposition. Some of the lady medical missionaries were the first to open hospitals for Indian women and attend to their physical sufferings in the
regions where they worked. American missionaries, therefore, were quite an important group of medical workers during this period.

The heightened interest in medical work arose from the changed emphasis in American Protestant thought. It came to be believed that the Gospel was as truly presented in hospitals, schools for the blind, and leper asylums, as it was in evangelistic work. The inspiration for it came from the kindly ministry of Jesus Himself. As Dr. William James Wanless, an outstanding American medical missionary to India, wrote in 1898:

"Christ's life on earth for us, His blessed example and the legacy of His commands left us are, therefore, alike His most strenuous appeal, and our most emphatic authority to prosecute the work of medical missions, and by doing so we follow in the footsteps of "Him who went about doing good.""

Medical work was, therefore, the necessary embodiment of the spirit of Christianity whose founder Himself was a great Healer. The medical missionary while he relieved the sufferings of the people, followed in the footsteps of His Master. As Dr. David Livingstone (1813-1873), the British medical missionary to Africa said:

"God had an only Son and He gave Him to be a missionary and a physician. A poor, poor imitation of Him, I am or wish to be."


2Quoted by Wanless, Ibid.
The medical missionary wanted to contribute to the social progress of nations where he worked. He aimed at removing superstition and quackery by introducing sound medical principles. He desired to improve standards of public health and sanitary conditions. He also endeavored to train a group of medical workers—doctors and nurses, who could carry forward the work he had begun. He wanted to mitigate the sufferings of people during epidemics and famines. He, therefore, looked upon his work as a practical application of the Gospel of love.

Though the function of the medical mission was primarily physical, yet it had spiritual aims also. It was the door of approach, and often the "most effectual" door of approach to the greater and eternal needs of the patient. The heart, softened by disease was often the most impressionable to the stamp of redeeming love. The relief of suffering was, therefore, regarded as the duty first at hand, but the spiritual needs of the patient were also not neglected. As Dr. Wanless stated:

If merely physical results constitute the sole aim of a medical mission, it remains no longer a missionary, but becomes a secular institution.

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4Wanless, op. cit., p. 39.
By virtue of his noble work of healing, the medical missionary could easily break down barriers and attract reluctant and suspicious populations toward his message. He was, therefore, an invaluable agency for dissipating prejudice and breaking down opposition to missionary work. He could win his entrance to hearts otherwise hermetically sealed against himself and his teaching. He was welcome alike in the houses of rich and poor, high and low, Christian and non-Christian.

Last, but not least, he also ministered to the physical sufferings of his missionary brethren, sisters and their families in times of sickness and disease. Therefore, he was considered a valuable arm of missionary enterprise.

Missionary literature of this period reveals the importance of medical work in the program of missions. The Centenary Protestant Missionary Conference, meeting in the Exeter Hall, London, in 1888, declared:

We ask that Medical Missions be recognized by our missionary societies, and by the churches, not merely as a benevolent agency, not as an occasional auxiliary to Missionary work, but as an embodiment of the Divine idea, enunciated by the Master Himself when he commanded the Gospel to be preached among all nations.5

The Ecumenical Missionary Conference, meeting in New York in 1900, recognized medical work as a very important branch of missionary activity. It called upon missionary societies to continue medical work long after the work of preaching, printing and teaching had been firmly established in mission lands. It impressed upon missions the need to establish schools of medicine where native men and women might be trained to carry forward the good work. It also recommended the establishment of model hospitals and dispensaries to make available the ripest results of modern science to native populations.

A sectional conference on medical missions of the World Missionary Conference, in 1910, expressed its unanimous opinion that medical missions were "an integral and essential part of the missionary work." The conference further recommended:

That Medical Missions should be continued and extended, and that they should be under the charge of fully qualified Medical Missionaries, with properly


7Ibid.

8Ibid.

staffed and equipped Hospitals and where possible, European or American Missionary Nurses to supervise Native Staff of Nurses.\textsuperscript{10}  
The importance of medical work in Protestant Missions is also attested by the growing number of medical missionaries in mission fields during the period under review. In 1861, there were only 21 medical missionaries in Protestant Mission fields all over the world.\textsuperscript{11} Their number gradually increased. In 1878, there were 100 medical missionaries, while in 1888, their number reached 300, including 30 lady physicians.\textsuperscript{12} By 1897, there were 338 American, 288 British and 27 Canadian medical missionaries in mission fields in different parts of the world.\textsuperscript{13}  
India, among the mission fields, had dire need of medical missionary work. The physical sufferings of the Indian people were immense and there were no modern medical facilities worth the name. For hundreds of miles, there were no hospitals in the Indian countryside. In 1898, there was one doctor to about 300,000 people.\textsuperscript{14} According to Sir William Moore, the Surgeon-
General of India in 1898, the modern system of medical aid did not reach even 5% of the whole population, in spite of the fact that the British government had established over 2,000 hospitals and dispensaries. The villages were the strongholds of disease. They were visited by epidemics almost every year. In 1892, 750,000 succumbed to cholera, and in 1899, 139,000 persons died of plague. Quackery, malpractice and superstition were responsible for the distortion of thousands of limbs, loss of thousands of eyes and hundreds of deaths. Women of India were the worst sufferers. A large number of them died in child-birth and succumbed to other diseases related to it. Due to prevailing customs, they were reluctant to be treated by male doctors. Their physical sufferings stimulated lady medical missionaries and government officers to provide medical facilities for them.

Even in cities, medical facilities were terribly inadequate. In 1900, the rate of infant mortality in Bombay City was 593 per 1,000, while in

15 Ibid., p. 23.
16 Ibid., p. 25.
Calcutta, during the same year, 62% of the persons who died in the city, received no medical attendance from any kind of practitioner, qualified or unqualified.\textsuperscript{18} The poor state of sanitation and the general poverty of the masses added to their sufferings.

The terrible inadequacy of medical facilities in India induced the missionaries to share in the alleviation of suffering. Medical centers and dispensaries were opened by them in remote and out-of-the-way villages. The number of Protestant medical missionaries gradually increased during this period. In 1857, there were only seven medical missionaries in the whole of India.\textsuperscript{19} In 1882, there were 25, while in 1895 their number reached 140.\textsuperscript{20} By the end of the period under review, there were 278 medical missionaries in India---118 American, 142 British and 13 others.\textsuperscript{21}

American and British Protestant Missions were the pioneers in the field of medical work in India and

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\textsuperscript{19}Dennis, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 403.
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\textsuperscript{20}Richter, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 354.
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they maintained their lead over European societies throughout this period. Among American societies, the Presbyterian Church in the United States had the largest medical plant in India. Missionaries of this church built hospitals at Allahabad and Fatehgarh in U.P., Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, and Lahore in the Punjab, and Kodoli, Kolhapur, and Miraj in Bombay Presidency.22

The most important medical plant of this mission was established at Miraj, a small native state in Bombay Presidency. Dr. William James Wanless, M.D., the founder, was one of the outstanding medical missionaries of this period. Dr. Wanless arrived in India in 1889 as a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. He began work at Sangli with a small dispensary, his equipment being improvised from packing boxes.23 In 1892, he was transferred to Miraj, where he built the famous hospital. John H. Converse, President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works and an elder in the Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church, Pennsylvania, made a gift of $10,000 to Dr. Wanless for the construction of the hospital which was formally opened on July 4, 1894.24


24Lillian E. Wanless, Knight of the Kingdom:
Maharaja of Kolhapur, after a medical treatment by Dr. Wanless, became a devoted friend and munificent benefactor of Dr. Wanless. With funds received from his patients and friends in India and donors in the United states, he succeeded in making the Miraj Hospital the most extensive and effective medical missionary plant in India.

Dr. Wanless was one of the best known doctors in India. During the thirty-nine years (1889-1928) of his career, he treated more than 1,000,000 patients and restored eyesight to 12,000 persons. From all Southern Asia, patients came to Miraj, attracted by his fame.


Ibid., p. 11. In 1929, when Dr. Wanless retired, there were 50 buildings costing approximately $275,000. More than 76,000 in-patients and 1,500,000 out-patients had been treated and the number of surgical operations exceeded 75,000. The Wanless Hospital was noted for its surgery. The doctor was always "first with the latest" in India in modern methods. Some of these were the use of X-ray and radium, and nitrous-oxide gas in anesthesia. He was the first surgeon in India to do the gastro-enterostomy operation. He was noted for his success in abdominal as well as ophthalmic surgery. In 1918, he was made a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons.


Ibid. In 1928, Mahatma Gandhi was a patient under his care.
His work was one of the outstanding features of Christian medical missions.

Dr. Wanless was also a vigorous educator and organizer. He established, in 1897, the first missionary medical school for men at Miraj, which later on developed into a Medical College, affiliated with the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Bombay.²⁹ His medical students were to be found throughout India and far up into Mesopotamia.³⁰ He established a leper asylum at Miraj in 1900.³¹ He also worked for the establishment of a tuberculosis sanitorium, which was opened after his retirement and now bears his name. In 1905, he organized the Missionary Medical Association of India, which later on became the Christian Medical Association.³²

The Presbyterian Church in the United States honored him by sending him as a delegate to the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, in 1910, as the sole representative of its foreign medical work. He also was


³¹Ibid.

³²L.E. Wanless, Wanless of India, p. 13.
thrice honored by the Government of India. The people of India held him in very high esteem. A remarkable testimony to his place in public esteem was a great meeting held in Poona, at his retirement, to bid him farewell, under the chairmanship of His Highness the Agha Khan, who paid the following tribute:

Sir William's great love for Indians and his efforts to ameliorate their sufferings would never be forgotten in this country. . . . The Miraj Hospital is a priceless legacy left by Sir William to Indians, a legacy which they would cherish.

The address presented to him in a silver casket on behalf of Poona citizens expressed similar sentiments.

India needs doctors like you, but it needs missionaries like you who can lead her away from the whirlpools of political strife to the quiet waters of spiritual development and useful service in the cause of humanity.

Dr. Wanless was as earnest and thorough an evangelist as he was a skillful and efficient physician and surgeon. When he went to Miraj in 1892, there were no Protestant

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33Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIX, p. 411. In 1910, he received the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, second class; in 1920 he was awarded Kaiser-i-Hind Medal first class; and in 1928, he was knighted for his extraordinary service. The only American to receive this last honor previously was the Reverend Dr. James C.R. Ewing, the Principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore.

34Quoted in Presbyterian Historical Society, "Wanless Files," 1929, Philadelphia.

35Ibid.
Christians there. In a few months, with the first converts, he succeeded in organizing a church which gradually developed into an impressive Christian community.36 Therefore, it is difficult to disagree with the comment of Dr. E.M. Dodd, Medical Secretary of the Foreign Board of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, that "Dr. Wanless was one of the giants of medical missions."37 His work in India forms one of the notable chapters in the history of the cultural relations of the two countries.

American Board missionaries (Congregationalists) also contributed to medical work in India. Dr. Frank Van Allen founded the Albert Victor Hospital at Madura in 1897.38 Drs. Lester and Rose Beals established the N.M. Wadia Hospital at Wai, in Bombay Presidency in 1908.39 The Reverend Henry Fairbank founded a dispensary at Vadala, in the Marathi Mission in 1891. Since 1898, the Marathi Mission also maintained the Goodwill Dispensary in Bombay City for giving medical relief to the poor and suffering.40

36L.E. Wanless, Wanless of India, p. 13.
37Ibid.
38American Board, Annual Report, 1929, p. 133.
39Ibid., p. 136.
40Ibid.
The American Baptists also paid attention to medical work in their missions. In Garo and Naga Hills of Assam, they maintained dispensaries at Sadiya and Kohima and a good hospital at Tura for supplying the hill tribes with medical aid. 41 In their Telugu Mission, they had dispensaries at Cumbum, Nellore and Ongole, while in Orissa, they gave medical aid at Bhimpur and Santipore Stations. 42 Their hospitals at Hanumakonda and Udaygiri in the Telugu speaking areas of Madras were quite well known. 43

American Methodists, likewise, were quite active in medical work. Their Thoburn Memorial Hospital, at Nadiad in Bombay Presidency, was very well known. 44 They had hospitals at Bidar in Central Provinces and at Bijnor in U.P. 45 They built three Tuberculosis Sanatoria during the period, which were located at Panchmarhi, Kalow and Ajmer. 46


42Ibid., pp. 85-92.

43Macphail, op. cit., p. 71.


45Macphail, op. cit., p. 298.

46Ibid.
Some of the American societies which began their missionary work around 1900, also engaged in medical activity. The Seventh Day Adventists had two hospitals and a large staff of nurses in Calcutta. The Christian Mission, another American organization, had about a dozen medical missionaries in the Central Provinces, U.P. and Bengal. The General Missionary and Tract Society, maintained a medical mission at Bulsar in Bombay Presidency.

The crowning contribution by American medical missions was made in the sphere of providing medical relief to Indian women and children. American women medical missionaries came forward with a vigorous zeal and devotion to work for the alleviation of the sufferings of Indian women. As early as 1851, Sarah G. Hale of Philadelphia, organized the "Ladies Medical Missionary Society" whose object was to "aid the work of Foreign Missions by sending out young women qualified as physicians to minister to the wants of women in heathen lands." But, Sarah Hale's appeals fell on deaf ears.

47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Caroline A. Mason (ed.), A Crusade of Compassion for the Healing of Nations (West Medford, Mass.:
There was no response from the rather conservative circles of Philadelphia.\footnote{Ibid.} In 1869 American women responded to an appeal that came from India for sending a fully qualified woman medical missionary.\footnote{Ibid.} One Pandit Nandkishore, an educated Brahman of Nainital, was keenly interested in the medical education of Indian girls. He started a class of nine Indian girls in midwifery on May 1, 1869.\footnote{Ibid., p. 39.} Four of these girls passed government examinations and received their certificates in anatomy, midwifery, pharmacy and management of minor surgical cases. Pandit Nandkishore made a request to the American Methodist Episcopal Church, which had established a mission station in Nainital, for sending a thoroughly qualified missionary woman physician to India. In response to his appeal, inquiries were made in Philadelphia Women's Medical School. Clara A. Swain, M.D. offered herself for this service, and she was sent out by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.\footnote{Ibid.} Clara Swain, who arrived

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\textit{The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1919), p. 31.}
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in India on January 2, 1870, was the first qualified woman doctor in India.\(^{55}\)

Dr. Swain began her work at Bareilly in U.P. where in 1874, she succeeded in opening the first hospital for women in India.\(^{56}\) She also began a medical school for women at Bareilly in 1870. After serving as a medical missionary for ten years at Bareilly, Clara Swain accepted an appointment as a resident physician at the Court of the Raja of Khetri, the ruler of a small state in Rajasthan, where she lived until her return to the United States in 1896.\(^{57}\)

Women of other churches of America also sent medical missionaries to India. In 1871, the Presbyterian women sent out their pioneer, Sara C. Seward, niece of W.H. Seward, the former Secretary of State, to Allahabad. Sara Seward, after working for twenty years, died of cholera at Allahabad in 1891.\(^{58}\) The Sara Seward Hospital at Allahabad was built as a memorial to her. In 1909, more than twenty thousand

\(^{55}\)Gray, "The Progress of Women," Modern India & the West, p. 466. Bishop Thoburn informs us that Miss Swain was the first woman medical missionary sent by any missionary society to foreign fields.

\(^{56}\)Gray, op. cit., p. 466.


\(^{58}\)Mason, op. cit., p. 40.
patients were treated in this hospital.\textsuperscript{59}

In 1873, the Congregational Board sent out Dr. Sarah F. Norris of New Hampshire to Bombay. Her dispensary at Bombay annually treated more than fifteen thousand patients.\textsuperscript{60}  Baptist women sent out their pioneer, Dr. Ellen F. Mitchell to Burma in 1879 and Dr. Ida Faye, to Nellore, in Madras Presidency in 1881.\textsuperscript{61}  Dr. Anna S. Kugler was sent out to Guntur, Madras Presidency in 1883, by the Lutheran Church.\textsuperscript{62}  The pioneer woman medical missionary from England was Dr. Fanny J. Butler, who arrived in India in 1880, as a representative of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.\textsuperscript{63}

A tremendous impetus to the program of medical work for Indian women was given by the energetic efforts of Lady Dufferin, wife of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India from 1884 to 1888. In 1885, Lady Dufferin founded the "National Association for Supplying Medical Aid for the Women of India," which came to be popularly called

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{59}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{60}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{61}Ibid., p. 41.
\item \textsuperscript{62}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{63}Gray, op. cit., p. 466.
\end{itemize}
as the "Lady Dufferin's Fund." The three distinct aims of this organization were: the training of competent women doctors, nurses, and midwives; the erection of hospitals for women; and the private nursing of the sick in the Zenanas. In the pursuit of these objects, the carrying on of any religious propaganda was strictly forbidden. The Queen Empress Victoria, bestowed her patronage upon the Association. A large number of women doctors, nurses and midwives were trained by this organization. In 1909, Lady Dufferin's Fund maintained 74 women doctors and 52 assistants, while it helped 257 women students to attend various medical colleges. The wives of later viceroy's carried on the good work begun by Lady Dufferin. In 1903, Lady Curzon, organized the Victoria Memorial Scholarship Fund for training midwives, while Lady Minto inaugurated the Nursing Association in 1906.

A very notable contribution in this field was made by women missionaries from America and Britain.

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64 O'Malley, Modern India & the West, p. 642.
65 Richter, op. cit., p. 351.
66 Ibid.
67 O'Malley, op. cit., p. 642. In 1916, Lady Hardinge Medical College & Hospital were opened, which were staffed entirely by women.
Two English women, Drs. Edith Brown and Greenfield, established the "North India School of Medicine for Christian Women," at Ludhiana in 1894, in which American missions also participated.\(^68\) A memorial hospital, attached to this school, was built in 1898.\(^69\) The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society established the St. Catherine's Hospital for Women at Amritsar in 1884.\(^70\)

American Presbyterians built nearly half-a-dozen hospitals for women and children during the period under review. At Ambala in the Punjab Jessica Carleton established the "Philadelphia Hospital for Women," in 1898, through the generous help of the Women's Board of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.\(^71\) In 1902, the Denny Hospital for women and children was opened at Hoshiarpur in the Punjab.\(^72\) Mary Fullerton and Anna Fullerton built a dispensary for women and children at

\(^{68}\)Richter, op. cit., p. 353.

\(^{69}\)Ibid.

\(^{70}\)Mason, op. cit., p. 30.

\(^{71}\)A.J. Brown, op. cit., p. 580. In the 'twenties, the "Philadelphia Hospital" became known all over Northern India. Under the leadership of Dr. Carleton, extensive additions were made. The Kaiser-i-Hind medal was offered to Dr. Carleton for her services, by the Government of India in 1926.

Fatehgarh in 1904, which later on developed into the Memorial Hospital. The Sara Seward Hospital at Allahabad, already mentioned, was built in the 'nineties in memory of Miss Seward. At Ferozepur, also, a hospital for women and children was built. The American United Presbyterians built two hospitals for women and children—one at Jhelum in 1890 and the other at Sialkot in 1887.

The Congregationalist missionaries built hospitals for women and children in Madras and Bombay Presidencies. In 1885 Dr. Pauline Root founded the American Hospital for women and children at Madura. The American Hospital at Ahmednagar was founded by Dr. Ruth P. Hume for the same purpose, in 1904.

American Lutherans contributed to medical work for women in the Telugu speaking areas of Madras Presidency. Dr. Anna S. Kugler, their pioneer medical missionary, began the mission dispensary at Guntur

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73Ibid., p. 201. It became a hospital in 1917.
74Ibid., p. 174.
75Richter, op. cit., p. 352.
which developed into a fine hospital for women in 1897. The Guntur Training School for Nurses was established during the same year under the leadership of Katherine Fahs. At Rajamundry Lydia Woerner established a dispensary in 1901, which developed into an impressive hospital for women in 1911. The buildings of this hospital were erected through donations from the Women's Missionary Societies of the Augustan Synod and General Council. A third hospital for women and children was founded by Mary Baer, M.D. at Chirala in 1906. A number of dispensaries also were conducted by this mission in the Telugu speaking areas. The Women's Union, a new American society, had a hospital at Jhansi, in U.P., with a staff of two doctors and a few nurses.

78George Drach (ed.), Our Church Abroad: The Foreign Missions of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 67. In the 'twenties, this hospital included a main building, a maternity and operating block, children's ward, chapel and nurses' home. The in-patients treated numbered 2,000 and in dispensaries, 11,575.

79Ibid., p. 69.


81Ibid., p. 69.

82Ibid.

83Ibid.

84Macphail, op. cit., p. 298.
Dr. Ida S. Scudder was one of the outstanding women medical missionaries of this period. She belonged to the famous family of Scudders who supplied India with more than one missionary doctor. She was the granddaughter of Dr. John Scudder, the first American medical missionary to India. Dr. Scudder was born of missionary parents in India in 1870. Her experience of seeing three Indian women dying of childbirth in 1894 led her to choose the career of a medical missionary, so that she might serve Indian women through her medical skill. A year later, she entered the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, and in 1900 returned to India as a fully qualified doctor in order to serve the cause she loved.

Ida Scudder proved a successful doctor, organizer and educator. During her studies in the United States she also raised funds for building a hospital for women at Vellore, in Madras Presidency. Through the donation of one Mr. Schell, who offered her a sum of $10,000, she opened the Mary Taber Schell Hospital in 1903. She also organized a School of Pharmacy, which

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86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid., p. 133.
developed into the Medical College for Women in Vellore.\textsuperscript{89} Apart from her work in the school and hospital, Dr. Scudder was a tireless social worker. She ran a road-side dispensary for giving medical relief to the poor and suffering. In 1903, she fought the bubonic plague with courage and devotion.\textsuperscript{90}

During the forty years of her work in India, Dr. Scudder worked incessantly for the cause to which she had dedicated herself. The hospital and the medical college at Vellore are a direct tribute to her fruitful labors. For her great services, she was highly honored in India and the United States.\textsuperscript{91}

By 1910, a large number of women medical missionaries from America were engaged in relieving the physical sufferings of Indian women. The work had become so

\textsuperscript{89}The Medical College for Women in Vellore was founded by Miss Scudder in 1918. In 1923, it became a Union institution. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. donated one million dollars to this institution during the same year. In 1924, this institution was offering Bachelor courses in medicine and surgery. In the 'forties, it became an institution of all India importance.

\textsuperscript{90}Ibid. In 1939, she was honored with the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal by the Government of India. In 1935, she was awarded the D.Sc. degree by Rutgers University, New Jersey and also an honorary F.A.C.S.

\textsuperscript{91}Ibid., p. 131.
important that actually the number of women medical missionaries was larger than that of male medical missionaries. In 1910, American Protestant Missions were maintaining 57 hospitals and 127 dispensaries for both men and women all over India. The total number of treatments carried on by them annually had reached the number of 948,138, which was a very significant contribution toward the promotion of physical welfare of Indian people.

The medical work of missions evoked a friendly response in India. No other phase of missionary activity was so much admired by non-Christians as medical work. It broke down opposition, dissipated prejudice and won its way to the hearts and homes of the high and low, the rich and the poor. A number of Indian communities came out with large donations and cooperated vigorously with medical missionaries in building hospitals and dispensaries, thus expressing their gratitude and admiration for the services rendered to them.


94 Ibid.
Sometimes, land for the site of the hospitals was donated. For example, the Nawab of Rampur made a gift of 40 acres of his garden to Clara Swain for building the Woman’s Hospital at Bareilly, in 1874. The land for the Miraj Hospital was donated to Dr. Wanless by the prime minister of the Native State of Miraj, in 1892. Three-fourths of the expenses of the Medical Plant of Miraj was contributed by grateful Indian patients. The Raja of Kolhapur, apart from contributing liberally to the hospital at Miraj, also built a hospital at Kolhapur at the instance of Dr. Wanless. When the American Board hospital at Madura required rebuilding, non-Christians of the area, with the Prince of Ramnad at their head, collected almost the whole of the funds required and presented the sum of Rs. 44,000 (nearly $8,000) to Dr. Van Allen, the missionary. A beautiful

95 Mason (ed.), The Crusade of Compassion, p. 40.


97 Stanley A Hunter, "Biographical Sketch of Dr. Wanless," typed Mss, 1933 (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society). One block costing $3,000 was erected by a Parsee gentleman in memory of his child. A Bombay millowner gave $10,000 and a Hindu widow donated $5,000 for a block. One Parsee woman collected over $5,000 in small amounts for the hospital.


hospital building with a capacity of fifty beds was presented by the Prince of Mewar to the United Free Church of Scotland, while the Brahmin community of Nasik built a hospital to be conducted by the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission.\textsuperscript{100} The Raja of Jodhpur, who had been an opponent of missionary activity, built a hospital to be conducted by missionaries.\textsuperscript{101}

The medical work of missions received official recognition and was mentioned as a valuable agency especially for the promotion of the health of rural populations in the annual statements exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and condition of India, published by the British government.\textsuperscript{102}

The number of baptisms resulting immediately from medical work was relatively small.\textsuperscript{103} But, it presented a unique opportunity for preaching the word of Christ. Many, for the first time, heard of Christ and

\textsuperscript{100}Richter, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 352.

\textsuperscript{101}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{102}Arthur Godley, \textit{Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India During the Year 1900-01} (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902), pp. 24-25. Also: \textit{Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India During the Year 1903-04}, p. 24.

\textsuperscript{103}William J. Wanless, \textit{The Medical Mission: Its Place, Power and Appeal}, p. 52.
His message in mission hospitals and dispensaries. 104 Patients carried back tracts and gospel portions. There was opportunity for impressing the friends and relations of the patients with the Christian message. By securing to the patient the largest physical blessing, missionary hospitals succeeded in deepening the spiritual impressions of patients in many cases. By deeds of mercy, the medical missionary commended the gospel of mercy. 105

By means of his skill, the medical missionary rendered valuable service both to mission work and Indian communities. In many areas, he was the first modern physician to give medical help to the people. With his healing mission, he reached areas which had not been frequented by other missionaries. In the train of his pioneering labors, other forms of mission work were duly inaugurated. 106 He not only relieved the sufferings of thousands of human beings, but also laid the foundations upon which western medical institutions were built up and organizations established for the systematic relief and prevention of disease in many parts of India.

The kindly care and spiritual healing of persons

104 Ibid.
105 Ibid., p. 56.
106 Ibid., p. 47.
suffering from leprosy was one of the characteristic features of medical work conducted by Protestant missions. The inspiration again was from the kindly ministry of Jesus at whose benign touch "the blind received their sight . . . and the lepers were cleansed."107 The number of people suffering from this disease was high in India. According to the Census of 1890, their number was 114,239.108 The Government of India began to think of some measures to relieve the distress of the poor victims of this disease in 1891. A Leprosy Commission went all over the country during that year. The recommendations of this Commission resulted in the Leprosy Act of 1896, according to which those lepers, who were habitual beggars, were to be gathered in asylums in every part of the country and to be interned at the expense of the state.109 The Government of India built some big asylums at Calcutta, Madras, Trivandrum and Bombay. In 1909, in each of these asylums, one thousand lepers were housed and cared for.110 There were also a few smaller asylums at

107 Matthew: 11:3-5, Quoted by W.J. Wanless, op. cit., p. 9.
109 Ibid., p. 355.
110 Richmond Ritchie, Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India
Saharanpur, Srinagar and Rawalpindi being maintained by the government. The efforts of the government were still inadequate for the many thousands of sufferers throughout India. Their untold misery awakened a large and enduring Christian sympathy and Protestant missions did a great deal to alleviate their sufferings. One of the outstanding efforts on the part of Protestant missions in this sphere was the creation of an organization called the "Mission to Lepers in India and the East." The moving spirit behind this venture was Wellesley C. Bailey, a British missionary, who had been in charge of a small leper asylum at Ambala since 1869. He was so much moved by the unspeakable misery of the sufferers during his missionary work in the Punjab that he went to England in 1874 and awakened a desire among Christians, through his speeches and pamphlets, to organize a special mission for this neglected class. His labors resulted in the founding of the "Mission to Lepers" which came to occupy a unique position of usefulness among the beneficient forces of missions. Wellesley

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During the Year 1908-09 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), p. 117.


112 Richter, op. cit., p. 357.
Bailey returned to India to carry on the work as the Secretary of the organization. Later on, in the 'eighties, Lady Dufferin, the wife of the Viceroy Lord Dufferin, became the patroness of the organization. 113

The Mission to Lepers in India and the East carried on admirable work. It built its own institutions as well as aided other missions in this benign work. In 1909, it was maintaining fifty asylums all over India for the purpose. 114 In these asylums, 5225 victims of the disease were being cared for. 115 In addition, it was maintaining fourteen homes for the untainted children of lepers in which 500 children were taken care of. 116 Apart from this physical care of patients and children, the Mission deputed its missionaries to look after the spiritual comforts of sufferers, by means of preaching the Gospel to the inmates of asylums maintained by the government. 117

American, British and Continental Societies also shared in this good work. Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States maintained leper

113 _Ibid._
114 _Ritchie, op. cit.,_ p. 117.
115 _Richter, op. cit.,_ p. 365.
116 _Ibid._
117 _Dennis, op. cit.,_ p. 435.
asylums at Allahabad, Ambala, Jalandhar, Dehra Dun, Sabathu, Saharanpur and Miraj. Their asylums at Allahabad in U.P. and at Sabathu in the Punjab were very large. In 1896, a ward for Europeans was added to the latter. The United Presbyterian Church of North America had a well-equipped asylum at Baba Laikhan in the Punjab. Although it gave shelter to only forty sufferers, it had a complete staff of a doctor, gardener, washerman and cleaner to look after them. The Reverend Dr. Martin was its superintendent. A Christian teacher and his wife visited the asylum daily for the spiritual solace of the patients.

Missionaries of the American Board were maintaining a small asylum at Sholapur, which was under the charge of the Reverend P.B. Keskar, M.D., an Indian Pastor. Another Indian pastor, J. Bawa, associated with this mission, was maintaining two small asylums at Pui and Poladpur in the Colaba district, to the south of

119Sam Higginbottom, Sam Higginbottom: Farmer, p. 188. Also: Dennis, op. cit., p. 438. In the Allahabad Leper Asylum, 500 inmates were cared for in the 'twenties.
120Richter, op. cit., p. 361.
Bombay, where he looked after the patients most faithfully.122

Near the Hindu shrine of Baidyanath, in Bihar, Miss Adams, missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, built a few simple huts for providing shelter to a small number of patients. Here, she gave them food and clothing and her Bible women preached to them the word of God.123 The Methodist Church of America had larger asylums at Asansol in Bengal and at Chandag in the Himalayan foothills.124 The latter institution was founded in 1886 by Mr. Kirk, who himself went to live in the settlement in order to dwell amongst the lepers, to relieve their wounds and bury their dead.125 Unfortunately, he died that same year, just as he was collecting money for the erection of a little church in his settlement. His good work was carried on by Mary Reed, a noble and devoted American lady missionary whose life was a glowing example of love, self-sacrifice and genuine heroism for the cause of lepers in

122Richter, op. cit., p. 362. In 1913, they built their largest asylum at Manmadura with a capacity of 200, under the charge of their Madura Mission.
123Ibid., p. 361.
124Dennis, op. cit., p. 439.
125Richter, op. cit., p. 363.
India. Mary Reed was born in 1857 in Ohio and went to India as a missionary of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1884.\textsuperscript{126} In 1890, while on a furlough in America, she discovered symptoms of leprosy in her body, which led her to decide to return to India and offer herself to the service of fellow sufferers.\textsuperscript{127}

From 1891 onwards, Mary Reed devoted herself to this noble work with a brave heart, unshrinking hands and tireless patience. At Chandag in the Himalayan foothills of Kumaon district of U.P., she took care of the spiritual and physical welfare of eighty-one victims, men, women and children.\textsuperscript{128} She supervised a dispensary, a hospital and a chapel. The institution under her care was a model of order and well-arranged facilities.\textsuperscript{129} She extended her work among the lepers on the Tibetan frontier after 1900.\textsuperscript{130} Her life was an illustration of the supreme consecration for this benign and kindly work.

In 1910, American Protestant Missions were maintaining twenty-four leper asylums, big and small, where

\textsuperscript{126}Dennis, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 439.
\textsuperscript{127}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{128}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 440.
\textsuperscript{129}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{130}Richter, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 363.
the desperate misery of the sufferers was softened through physical and spiritual care. There were many other among American missionaries who offered themselves, like Mary reed, with courage and devotion, for this heroic service of love.

The work of missionaries for the cause of suffering lepers created a profound impression on the Indian mind. Later on, many Indian agencies engaged in this noble work, but for a very long time, even in the twentieth century, missionaries were almost the only private agency in the field. This branch of work was a practical application of the Gospel of love and, therefore, above anything else, it was a proof of the benign nature of Christianity. Mr. Gandhi, at the time of one of his visits to the Allahabad Leper Asylum, is reported to have said to Mrs. Higginbottom, who was in charge of the asylum:

I have been watching the faces of these poor inmates. Everyone of them lighted up at your approach. I would give anything if people loved me the way these lepers love you.

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132 The largest leper settlement was managed by the German Gossner Mission at Purulia in Bengal since 1888. The Reverend Uffmann was the founder. In 1909, it had nearly 800 inmates.

133 Quoted by Sam Higginbottom, Sam Higginbottom:
The Medical work of American Protestant Missions was, therefore, one of the most commendable aspects of their activity. It spread sound scientific principles about causes and remedies of disease. Medical missionaries cured and restored health to thousands of persons. In times of epidemics, they worked incessantly to relieve distress. They were also educators and builders. The Medical schools and colleges built by them trained a number of doctors and nurses. The many good hospitals built by them proved highly beneficial for the physical welfare of India. The work of women medical missionaries brought immense relief to the physical sufferings of Indian women and inaugurated a new era in the history of their progress. Their work for the care of lepers was highly benign and heroic.

Medical work broke down prejudice and dissipated

Farmer, p. 158. In 1924, when there was a good deal of feeling in India against the restrictions on Indian immigration into the United States, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru prevented the contemplated boycott of American missionary institutions in Allahabad with the following words:

"We know that these American missionaries are helping our country and especially the under-privileged of our land. Let us say all that we can say against the action of the Government of the United States, but let us not interfere with those Americans who have proved themselves to be such friends of India. Few of us Indians have worked for the lepers. Few of us have thought of starting a school to remove India's poverty."
opposition. Medical missionaries endeared themselves to the people where they worked. They were highly honored by the Government of India and Indian rulers. The work of evangelism was aided and Christian principles were disseminated through medical institutions. The medical activities of American missionaries, therefore, contributed a great deal to the material progress of India as well as to the promotion of friendly relations between the two countries.
The social gospel of American Protestantism found its culmination in the welfare and reform activities of American Protestant missionaries in India. Between 1870 and 1910 American missionaries found themselves more and more engaged in activities aimed at alleviating social misery and promoting social reform. This work was of two categories:

(a) Relief work during famines, epidemics and natural calamities,

(b) Efforts for removing the evils of widowhood, child-marriage, Temple Prostitution, Polygamy, caste system, extravagance and intemperance.

Three severe famines visited India during the period under review. The extent of misery, starvation and death during the three famines of 1876-77, 1896-97 and 1899-1900 was immense. The first one affected specially Madras Presidency and was comparatively milder than the other two. The famine of 1896-97 affected an area of 228,000 square
miles and a population of 80 millions.¹ This was followed by the famine of 1899-1900 which caused still greater misery. It affected an area of 400,000 square miles, and a population of about 60 millions.² It had worst effects in the Central Provinces, in portions of Rajputana, Central India, the Punjab and Bombay. First, the native states lying between the Narmada, the Sutlej and the Jamuna were swept into the area of scarcity. Then, the fertile provinces of Gujerat and Kathiawar were stricken and the suffering became very wide-spread and prolonged.³

Since the famine of 1877, the Government of India had taken precautions and had prepared to meet such calamities by large scale construction of railways and irrigation works and by creating famine relief organization.⁴ The Famine Commission, since 1880, advised the government on proper ways of meeting famines from time to time.⁵ In the Punjab, the government began the reclamation of wastelands

¹Richter, Translated by Sydney H. Moore, op. cit., p. 234.
²"Governor-General's statement made in the Legislative Council held at Simla, on Oct. 19, 1900." Secretary of State for India, East India: Accounts and Estimates 1902-03, presented to both the Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty (London: Printed for His Majesty's Stationary Office, by Darling & Sons, 1902), p. 472.
³Ibid., p. 470.
⁵"Malley, "The Impact of European Civilization," Modern India and the West, p. 83.
in the 'nineties and promoted canal irrigation to prevent famines.  
Despite these measures, the famine of 1899-1900 proved very dreadful and caused greater misery than ever before. The Government of India expended a very large sum on famine relief during both the famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900. During the former, direct expenditure on famine relief was 727 lakhs of rupees, while during the latter, it came to 10 crores of rupees. Generous charitable help was received both in India and from abroad. The collections from abroad amounted to 137 lakhs of rupees in 1896-97, while in 1900, they amounted to 108 lakhs of rupees. The contribution from the United Kingdom itself was 123 lakhs of rupees in 1896 and 88½ lakhs in 1900. The rest was contributed by Germany, Australia, China, the U.S.A. and the British Colonies of Hongkong and Ceylon.

During all the three famines, American missionaries made notable contributions to famine relief work. The part played by the Rev. J. E. Clough during the famine of 1876-

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6 O'Malley, "Mechanism and Transport," Modern India and the West, p. 245.
8 Ibid., p. 477.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
1877 has already been noted. During the famine of 1896-97, the Christian Herald of New York sent liberal contributions for famine relief to be distributed by American missionaries.\footnote{American Board, \textit{Annual Report}, 1897, p. 63.} During the famine of 1899-1900, about one million dollars was sent from the U.S.A. to be expended by missionaries on relief.\footnote{American Board Files, "Letter of the Rev. Robert A. Hume to the British Ambassador, Washington, D.C., June 1, 1905," \textit{Vol. XXX, Mss. 146}.} The Christian Herald of New York, The Congregationalist of Boston, and The Advance of Chicago rendered most substantial aid in this crisis.\footnote{American Board, \textit{Report of the Deputation Sent to India and Ceylon in 1901}, p. 45.} Dr. Klopsch, the editor of the Christian Herald collected $62,500 from his readers and freighted a ship with rice and other grain. With these stores, he sailed to India where he was able personally to superintend their distribution.\footnote{Richter, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 239.} The Rev. Robert A. Hume of the American Board Mission at Ahmednagar was one of the most active missionaries in organizing relief during the famine of 1899-1900. He was the principal administrator of the amount of one million dollars sent from America.\footnote{American Board Files, "Letter of the Rev. Robert A. Hume to the British Ambassador, Washington, D.C., June 1, 1905, \textit{Vol. XXX, Mss. 146}.} He worked as the
Executive Secretary of the American-Indian Relief Fund, which administered the gifts sent by the Committee of One Hundred in New York and other places.\textsuperscript{16} He was also the Chairman of the Interdenominational Missionary Committee which administered the Christian Herald Relief Fund.\textsuperscript{17} He administered the Congregationalist Relief Fund and represented the mission upon the Ahmednagar District Committee of the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund.\textsuperscript{18} For his services during the Famine of 1900, the Rev. Hume received the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal from the Government of India.\textsuperscript{19}

Other missionary societies also worked at high pressure during the years of the famine, and as their parishioners continually kept their hands full of gifts, they were able to keep tens of thousands from perishing by means of soup-kitchens, road-making, chapel-building and other expedients of Christian benevolence. The American Lutheran Missionaries expended an amount of £4,700 on famine relief.\textsuperscript{20} At Jalandhar, in the Punjab, the Presbyterian missionaries

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\textsuperscript{17}American Board Files, Letter of the Rev. Robert A. Hume to the British Ambassador, Washington, D.C., June 1, 1905, Vol. XXX, Mss. 146.
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\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Ibid.}
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\textsuperscript{20}Richter, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 239.
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from the U.S. employed 200 men and women during the famine of 1897 to save them from starvation. The expenses were met partly from the Christian Herald Fund and partly from the contributions of their parishioners at home.21 During the Famine of 1900, Presbyterian missionaries at Kolhapur distributed among the famine victims 200 sacks of maize which had been sent by the Christian Herald Committee.22 They also maintained destitute Christians in villages with grain and clothing.23

The United States contribution toward famine-relief was acknowledged by Lord Curzon, the Governor-General, in his statement on the famine of 1900, in the following words:

The United States of America both through direct contributions to the Fund, and by means of privately distributed gifts of money and grain, have once more shown vivid sympathy with England's mission and India's need.24

Every great famine left a heritage of perishing orphans to the care of missionaries. American missionaries maintained a large number of orphanages where these orphans were cared for and trained in useful arts. During the famine of


22 Ibid.

23 Presbyterian Board, Annual Report, 1901, p. 158.

1896-97, the American Methodists saved nearly 2,000 orphans and maintained them in their institutions. Their orphanage at Aligarh had 475 inmates, of whom 200 were girls, at Bareilly, they had 350 girls in their orphanage. They maintained two orphanages at Allahabad with 275 children. Their orphanages at Poona, Narsinghpur, Jabalpur and Shahjehanpur contained more than 200 children each. The American Presbyterians were maintaining orphanages at Fatehgarh, Saharanpur and Sangli where they had 100 inmates in each. Between 1897 and 1901, the Marathi Mission of the American Board, saved 3,300 children from perishing and ultimately gave them Christian homes and industrial training. According to one estimate, American missionaries, in all their missions, were caring for sixteen thousand orphans in 1901.

The care and training of orphans was one of the most

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26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
commendable aspects of missionary activity. These children were saved from starvation and were prevented from entering ignoble professions later on. Christian influence, during the formative period of their lives, was bound to make them better human beings and better citizens. Some of the best Christian leaders in South India had been brought up as orphans by missionaries after the famine of 1877-78. The presence of these children also made it possible for missionaries to experiment in industrial work and method. This work attracted the favorable attention of government officials, of leading Indians and in fact, was recognized by all classes as a practical exhibition of the Christian religion. The relief work during famines also was highly admired as a selfless work of benevolence and charity.

During epidemics and natural calamities also, American missionaries contributed their might toward alleviation of distress and suffering. During the plague of 1900 in Miraj, Dr. Wanless was the director of operations and his house to house visitation proved of immense value. He used to visit plague camps where 15,000 people were camped out.

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Most of the inoculation in the Southern Maratha areas was performed under the auspices of Miraj Medical Mission. The missionaries started a plague hospital also at Miraj in which 312 patients were admitted and of these 26½ per cent recovered. During the Punjab earthquake of 1905, the Rev. James C. R. Ewing, Principal of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, worked very hard on relief work for which he was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal by the Government of India in 1906.

Partly due to the example set by missionaries, and partly due to the rise of humanistic tendencies, Indian agencies also contributed to the alleviation of suffering during famines and natural calamities. Keshab Chandra Sen had called upon his followers to copy Christians in the matter of philanthropy and had founded many institutions for social welfare. The Aryasamaj and the RamKrishna Mission likewise did fine service in relieving sufferers from flood, famine and sickness in the late nineties. Around 1902, the Arya Samaj opened its orphanages. Gradually, the

36 Ibid.
38 Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 422. Also S. Radhakrohan, "Hinduism and the West," Modern India and the West, p. 346.
39 Ibid.
40 Griswold, op. cit., p. 128.
students of colleges like the Presidency College, Calcutta, the D.A.V. College, Lahore and the Central Hindu College, Benares, began to participate more and more in relief and social service activities. 41

Among the questions of social reform, the attention of missionaries was first drawn towards mitigating the miseries of widowhood. One of the outstanding institutions developed under Christian auspices mainly through American help, was the widow-home established by Pandita Ramabai. The Pandita was born of Brahman parents and had received an exceptionally good education in Sanskrit. 42 She began her eventful career first as a Hindu woman reformer working for the emancipation and uplift of Indian women. She had been widowed after 19 months of married life and was, therefore, aware of the miseries of widowhood. In 1882, she founded in Poona a society known as the Arya Mahila Samaj which worked for promoting education among women and discouraging child marriage in Hindu society. 43 The Pandita by her scholarly discourses on Hindu religion and Purana readings roused the interest of women in the Samaj. 44 She wanted to make this Samaj the center of a network of organizations

42 Griwold, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-190.
working for the uplift of Indian women. But, though reformers like Ranade and Bhandarkar sympathized with her cause, she received little encouragement from the general public, which sorely disappointed her. 45

About the same time, she came in contact with Protestant missionaries, who showed interest in her cause. Through their help and encouragement, she went to England where she studied at the Cheltenham Ladies' College from 1883 to 1885. 46 English education, coupled with her conversion to Christianity in 1884, fitted her for a more distinguished career. From England, she came to America where she studied the kindergarten system from 1886 to 1888. 47 But, still, the work for the uplift of Indian widows was the consuming passion of her life. For the purpose of helping her in this cause, a society called the Ramabai Association was formed in Boston in December, 1887. 48 An annual grant of $5,000 was promised to her for running an educational institution for girls and widows in India. 49 Thus equipped with knowledge and money, she returned to India and started the Sharada Sadan (Home of Knowledge) on the first of March,

45 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Sarma, op. cit., p. 134.
1889, in Bombay, which was transferred to Poona a year later because of high expenses in Bombay. 50

In this work, Pandita Ramabai received the cordial support of Hindu reformers like Justice V. G. Ranade, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Narayan G. Chandavarkar. 51 But her faith in evangelical Christianity gradually became more pronounced. The report about her evangelistic activities among the inmates led Ranade and Bhandarkar to sever their connection with the Sharada Sadan in 1893. 52 Shortly after this, the Sadan became a fully Christian institution under her leadership and two years later, twelve of the girls of the institution were baptized. 53

The Sharada Sadan under Ramabai's care gradually grew in usefulness and rendered valuable service for widows and girls. She had begun only with two inmates in 1889 and by 1897 their number reached seventy-five. 54 During the famine of 1896-97, she worked hard to save famine-stricken widows and girls of Central India from starvation and death. During her repeated visits to the famine-stricken areas, she

50 Ibid.
51 Griswold, op. cit., p. 194.
52 Sarma, op. cit., p. 135.
53 Ibid., p. 136.
gathered nearly five hundred women, including many young girls who were neither widows nor deserted wives. Some two hundred of these were distributed for maintenance among different missions, while three hundred high-caste girls were given shelter in Ramabai's Sharada-Sadan.

In 1898, Ramabai made a second visit to America and secured promises of help for the future. On her return to India, she moved the Sadan to Khedgaon, where it was developed into a wider Christian organization under its new name of Mukti-Sadan (Home of Salvation). The work of Khedgaon was divided into three departments: educational, philanthropic, and spiritual. As a philanthropic activity, a rescue home was founded which soon had three hundred inmates. The Sadan produced nurses, teachers, matrons, and housekeepers. By 1898, the Sadan had given education and training for a better life to three hundred and fifty girls. Through the help rendered by American and British missionaries and liberal contributions from America and

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55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 Griswold, op. cit., p. 196.
58 Sarma, op. cit., p. 136.
59 Griswold, op. cit., p. 197.
60 Dennis, op. cit., p. 246.
61 Ibid.
England, the Mukti Sadan became one of the very important institutions for the education of widows and girls in India. In 1900, it had a population of more than 1800 to provide for. Under the leadership of Ramabai, it was distinguished for its educational opportunities and its Christian atmosphere.

Special work for the uplift of widows was carried on in some of the American Protestant missions. Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church were maintaining Widows' Home at Ratnagiri in Bombay Presidency and a class for training Hindu widows at Jalandhar in the Punjab.

American Board missionaries were maintaining three Widows' Homes in their Marathi Mission. Their Abbott Home for Widows at Bombay, Chapin Home for Widows at Ahmednagar and Dexter Home for Widows at Sirur were also rendering useful service to the cause of improving the lot of Indian widows.

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62 Griswold, op. cit., p. 197.

63 In 1919, Pandita Ramabai received the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal from the King-Emperor, George V. She died on April 5, 1922. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, commented on her death: "She was the first Christian to be enrolled in the calendar of Hindu saints."

64 Presbyterian Board, Annual Report, 1910, p. 218.


67 Ibid.

In this sphere of activity, the Hindu conscience had been aroused earlier and Indian agencies also were contributing a great deal to the cause. The first Indian Champion for the cause of widows was Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, whose courageous agitation had resulted in the passing of an Act in 1856 legalizing the remarriage of widows.\(^69\) About 1870 an agitation was started in Bombay Presidency for the purpose of rousing Hindus to such sympathy with widows as would make widow-remarriage really possible in Hindu society. The names of B. M. Malabari, Mr. Justice Ranade, Professor D. K. Karve, and Mr. K. Natarajan deserve honorable mention for their championing of widow-remarriage.\(^70\) In Bengal, practical pioneering work was done by Mr. Sasipada Banerji, who in 1877 opened a Hindu widows' Home in Calcutta, the first Hindu foundation of the kind.\(^71\) Here young widows were trained as teachers and taught domestic science and cottage industries. Mr. Banarjee himself arranged for the remarriage of thirty-seven widows. In 1889, Professor D. K. Karve of Poona opened a Home for Hindu widows, which later developed into the Indian Women's University.\(^72\) This was one of the largest and best managed homes for widows.

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\(^69\) Gray, "The Progress of Women," Modern India and the West, p. 452. Also Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 402.

\(^70\) Mrs. H. Gray, op. cit., p. 452.

\(^71\) Ibid., p. 456.

\(^72\) Ibid., p. 457.
outside Christian auspices. In 1906, a Boarding school for high-caste Hindu girls and widows was opened close beside the Home. During the period under review, the Deva Samaj, the Arya Samaj and Digambar Jains also founded their Widows' homes. In 1907, a Hindu Widows' Home was founded in Mysore City. and the Mahila Shilpashram, or Women's Industrial Refuge, was founded in Calcutta by Mrs. P. Mukherjee. In 1908, the Sikhs opened their Widows' Home in Amritsar. In 1910, Mrs. Pitt, the widow of an Indian civilian, founded a Widows' Home in Bangalore, which was to be conducted on purely Hindu lines and was intended to teach women the privilege of social service. In all this activity for widows under Indian auspices, the indirect contribution of missionaries was considerable. Their institutions and their severe criticism of the Hindu social system had inspired the Indian agencies to take up the work and carry it forward vigorously and effectively.

Christian missionaries, along with Indian reformers tried to put a stop to the evil of child marriage in Indian

73 Farquhar, op. cit. p. 403.
74 Ibid., p. 404.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
society. The first legislative step, taken in 1860, had been largely due to the efforts of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar.\textsuperscript{79} The Act of 1860 had raised the Age of Consent for married and unmarried girls to ten, but in the case of married girls, it was proving quite unenforceable.\textsuperscript{80} The Missionary Conference of 1877, at Calcutta addressed a petition to the Governor of Bengal, requesting the appointment of a commission to obtain information concerning the character and extent of the evil. Many medical missionaries, from time to time, pointed out the physiological evils of the system. Mrs. N. M. Mansell, M. D. of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission at Mussorie, published a very powerful indictment of the system in the Indian Social Reformer, on Sept. 1, 1890.\textsuperscript{81} The Brahmosamaj under Keshab Chandra Sen and the Arya Samaj under Dayananda Saraswati, also started their crusade against child marriage in the 'seventies. Mr. B. M. Malabari, a Parsee journalist of Bombay, in 1884, started an agitation on child marriage and widow-celibacy which convulsed Hindu society and deeply influenced public opinion. He wished government to take action, especially in the matter of child-marriage.\textsuperscript{82}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{79} Gray, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 450.
\item\textsuperscript{80} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 451.
\item\textsuperscript{81} Dennis, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 231.
\item\textsuperscript{82} Farquhar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 396.
\end{itemize}
pamphlet on "Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood", published in 1887, stirred public opinion to the depths. In his journal, The Indian Spectator, he continued the struggle for more humane treatment for the women and children of India. When in England in 1890, he published, in pamphlet form, an "Appeal on behalf of the daughters of India", which powerfully moved English feeling. Finally, in 1908, in conjunction with his biographer, Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, he founded the Sava Sadan at Bombay, for the purpose of social, educational and medical service for Indian women through Indian Sisters. Missionaries supported Mr. Malabari warmly throughout the country. In 1891, the Government of India passed an Act, raising the Age of Consent for girls to twelve, and another in 1925, raising it to thirteen for married and fourteen for unmarried girls.

A very successful movement in Rajputana which originated through the agency of the late Colonel Walter, then agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, deserves special mention. This Christian officer, realizing the vast evils attending early marriage, proposed in 1887 that a representative committee should consider the question. The suggestion

83 Ibid., p. 87.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid., p. 381.
resulted in the formation of a society called, in his honor, the Walterkrit Rajput Hitkarini Sabha (the Rajput Benevolent Society created by Colonel Walter). \(^87\) The aim of this organization unanimously decided that no girl should be married before she was 14 and no boy should be married before he was 18, while the marriage expenses should in no case exceed a certain proportion of the father's yearly income. The success of the effort was remarkable. The results from year to year grew steadily better, and the infringement of the rule constantly decreased. In 1896, out of 5,458 marriages among Rajputs, the rules of the Association were broken only in about six per cent of the whole number. \(^88\) By 1897, the organization was well established and its membership was representative throughout Rajputana. The Native States of Baroda and Cambay followed this example and instituted a similar reform movement. \(^89\) The Gaekwar of Baroda passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act in 1901. \(^90\)

Missionaries tried to root out the evils of child marriage among the Christian communities in India. Indian leaders, on a very large scale, carried on reformist propaganda for the abolition of child marriages. Every meeting

\(^87\) Farquhar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 399.


\(^89\) \textit{Ibid.}

\(^90\) Farquhar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 399.
of the National Social Conference made a renewed assault upon this custom. Local conferences also stimulated zeal for reform in the same direction.\textsuperscript{91} The Maharaja of Mysore instituted regulations prohibiting infant marriages in 1891.\textsuperscript{92} According to the provisions of the Act, a girl below eight years of age and a boy under fourteen were regarded as infants. A further stipulation was that any man over fifty who married a girl under fourteen was liable to be punished with imprisonment for two years, or with a fine, or with both. This action made a powerful impression throughout India. By the 'nineties, it appears, a sufficiently strong movement had taken root among the Hindu legislators, reformers and rulers for putting an end to the evils of infant marriages.

Missionaries were instrumental in focussing the attention of the European officials and educated Indians on the evils of the "Devadasi Pratha" (Employment and dedication of dancing girls in temples) which was prevalent in certain areas of South India and had degenerated into religious prostitution. In the name of morality and decency, missionaries protested against the whole system of professional dancing girls and especially desired that British officials should give no countenance to such a thing. They

\textsuperscript{91}Dennis, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 233.
\textsuperscript{92}Ibid.
also sponsored petitions to the House of Commons for abolishing prostitution in Bombay and Calcutta.\textsuperscript{93} Members of the Brahmo Samaj and other Indian reform associations joined in these protests. Lord Wenlock, the Governor of Madras from 1891 to 1896, was the first prominent official who distinctly refused to countenance the nautch (dance performed by professional dancing girls).\textsuperscript{94} The majority of educated Hindus also opposed the institution of dancing girls and gradually gave up the system of having them perform at weddings and festive occasions. Influential Hindus of Madras petitioned British officials to withhold their patronage of nautch.\textsuperscript{95} The 9th Indian Social Conference, held at Poona in December, 1895, passed the following resolution:

\begin{quote}
The Conference records its satisfaction that the anti-nautch movement has found such general support in all parts of India, and it recommends the various Social Reform Associations in the country to persevere... in purging our society of the evils of low and immoral surroundings.\textsuperscript{96}
\end{quote}

After 1900, greater progress was made in this direction. In the year 1906, a large body of Indians, including many Hindus, approached the Governor of Bombay, calling his attention to

\textsuperscript{93}The Editor, "Petitions to H. J. Wilson, M.P.,” \textit{Indian Witness}, December 15, 1899, p. 786.

\textsuperscript{94}Farquhar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 410.

\textsuperscript{95}Dennis, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. II, p. 145.

\textsuperscript{96}Quoted By Dennis, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. II, p. 146.
the whole practice of temple prostitution and prayed that measures might be taken by the government to put down the dedication of girls to prostitution. In 1909, Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay issued a proclamation, calling the attention of District magistrates to the powers of the law and to the necessity of enforcing them seriously. The Mysore government next took action. In 1909, they issued an order, in which they prohibited the performance of any religious ceremony which had an intimate connection with dedication to the profession of a prostitute or dancing girl. This prohibition applied to every temple under the control of the Mysore government. About the same time, the head of the Sankeshwarp Monastery, a modern representative of Sankaracharya, issued an order in which he declared the custom of dedicating girls lacked the sanction of any sacred book of the Hindus, and therefore, must be stopped. Later still, the Travancore government took the matter up. On the 3rd of March, 1911, Lord Morley, in a despatch to the Government of India, commented as follows:

I observe with satisfaction that an increasing

97 Farquhar, op. cit., p. 411.
98 Ibid., p. 412.
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid.
101 Ibid.
section of Hindu society regards the association of religious ceremonies with the practice of prostitution with strong disapproval. 102

Missionaries were generally opposed to polygamy and did not countenance polygamous members in their churches. However, one exception in this matter comes to our notice. In 1894, the Presbyterian Synod of India, sent a memorial to the General Assembly in the United States (Northern Presbyterian), which contained a request that in all polygamous cases of conversion, the ultimate decision should be left to the Synod and the missionaries should be allowed to act independently in the matter. 103 A test vote of the body in India had revealed the fact that a considerable majority of its members were in favor of the admission of polygamists to the church. 104 The General Assembly in the United States, after carefully considering the matter, expressed their inability in delegating such power to the General Synod and the matter ended there. 105

Other American societies were clearly opposed to baptism of polygamous converts. The North India Conference of the American Methodist Episcopal Church went on record to

102 Quoted by Farquhar, op. cit., p. 413.
104 Ibid.
105 Ibid.
oppose such admission. 106 The Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church in America declared: "Polygamy has not existed and will not be allowed to exist in any of our churches." 107 Among the primitive tribes, missionaries tried to suppress polygamy and polyandry. Among the converted Kols, where the Gossner Mission was working, polygamy ceased to exist by 1894. 108

Evils of the caste system also engaged the attention of missionaries and they waged a vigorous war against its prevalence among their Christian converts. This deep-seated evil lingered on for some time among the ignorant classes of village Christians who had accepted Christianity through mass movements, but, with the spread of education, it gradually disappeared. 109 The Indian Reform movements, like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana and the Arya Samaj, also made sincere efforts for uprooting this evil in Hindu society.

The rigors of the Purdah system were reduced to a large extent through the Zenana work of lady missionaries. Among the secluded homes of India, where life was restricted

106 Ibid., p. 223.
108 Ibid.
and shrouded, the sweet, womanly visitor, symbolizing a better and freer life, was very welcome. The close contact established by women missionaries with the inmates of Zenanas gave them an insight into the outside world and an idea of the freedom enjoyed by western women, which slowly led to the weakening of the Purdah system. The spread of education and the rise of reform movements accelerated the pace of the emancipation of women. But, the presence of women missionaries in India, was beyond doubt, responsible, to a great extent, for the introduction of new norms of conduct into the hitherto inhibited lives of Indian women.

India, with all its poverty, was a land of extravagance and ruinous waste. Indian families squandered the savings of years on marriages and funerals. Christian missionaries, by inculcating habits of thrift and domestic economy among Christian communities, set new standards for social behavior. Unnecessary expenses on such occasions were reduced to the minimum among Christians. Their festive occasions were marked by simplicity and dignity. These things slowly made an impression on non-Christians.

Missionaries and Indian Christian agencies introduced wise economic policies among Christian communities.


Many organizations were established for giving financial help to Christians. Organizations like the "Madras Native Christian Provident Fund", the "Madras Native Christian Benefit Fund", the "Bengal Christian Family Pension Fund", and the "Palamcottah Native Christian Benefit Fund" contributed a great deal to the economic welfare of Christian communities.\(^{112}\) Dr. Fairbank of the Marathi Mission encouraged the purchase of land and the carrying on of farming operations by Christian families. In 1885, he had a loan bank, organized with funds from America, out of which he advanced loans to proper persons to purchase land and oxen. Dozens of Christian families in that area owed their start in life to his pioneering efforts.\(^{113}\) Later on, his son, the Rev. Edward Fairbank, started Christian co-operative societies in the Marathi mission.\(^{114}\)

Hindu Law, for many centuries, had been seriously opposed to the use of alcoholic drinks, and high class Hindus, had been practically total abstainers.\(^{115}\) Many of the lower castes, however, had long been accustomed to drink. Modern life, unfortunately, did a good deal to introduce drink among

\(^{112}\)Dennis, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. II, p. 162.


\(^{114}\)Ibid.

\(^{115}\)Farquhar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 421.
the educated classes and to spread the drinking habit among the coolies on tea gardens. The opening of licensed liquor shops in the great cities by the Excise Dept. of the Government of India, led perhaps to an extension of the drinking customs of the common people. There was, therefore, ample room for temperance propaganda in India. Missionaries in their endeavors in this direction were fully supported by Indians. For the purpose of promoting temperance reform, the Anglo Indian Temperance Association was formed in 1889. It worked very well and received a hearty cooperation from many distinguished leaders of India like Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Mr. P. L. Nagpurkar and Mahant Kesho Ram. In 1897, it had 260 Indian temperance societies affiliated with it. Its indefatigable secretary, Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., visited India in the winter of 1896-97, and awakened a new interest in the cause. The Rev. Thomas Evans of Mussorie, formerly a Baptist missionary, did yeoman's service in this cause throughout the length and breadth of India, chiefly in connection with the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association. The Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj sent their powerful aid to the Anglo-Indian Temperance

116 Ibid.
117 Ibid.
118 Dennis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 117.
119 Ibid.
Association. The great Indian reformers, with hardly an exception, were advocates of this movement. 120

The Rev. Robert A. Hume, of the American Board Mission at Ahmednagar, was the founder of the Bombay Temperance Union, which in connection with various other organizations, became a part of the Bombay Temperance Council in December, 1896. The American Baptist missionaries at Ongole, had a Christian Temperance League, to which both men and women were admitted as members. 121 The Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church in America was in itself a total abstinence society. No missionary joined and no Indian employee entered its service without taking the pledge of total abstinence. 122 Likewise, every member before admission to the church was required to take a pledge of abstinence. 123 In Assam, American Baptist missionaries waged a vigorous war against the prevalence of alcoholic drinks among hill tribes. In all their churches, and in many of the villages, where Christians lived, total abstinence was the rule. 124 In some of the large tea estates,

120 Dennis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 119.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid., p. 120.
124 Burditt, "Work Among the Masses," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, pp. 74-78.
special temperance work was established by American Baptist and British missionaries. 125 The Karen Churches in Burma, under the guidance of Baptist missionaries, dealt very severely with intemperance habits of its members. 126

On the question of opium traffic in India, the sentiment of Christian missions was overwhelmingly opposed to it, although there seemed to be on the part of some resident missionaries a spirit of mild tolerance towards the Government, and a disposition to question the presence of any very serious danger to the people of India from the opium habit. Missionaries desired to see the absolute and complete suppression of the opium trade, but many of them hesitated to participate in the severe condemnation of the government on that account. 127 The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, appealed to the Government of India for suppressing opium dens in Lucknow, which was done in 1897. 128 American missionaries, along with the missionaries in China, sponsored a direct appeal to the United States President in 1901, via his home church, to use pressure in curtailing the use of opium in international trade. 129

125 Dennis, op. cit., p. 120.
126 Ibid., p. 121.
128 Ibid., p. 131.
Though the Christian missionaries had been in the forefront of the temperance movement in the beginning, it cannot be said that it was exclusively a phase of Christian missions during the period under review. By the 'nineties, many non-Christian Indians of distinction and multitudes of others less distinguished among the people, were its friends and supporters.130

American missionaries contributed a great deal, through their welfare and reform activities, towards alleviation of suffering and improvement of social conditions. Through their relief efforts during famines, epidemics and natural calamities, they saved thousands of men, women and children from death and immoral existence. This compassionate charity earned them the permanent gratitude of sufferers who became more receptive to their spiritual message. Their sincere efforts for removing the social evils of India proved more rewarding and fruitful. It provided an example as well as impulse towards social reform which gradually gathered momentum under Indian agencies. The increasingly important part played by Indian agencies symbolized a happy balance of western ideas and methods with Indian thought. Hinduism was gradually being transformed into an ethical religion with a social gospel. The part played by missionaries in this synthesis as well as transformation, was important and enduring.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The history of India between 1800 and 1910 is largely a record of its modernization. In the moral and material transformation that went on for a century, many western agencies were participating and were being helped by Indian agencies. First, there were the liberal British administrators who believed in the necessity of reform. Then, there were western planters and businessmen who on purely rationalist grounds, desired introduction of western knowledge and reform. These were being helped by enlightened Indian reformers like Ram Mohan Roy and others. Last, but not least, were the Christian missionaries, who were crusaders for religious and social reforms and who, though indirectly, contributed a great deal to the westernization of India.

Among the Protestant missionaries, this process of change and reform was carried on mainly by British and American missionaries. But, due to the universal presence of the British missionaries and their identification with the ruling power the part played by Americans has been rather neglected by historians. A close study of Indian history and missionary movement between 1810 and 1910 reveals the fact
that American missionaries were playing almost equal roles in the missionary movement as well as in the material and moral transformation of India. At the same time, they were the most potent agencies in bringing India and America closer.

Beginning modestly with a single mission station in Bombay, founded in 1813 by American Congregationalist missionaries, American missionary activity expanded rapidly. The six pioneer missionaries were followed by thousands of others. By 1910 there were forty American missionary societies and some 1800 American missionaries, and about three million American dollars were being spent annually on missionary work in India.2

During this period of nearly one hundred years, American missionary policies and attitudes underwent many changes. The improvements and changes in American Protestant thought at the home base reflected themselves in the mission fields and found expression in missionary activities. The period between 1813 and 1870 was largely a period of establishment and initial expansion of American missionary enterprise in India. Though

1"Centenary of America's Christian Connection with India," American Board, Annual Report, 1913, p. 139.
2Ibid.
relatively few in number, American missionaries contributed to the betterment of the religious and social scene during this period. They embodied, as it were, the Evangelicals' views about India,\(^3\) and made a frontal attack on the evils connected with the Hindu religion. Under the evangelistic tendencies of the period, they could not be expected to remain aloofly uncritical of the Hindu religion, which was believed to be responsible for many of the ills of the Hindu society. Since they could not change Indian society except by persuasion, they reminded the Christian rulers of their duty of reform and gave moral support to progressive measures like the abolition of Sati, Thugee, female infanticide and cruel aspects of Hindu pilgrimages. For the purpose of removing ignorance and spreading knowledge, they opened large numbers of schools in the areas where they worked. In Western India, they were the pioneers of female education, where they opened a school for girls in Bombay in 1824.\(^4\) Missionaries like John Scudder and John Newton began medical work also, on a modest scale. American missionaries established a few orphanges and leper asylums. They translated the Bible in Marathi, Urdu and


Assamese and started printing presses and magazines in Bombay, Allahabad and the Punjab.

These early American missionaries, both through their educational work and through their attacks on Hinduism, helped to release forces which helped in the gradual westernization of material conditions and the ultimate purification of Hinduism and other Indian religions. As Mr. D. S. Sarma has pointed out:

The zealous missionaries who never failed to point out their finger of scorn at our religious and social institutions were educators as well as crusaders... Ultimately they served only to rouse Hinduism from its sleep.5

The period between 1870 and 1910 was marked by expansion and more vigorous contribution to the material and moral advancement of India by American missionaries. During this period, as it were, the American missionary enterprise attained maturity. There was the growth of a liberal theology in America which rejected the old notion of the eternal damnation of the non-Christian unless he had heard the gospel.6 This liberal theology along with the growing study of comparative religions helped to change the old attitude of contempt for the Indian

5Sarma, op. cit., p. 69.

religions. As a result, a sympathetic attitude gradually came about. There was a growing readiness to recognize what was great in Hinduism and points of contact between the two religions were acknowledged and stressed. The World Missionary Conference, held at Edinburgh in 1910, marked the triumph of this changed attitude. The fundamentalist missionaries still did not share this point of view, but they were far outnumbered by the liberals.

This changed outlook influenced methods of preaching and evangelistic work. The feeling gained ground that Christianity must be expressed in an Indian form and missionaries should turn to the Indian scriptures in order to find language by which to interpret Christian teachings. Some went farther, holding that Indian Scriptures will enrich the conception of the Christian doctrines.\(^7\)

The rise of social Christianity in America after 1870 had profound and far reaching effects on missionary work. American Christianity showed a renewed concern for the welfare of the people as a community. No longer could a man be content with his own salvation and ignore the welfare of his brethren. The command to love

neighbors took on a new meaning. As a result, social service became much more prominent in Christian activity. It reflected itself in the program of American missions. The mass movements to Christianity were inaugurated in which the depressed and unfortunate classes of Indian society were converted en masse and programs for their social uplift were taken up. The social activities of the Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, Sunday Schools, Salvation Army and student volunteer movement were begun and vigorously promoted. An impressive and diversified educational plant, from the primary to college stage, was built up during this period. Industrial and agricultural training was introduced into mission schools and some specialized institutions were founded for the purpose.

An inclusive evangelism with a special stress on the alleviation of human sufferings was inaugurated. Medical missions with hospitals and dispensaries became very prominent. Large numbers of medical missionaries--both men and women--sailed from American shores, to serve India. It is noteworthy that the first qualified female doctor in India was an American missionary. Hospitals built by American missionaries stand today as the memorials of their fruitful work. The work of women medical missionaries began a new era in the history of
the medical care of Indian women and children. As a selfless area of Christian love, the kindly care of lepers was carried on. The sacrifice made by some missionaries for the cause of lepers was superb and heroic.

As great fighters against calamity and human suffering, American missionaries contributed their mite whenever India was visited by famines, epidemics and natural calamities. Their contribution to relief work was especially remarkable during the famine of 1899-1900, when, in the words of Lord Curzon, they stood for months "between the dead and the living."\(^8\)

Last, but not least, American missionaries engaged in welfare and social reform activities. They established widow homes, orphanages, and temperance reform associations. They reduced the evils of child marriage, caste system, intemperance and extravagance among their Christian converts. They focused the attention of British officers and educated Hindus on the evils of temple prostitution, widow-celibacy, caste-system and child marriage and helped the Progressive forces in Indian society which were fighting against these evils.

The results of missionary endeavor can be

grouped under two main heads—the direct and the indirect. Among the direct results was the creation of a Christian community which formed 1.5 per cent of the entire population, according to the Census of 1921. 9 More than half of the Protestant Christians in India, by 1910, had been converted by American Protestant missionaries. 10 Ten American colleges, thousands of mission schools for boys and girls, and hundred of hospitals and dispensaries were the direct outcomes of missionary efforts. The higher rate of literacy among Christian men and women was also the result of missionary endeavor.

Considering the population of India and the magnitude of missionary efforts, the small percentage of Christian converts has been looked upon as a sign of failure of evangelistic efforts of missionaries. As Mr. George D. Bearce has pointed out:

They (missionaries) expected Christianity to crown their efforts, and this, which was their main purpose, was their main failure. 11


11Bearce, op. cit., p. 88.
The fact that Christianity made little headway in the higher grades of Indian society also is interpreted to be a failure of missionary efforts.\(^\text{12}\)

A variety of factors were responsible for the failure of Christianity in winning more general acceptance. First, there are the fundamental differences between Christianity and Hinduism which created intellectual difficulties for the Hindus in accepting Christian theology. The spirit of Hinduism is not dogmatic.\(^\text{13}\) It is comprehensive and synthetic, seeking unity not in a common creed, but in a common quest for truth.\(^\text{14}\) The prevailing note of Hinduism has, therefore, been the understanding and acceptance of the bonafides of other faiths. A theoretical explanation was put forward in the Rigveda, for this attitude of acceptance of other cults: "The real is one, the learned call it by various names, Agni, Yama, Matarisvan."\(^\text{15}\) This spirit has continued through the centuries. In the 19th century,

\(^\text{12}\)Wilson, op. cit., p. 121.

\(^\text{13}\)S. Radhakrishnan, "Hinduism and the West," Modern India and the West, p. 339.


\(^\text{15}\)Rigveda, l. 164.46. Quoted by Radhakrishnan, Eastern Religions and Western Thought (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 308.
Ramkrishna Paramhansa experimented with different faiths to find out what was of enduring worth in them.\textsuperscript{16} Ram Mohan Roy instructed that the Brahmo Samaj should be a universal house of prayer open to all men without distinction of caste, religion or race.\textsuperscript{17} In the deed of gift he laid down that no religion "shall be reviled or contemptuously spoken of in the Brahmo Samaj."\textsuperscript{18} Mahatma Gandhi, stating his faith declared:

\begin{quote}
I believe in the Bible as I believe in the Gita.
I regard all the great faiths of the world equally true with my own.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

This catholicity of the Hindu mind and its love of tolerance, therefore, made it difficult to accept the exclusive claim of Christianity as the only true or uniquely revealed religion. That God should reveal His nature and purpose to His creatures was by no means repugnant to Hindu thought. What was repugnant was the idea that any

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{17}Romain Rolland, Prophets of the New India (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1930), p. 81. Also, Radhakrishnan, Eastern Religions and Western Thought, p. 308.

\textsuperscript{18}Rolland, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 81.

\textsuperscript{19}Radhakrishnan, Eastern Religions and Western Thought, p. 313.
one mode or channel of revelation had a unique value. 20

The Hindu mind does not attach too much impor-
tance to a single historical event, however important, in the universal development of religious thought. To the Hindu, the stories both of Ram and Christ are equally useful in the planes of feeling and action. 21 It mat­tered little whether both are historical or mythological figures. Devotion to an ideal personified in a mythical hero seems to have the same value as devotion to an historical person. Therefore, though the ideal side of the Gospel was appreciated, its historical element failed to make any strong appeal to the Hindu mind. 22

Another difficulty was the system of rewards and punishments in Christian theology. The doctrine of one human life which Christianity emphasized, did not suf­fice for the Hindu mind. That the soul of man should in one brief human birth qualify itself for an eternal existence in heaven or hell, with no hope of reprieve or change, seemed to the Hindu a doctrine difficult to


21 Ibid.

22 World Missionary Conference, Report of Commission IV, p. 188.
believe. According to one testimony, no doctrine of Christianity found greater difficulty for access to the Hindu mind than this one.

The doctrine of Atonement and Justification through faith in Christ Crucified, likewise, did not attract the Hindu mind. The belief in the doctrine of Karma with its implications of retributive justice, made it difficult for the Hindu to believe that the death of another, although He be an incarnation of God, could in any degree mitigate the consequences of human action.

The intellectual temper of Hinduism is not favorably disposed toward proselytism. Since truth is manysided, no religion is supposed to have apprehended the whole truth. What we can hope for is a relative truth, a provisional hypothesis for which no finality or absoluteness can be claimed. Therefore, to the Hindu mind, there is no need of changing labels. On the other

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25 Ibid., p. 168.

26 Radhakrishnan, Eastern Religions & Western Thought, p. 314.
hand, differences of religious opinion are natural and desirable. 27

The Hindu mind separates theological dogma sharply from philosophy and puts it in a lower grade. Therefore, dogma which finds expression in Christian thought seemed to the Hindu on a lower level, the result of emotion, not thought, food for poetry not philosophy, an interpretation of experience, appropriate to a particular time, place, or race, but not universally valid. 28

Likewise, Muslims in India had difficulty in accepting the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of Trinity which were repugnant to their ideas of pure monotheism. 29

The sentiment of cultural nationalism and the development of political nationalism also hampered the growth of Christianity. Those who took a natural pride in India's cultural heritage resented the assumption of superiority revealed in certain missionary writings and hymns. 30

The racial antipathy felt to the British was


28 Ibid., p. 336.

29 O'Malley, op. cit., p. 672.

extended to their religion.\footnote{Ibid.} Less informed people hardly distinguished between American and British missionaries.

The presentation of Christianity, in its western garb, also did not make an emotional appeal to Indians. As Mr. Keshab Chandra Sen put it:

The Christ that has come to us is an Englishman, with English manners and customs about him. . . . Hence, it is that Hindu people shrink back.\footnote{Quoted by O'Malley, op. cit., p. 675.}

There was further a widespread objection to Christianity on the ground that converts became westernized and denationalized, abandoning the social and cultural traditions of India and adopting European manners and dress. This was especially true of the period before 1870 when the missionaries seemed to be anxious to make Indian Christians as western as possible. As Dr. Narayan Sheshadri, a Brahman convert, called himself once: "I am just a black Scotchman."\footnote{The Rev. N. Macnicol, "Action and Reaction of Christianity and Hinduism in India," Hibbert Journal, Vol. VI (1908) (London: Williams and Norgate, 1908), p. 75.} These tendencies, along with the multiplicity of denominations, prevented many from becoming Christians.

There were certain social difficulties also which prevented the growth of Christianity. Protestant
missions required converts to abjure caste. This meant a complete break from their previous social lives and very few were prepared to make such a sacrifice. The levelling principles of Christianity were repugnant to caste ideas. Men attracted by Christian ideals were not willing to accept the same social position with converts from the depressed classes, whom they had regarded as inferior all their lives.

The indirect results of Christian efforts were impressive. What was lost in direct conversions, was gained through indirect effects in the social scene. Paradoxically enough, contact with Christianity tended to purify and strengthen the Indian religions and so remove incentives to conversion. As Mr. B. M. Malabari, the Parsee reformer, once admitted:

I feel bound to acknowledge the benefits I have derived from contact with the spirit of Christianity. But for that holy contact, I could scarcely have grown into the staunch and sincere Zoroastrian that I am. 34

A similar opinion was expressed by a Hindu writer, writing in the Hindustan Review:

It (Christianity) has given us Christ and taught us noble moral and spiritual lessons which we have discovered anew in our own Scriptures. . . . It has awakened a new spirit

34Quoted by O'Malley, op. cit., p. 672.
of enquiry in the drooping Hindu mind. It has made Hinduism conscious of its greatness. It has held up to view the baneful effects of certain soul degrading customs which used to prevail in Hindu society.35

The religious movements of the 19th century, like the Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj and the Ramkrishna mission, were directly or indirectly inspired by western ideals and Christianity. These were designed to preserve the essential principles of Hinduism and at the same time to remove excrescences which were opposed not only to the spirit of Hinduism, but also to ideals spread by Christianity and western culture.

The greatest indirect effects of missionary efforts were achieved in the social scene. As Mr. Bearce puts it: "In time, the missionaries helped alter the social condition of India."36 The amelioration of the lot of women by allowing widow remarriage, raising the age of consent, uplifting the devadasis, and abolishing the purdah system were all indirect effects of Christian missionary activity.37 The whole consideration of the question of Untouchability was raised by the large number

35 Quoted by Macnicol, op. cit., p. 73.
36 Bearce, op. cit., p. 88.
37 Wilson, op. cit., p. 34.
of Untouchables who joined the Christian church. Hinduism had more carefully to demarcate its boundaries, the Untouchables were admitted as Hindus, the injustice of the continuance of their disabilities was realized, and the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all men was given a new emphasis.\footnote{Ibid., p. 28.}

According to the Indian Social Reformer, "organized social work in India can be said to date only from the advent of the Christian missionaries."\footnote{Quoted by Wilson. Ibid., p. 28.} Even today, an ideal social worker is referred to as possessing a "missionary spirit."\footnote{Gov't. of India, Report of the Scheduled Areas 
& Scheduled Tribes Commission, Vol. I, 1960 (Simla: Gov't. of India Press, 1960), p. 301.} Social work of missions was, to a great extent, imitated by Indian religious groups. On Y.M.C.A. principles, the Youngmen's Buddhist Association, Youngmen's Indian Association and the Arya Kumar Sabha (Association of Young Aryans, a branch of the Arya Samaj) were founded.\footnote{Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 444.} The mission to the Depressed Classes and the Servants of India Society worked on missionary ideals. The principles of mission schools and colleges, widows' homes and orphanages,
leper asylums and medical work were all studied and adopted by Indian religious groups. Social Christianity, thus, helped to generate a social consciousness which was unprecedented in the history of India. Missionaries, therefore, contributed to the "Amelioration of man" which was begun around 1800.

Contact with Christianity likewise inspired Hindu scholars to re-interpret Hindu scriptures. A fuller expression was given to the higher spiritual conceptions of Hinduism, which gradually became more explicit and prominent. The baser elements in the popular religion were discouraged and discarded. A selective use of western ideas helped to transform Hinduism and quicken it to a new life. This new life of Hinduism is beautifully summed up in the following comment of Dr. Radhakrishnan:

As a result, Hinduism has become an ethical religion with a social gospel. The influence of the West here is considerable. . . . The less worthy elements in popular religion are being gradually eliminated and the sublime thoughts of the Upanishads and the Gita are receiving emphasis. It is no small achievement to help a great religion to purify itself and this work of purification cannot be estimated by statistics.

42 Ibid.

43 Radhakrishnan, "Hinduism and the West," Modern India and the West, p. 353.
Last, but not least, American missionaries made a very important contribution to the promotion of friendship and closer relations between India and the United States. They were the largest single group of Americans who lived in India for a considerable length of time. According to one estimate, almost three out of the four Americans living in India before 1930, were missionaries. By virtue of their intimate knowledge of the state of affairs in both countries, they were important agencies for the dissemination of information and the formation of public opinion. At the same time, they were the unofficial ambassadors from this country to India. In their professional capacities as teachers, doctors and social workers, they earned the goodwill and friendship of Indians and enhanced the prestige of America. Many of them actually spent their lives in building and nurturing educational and medical institutions, which they left as their priceless legacies. Through their devoted labors in these areas they proved their genuine interest in the development of India on modern lines. Some of them sympathized with India's nationalist aspirations and participated in the activities of the Indian National Congress. Through their activities, they acquainted Indians with the American

\[44\text{Petty, op. cit., Vol. IV, Part II, p. 24.}\]
spirit of liberalism, friendship and generosity. Missionaries like Robert A. Hume, Charles Forman, Isabella Thoburn, William Wanless, Sam Higginbottom and Ida Scudder deserve a place in the history of modern India. It is no exaggeration to state that it is difficult to comprehend the growth of Indo-American relations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries without a proper study of the part played by missionaries in bringing the two nations closer together.
APPENDIX I

The founding and growth of various American Protestant missions in India:

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions:

Marathi Mission:

Madura Mission:
Madura 1836, Madras 1836, Dindigul 1837, Palni 1837, Pasumalai 1839, Tirumangalam 1840, Battalgundu 1844, Periapopam 1846, Tirupavanam 1849, Mannadura 1851, Arupukottai 1853, Periakulum 1854, Melur 1854.

Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.:

The Punjab Mission:
Ludhiana 1834, Sabatthu 1836, Saharanpur 1837, Jalandhar 1846, Ambala 1848, Lahore 1849, Dehradun 1853, Feshawar 1855, Roorkee 1856, Fatehpur 1859, Ferozepur 1862, Hoshaypur 1867, Mussoorie 1874, Kasur 1900, Khanna 1908, Moga 1908, Rupar 1910.

Farrukhabad Mission:
Fattehgarh 1836, Allahabad 1836, Farrukhabad 1844, Mainpurie 1844, Etawah 1863, Jhansi 1866, Etah 1873, Gwalior 1873, Kanpur 1901.

Mission in Bombay Presidency:
Kolhapur 1870, Ratnagiri 1873, Kodoli 1881, Sangli 1888, Miraj 1892, Vengurla 1900.

American Baptist Foreign Missionary Union:

The Telugu Mission:
Nellore 1840, Rampatnam 1865, Ongole 1867, Secundarabad 1898, Nalgonda 1900.
The Assam Mission:
Sadiya 1834, Sibsagar 1841, Nowgong 1841, Gauhati 1843, Goalpara 1867, Tura (Garo Tribes) 1878, Molung (Nagas) 1878, Kohima (Naga Hills) 1881, Ukhrul, Manipur (Tangkhul Nagas) 1896, Impur (Naga Hills) 1898, Golaghat 1898, Dibrugarh 1900, Wokha (Lhota Nagas) 1878, Miris Tribes Mission 1895.

Foreign Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America:

American Evangelical Lutheran Church:
Guntur 1841, Rajahmundry 1851, Santal Mission 1891, Krishnagiri 1894, Travancore 1907.

United Presbyterian Church in America:
Sialkot 1855, Gujranwala 1862, Rawalpindi 1874.

American Unitarians:
Calcutta 1855-1886.

Dutch Reformed Church in America:
Arcot 1856, Vellore 1857.

Seventh Day Adventists of America:
Madras 1882, Calcutta 1895.

American Campbellites:
Bilaspur 1882.
Dates of Arrival of some minor societies in India:

1863, Women's Union Missionary Society of America.

1869, Missionary Society, Calvinistic Church in the U.S.A.

1882, Christian Woman's Board of Missions.

1887, Christian and Missionary Alliance.


1889, Foreign Department, International Committee of American Y.M.C.A.

1892, Scandinavian Alliance Mission.

1894, Foreign Department, Y.W.C.A., U.S.A.

1895, General Mission Board, Church of the Brethren.

1895, Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States.

1895, Vanguard Missionary Association.


1896, Pentecost Bands of the World.

1896, Women's General Missionary Society, Churches of God.

1897, Peniel Missionary Society.

1898, Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, Advent Christian.

1899, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities.¹

¹Taken from the Statistics of Protestant Missions in India 1910. Quoted in Full by S. Eddy, India Awakening. Appendix.
APPENDIX II

Number of American Missionaries in India in 1910 1,667

American Women Missionaries 1,123

APPENDIX III

Number of BaptizedChristians in American Missions

in 1910

418,775

Ibid.
APPENDIX IV

Number of Secondary Schools for boys in 1907,
in British India 3,285
Public management 740
Private 2,5454

Number of Primary Schools for boys in 1907 102,947
Public management 24,715
Private 78,2325

Number of Middle Vernacular Schools for boys
in 1907 2,039
Public management 893
Private 1,1466

Number of Technical & Industrial Schools in 1907 1477

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5Ibid., p. 112.
6Ibid., p. 120.
7Ibid., p. 127.
### APPENDIX V

Public Institutions for the general education of girls in 1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colleges</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary schools</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools (including middle vernacular schools)</td>
<td>10,245</td>
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</table>

Number of Arts Colleges in 1907 127

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public management</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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8Ibid., p. 134.

9Ibid., p. 85.
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