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**The Christian Missionaries
In Bengal
1793-1833**

**THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN BENGAL
1793-1833**

BY

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TO
THE SACRED MEMORY OF MY
FATHER (Late KALI PRASANNA SEN GUPTA)
AND
MOTHER (Late PROMODA SUNDARI SEN GUPTA)

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PREFACE

The activities of Christian Missionaries in Bengal from 1793 to 1833, constitute a most significant aspect of modern Indian history. This subject has attracted the attention of scholars in recent years.

In 1956, Dr. K. INGHAM, published, "*Reforms in India, 1793-1833*", which deals thoroughly with "the work of Christian Missionaries on behalf of social reform". It, however, hardly touches upon the subject of the success or failure of the missionaries in gaining converts in India, which INGHAM believes to be "beyond human assessment".

In 1967, Dr. E. D. POTTS, published, "*British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837*", which deals with "The history of Serampore and its Missions". Dr. POTTS, has tried to show fully the achievements of the Serampore Trio, viz. William Carey, Joshua Mashman, and William Ward. In his enthusiasm he rather made some wild charges against modern Indian historians, who are alleged to be "blind...to the role played by three remarkable men", and also "are reluctant to cite primary sources for their information".

But none of them made any enquiry into the missionary attitude towards the people among whom they worked. They also did not try to co-relate between the missionary object and their achievements.

Thus many important questions relating to the subject has remained without answer. With what object in view did the missionaries come to India? Were they successful in attaining their object? What was the attitude of the missionaries towards the people? How far were the missionaries responsible for the introduction of some significant social reforms in Bengal?

The present study is an analysis of the first forty years of the Protestant Missionary work in Bengal. It is intended to throw light on some unexplored aspects of the missionary activities and also an attempt was made to answer the hitherto unanswered questions.

The first chapter attempts an analysis of the Eighteenth Century Socio-Religious background of England and Bengal, against which it seeks to explain the growth of the missionary activities. It was the Methodist Revival Movement in England, which gave rise to the outburst of missionary enthusiasm. As far Bengal is concerned it brings into focus the contemporary socio-religious conditions in which the missionaries found themselves and analyses the policy of the East India Company towards the Indian religion, which, in its turn, determined its attitude towards the missionaries.

Chapter two describes the various missionary organisations in Bengal, and their relationship towards each other, also the relationship between the missionaries and other Europeans.

Chapter three and four describe the missionaries at work, their attitude towards the people, their object, and the methods used to achieve their object, namely, Preaching Translation and Education; and the reactions of the people.

Chapter five, is an elaborate discussion of the results of the missionary activities, offers an analysis hitherto unattempted, of the total number of converts, their social background, their behaviour after conversion; and people's reaction towards conversion and the converts.

Chapter six deals with the impact of the missionary activities on Contemporary Society. The impact on the Socio-religious reforms, growth of education and Bengali literature, is discussed fully. It is affirmed that the missionaries played a significant part in preparing the background for the Renaissance in Bengal.

It is pointed out in conclusion, that the lasting contributions of the missionaries towards the social progress in Bengal came directly from their non-evangelical work and indirectly from their evangelical activities. The Socio-Religious reforms were the last thing that the missionaries wanted but they were what followed from their activities in Bengal.

This book is mainly based on the primary sources, such as letters (both private and official) of the missionaries from Bengal, Journals of individual missionaries and reports of the various Societies, which are available in the missionary archives. Many other original sources have also been used.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I wish to express my gratitude to Professor A. L. BASHAM of Australian National University, for his interest and direction in the early part of this work.

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I should like, particularly, to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Baptist Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Methodist Missionary Society, and the Librarians of the British Museum, the India Office Library, London, and the Indian Institute, Oxford, the National Library of Scotland and Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, for permitting me to use their archives.

My thanks are due to Dr. R. MAZUMDER, for all the friendly help he so willingly gave me, and also to my niece (Prof. CHHANDA SEN GUPTA), who has helped me in preparing the index.

Finally, I am indebted to my wife (Dr. SUBHA SEN GUPTA), for her constant inspiration and assistance throughout this work, although she was busy with her research studies, at the University College, London.

NOTE ON TRANSLATION

The most modern transliteration of Indian words and names is employed throughout the book except in the case of quotations, which on every occasion retain the original spelling.

ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN MAIN TEXT AND FOOT NOTES

B.F.B.S.	British and Foreign Bible Society.
B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society.
C.C.T.B.S.	Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society.
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society.
E.C.S.	Established Church of Scotland.
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society.
N.M.S.	Netherlands Missionary Society.
S.P.C.K.	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
R.T.S.	Religious Tract Society.
W.M.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

USED IN FOOT NOTES ONLY

A.R.	<i>Annual Report.</i>
Bodl.	Bodleian Library (Oxford).
H.M.S.	Home Miscellaneous Series.
P.A.	<i>Periodical Accounts.</i>
P. Deb.	<i>Parliamentary Debates.</i>
P.P.	<i>Parliamentary Papers.</i>
S.M.	Serampore Mission.
S.P.S.K.	<i>Sambad Patre Sakaler Katha.</i>

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

THE GROWTH OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN BRITAIN

There was an outburst of missionary enthusiasm in Britain in the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century. This could be explained by a reference to the socio-religious conditions of Eighteenth Century England.

Excessive indulgence in vice, and laxity in moral and religious standards, were the main features of English Society at that time. During the first half of the century, England presented a dark socio-religious picture. The drunkenness of the people was proverbial—not a single class was free from that “National vice”.¹ London gin shops invited every passerby to get “Drunk for 1D, dead drunk for 2D, clean straw for nothing!”²

Another feature of the Society was excessive coarseness and immorality. “Purity and fidelity to the marriage vow were sneered out of fashion”.³ Balleine alleged that “The King, the Prime Minister, and the Prince of Wales were all living in open adultery”⁴ during Walpole’s ministry. According to Trevelyan, “The best of the upper class aimed at the full and rational enjoyment of this life, rather than at preparation for the next, of which they spoke seldom and then with a cheerful scepticism”.⁵ Montesquieu (1645-1725), the French writer, after visiting England in the early part of the century commented, “In England, there is no religion, and the subject if mentioned in Society, excites nothing but laughter”.⁶ The poor classes were also thoroughly immoral, wicked, full of vices, ignorant “and

¹Abbey, C. J. and Overton, J. H. *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century* p. 304.

²Balleine, G. R. *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* p. 11.

³Green, J. R. *A Short History of English people* p. 736.

⁴Balleine *A History* p. 12.

⁵Trevelyan, G. M. *History of England* p. 517.

⁶Balleine *A History* p. 17.

brutal to a degree which is hard to conceive".⁷ The Baptism registers indicate how rampant immorality was in the villages of England. There were instances when the "labourers sold their wives by auction in the cattle market".⁸

Side by side with this immorality went a love for cruelty. Cock-fighting and bull-baiting were very popular pastimes. "The criminal law was simply barbarous. Any theft of more than 40s. was punishable by death".⁹ The pillory was another common punishment. "Men and women were whipped inough the streets".¹⁰ The public executions at Tyburn were the most popular form of amusement. "All London" wrote Balleine "turned out on Mondays for the Tyburn hangings".¹¹ The state of English prisons also "teemed with cruel abuses".¹² They were dirty, unhealthy places, where all kinds of criminals, both men and women, were put together all day. Drunkenness among the prisoners was encouraged, "for the unpaid gaoler lived by the sale of beer".¹³ In spite of the brutal punishments, the crimes went on increasing. Highway robberies were frequent occurrences.¹⁴

Although the country had an organised Christian Church, religion seemed to be "at a lower ebb".¹⁵ The Church of England was almost inactive because of the dual evils of pluralities and non-residence, the one leading to the other.¹⁶ One incumbent could hold simultaneously two, three, or more benefices which were generally sold by public auction. From the pluralities of the benefices arose the evils of non-residence; the incumbent performing his spiritual duties by appointing a deputy, or in cases where the parishes were not very far off, not even doing that. "Every Sunday morning he would gallop from Church to Church and hurry through a service shortened by himself for the purpose, and which he would make even shorter

⁷Green *A Short History* p. 736.

⁸Balleine *A History* p. 12.

⁹Abbey and Overton *The English Church* p. 304.

¹⁰Carpenter, S. C. *Church and People. 1789-1889* p. 27.

¹¹Balleine *A History* p. 12.

¹²Abbey and Overton *The English Church* p. 284.

¹³Balleine *A History* p. 5.

¹⁴*Ibid* p. 12-13.

¹⁵Green *A Short History* p. 735.

¹⁶Abbey and Overton *The English Church* p. 284.

on days when he was more than usually pressed for time".¹⁷ Hundreds of parishes had only one service a week, even that was dropped during bad weather. "In the dilapidated churches; no better than empty barns, the children of the village played their marbles, the beadles hatched out their chicken".¹⁸ The Church of England cared little to create new parishes although "the old parish divisions of England, . . . answered ill to the real distribution of people in a country that had been in constant economic change for two hundred years, and was now changing much more rapidly than ever before".¹⁹ The gradual industrialization of England was changing the living conditions of many people. They lived in wretched conditions in the slums of London and newly developed towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. No efforts were made by the Church for the religious improvement of these people. "Hardly a single church had been built"²⁰ for them between 1742 and 1762. Nothing was done for their education either. "The two leading defects of its qualities" wrote Trevelyan about the Church of England "were its discouragement of all forms of zeal, and its neglect of the poor, especially in the great towns, the collieries and the industrial districts".²¹ The result of this universal discouragement of "zeal" and "enthusiasm" made the preaching of the clergymen lifeless and unattractive. One celebrated lawyer, in the reign of George III, after hearing sermons by every preacher of note in London, commented that "he did not hear a single discourse which had more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero, and that it would have been impossible for him to discover, from what he heard, whether the preacher were a follower of Confucius, of Mahomet, or of Christ".²²

The lack of enthusiasm and spiritual feelings was not confined to the Church of England only, "nonconformity had even less spiritual life than the Church".²³ The three old dis-

¹⁷Halevy, E. *England in 1815* p. 398.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Trevelyan *History of England* p. 519.

²⁰Green *A Short History* p. 736.

²¹Trevelyan *History of England* p. 519.

²²Ryle, J. C. *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century* p. 15.

²³Balleine *A History* p. 14. Nonconformists are sects of the Church of England. They are called 'Nonconformists' because of their members refusal to conform to the ritual and discipline of the Establishment and also "Dissenters" because of their doctrinal disagreement with the Church.

senting denominations, Presbyterians,²⁴ Independents,²⁵ and Baptists²⁶ declared the hierarchical government of the established Church unscriptural. Their own constitutions were more democratic, but "the cessation of religious persecution produced a decline both of uncompromising dogmatism and enthusiastic devotion",²⁷ among the Dissenters during the Eighteenth Century.

Such a state of spiritual life quickened the growth of rationalism. Arianism and Socinianism, drifting into Unitarianism,²⁸ was the "development of thought in the Anglican Church and among the Dissenters".²⁹ With "an Established Church apathetic, sceptical, lifeless, sects weakened by rationalism, unorganised, their missionary spirit extinct",³⁰ and "a people coarse, brutal, ignorant",³¹ the contemporary socio-religious picture of England was very dark indeed.

There is little wonder that against such a background the decision of four young men at Oxford in 1729, to meet together for reading and discussing religious matters would appear "to the loose living men around them" to be "a tremendous joke".³² Many nicknames were coined immediately, and the one which later became famous was "Methodist", used tauntingly against them. Among these four young men were two brothers, John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln, and Charles Wesley, student of Christ Church.³³ In 1735 their number rose to fourteen. They started to visit the Oxford prison, meeting the prisoners, and holding services for them every Sunday afternoon. They raised some money to release those prisoners who were imprisoned for small debts and started a school in the slum area.

²⁴Presbyterians believe that the government and discipline of the Church rest with "Presbyters" or "elders" gathered in a Synod.

²⁵Independents or Congregationalists believe in the fundamental principle that every congregation is an independent body.

²⁶Baptists believe in adult baptism by full immersion only.

²⁷Halevy *England in 1815* p. 404.

²⁸Arianism and Socinianism which developed into Unitarianism put emphasis on the unity of God, and rejected the fundamental Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

²⁹Halevy *England in 1815* p. 405.

³⁰*Ibid* p. 410.

³¹Balmain *A History* p. 17.

³²*Ibid* p. 4.

³³Wesley, John (1703-91) and Wesley, Charles (1707-88) sons of a country clergyman, were the founders of Methodism in England.

But the "immediate result of this development of Oxford Methodism was a furious outburst of persecution".⁸⁴ They were pelted and hooted in the streets and their numbers began to fall. During this period the "Methodists" recruited George Whitefield⁸⁵ the future orator of the movement. His mother kept an inn at Gloucester, and Whitefield had to help her to run it.⁸⁶ In 1736 this Oxford group was dissolved. The two Wesleys, accepted posts as S.P.G. Chaplains and went to Georgia. In 1737 Whitefield also went to Georgia as a curate. Thus ended the preparatory stage of the Methodist movement. In 1737 John Wesley returned to England, his brother having returned earlier. John Wesley's mission to America was a failure. When he was thus labouring under a sense of frustration, he met at London, a young Moravian missionary—Peter Bolher.

Originally a Lutheran community, "The Moravians" broke away from the Lutherans in 1727 and started a new community called the "Unitas Fratrum" or "The Unity of Brethren". They, however, are commonly called "Moravian Brethren" after Moravia, their place of residence in Germany. The Moravians were the first Protestant Church to recognise world evangelization as part of the Church's duty. They inaugurated the modern missionary movement among the Protestant churches in 1732⁸⁷ and as such, had a tremendous influence on all the Protestant missionary societies. The life and character of the Moravians, and their methods, became a model for all missionaries. The Moravians laid great emphasis on preaching, which they made lively by their ardent zeal and earnestness. They always led a "life after primitive model, frugal, quiet, industrious, shunning temptation and avoiding controversy".⁸⁸ Their community life was based on the principle of self-support. "They lived in daily personal touch with the people. They taught them to be honest, obedient, industrious, and loyal to the government".⁸⁹ They

⁸⁴Balleine *A History* p. 7.

⁸⁵Whitefield, George (1714-70) Leader and orator of the Methodist movement.

⁸⁶Balleine *A History* p. 8.

⁸⁷*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* vol. 8, p. 837-8.

⁸⁸Abbey and Overton *The English Church* p. 265.

⁸⁹Hutton, J. E. *A History of the Moravian Church* p. 248.

worked among many primitive races in lands peculiarly unpromising and uninviting. The Moravians also attached importance to education. It was to them an essential part of their missionary work which they carried on with equal zeal and enthusiasm. "They opened schools, taught reading and writing, and instructed the girls in sewing and needle work".⁴⁰

The Moravians came to England in 1735. The meeting of John Wesley and Peter Bohler, the young Moravian missionary, in 1738, was an event of great significance. Wesley was thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Moravian doctrine "that conversion comes as a sudden personal assurance of salvation, bringing new birth and dominion over sin".⁴¹ Wesley was also greatly impressed by the ardent zeal of the Moravians.

While Wesley was going through such a personal experience Whitefield arrived from America to collect funds for an orphanage in Georgia, and found among the British workers willing hearers of the Gospel. He invited Wesley to undertake field preaching. Wesley and Whitefield found their life's work in Gospel preaching among the people. The great religious revival started in 1739.⁴²

The Methodists began to preach to the people, day after day, year after year throughout England, and proclaimed that salvation is possible by simple faith. "They preached everywhere They preached simply They preached fervently and directly. They proclaimed the words of faith with faith, and the story of life with life. They spoke with fiery zeal, like men who were thoroughly persuaded that what they said was true, and that it was of the utmost importance to your eternal interest to hear it".⁴³ They preached "Man is guilty, Christ has died, Salvation is possible".⁴⁴ These simple truths appeared real to the people, through Whitefield's oratory, Charles Wesley's hymns, and John Wesley's preaching. Thus "the waters of religious life in Great Britain had been stirred by the Methodist movement which had spread from its origin in the secluded academic Society at Oxford to the unlettered population of

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Trevelyan *History of England* p. 520.

⁴²Balleine *A History* p. 22.

⁴³Ryle *The Christian Leaders* p. 24-25.

⁴⁴Balleine *A History* p. 30.

towns and villages throughout the British Isles".⁴⁵ The truths which the Methodists brought into prominence were not new, "but they were truths which acquired under the vigorous preaching of the revivalists a freshness and vitality and influence over men's practice, which they had...ceased to exercise".⁴⁶

The revived religious force soon began to fall into two divisions. One section gradually separated themselves from the Church of England, and formed a new dissenting sect, called the Methodists. The other section remained loyal to the Church of England and became known as the Evangelicals. The main difference between the two sections lay in their attitude towards the parochial system. The Methodists disregarded the parochial system of the Established Church. They claimed the world as their parish and "would not hear of confining themselves to work in a single village".⁴⁷ The Evangelicals, on the other hand, strongly disapproved of the idea of a world parish, and itinerant preaching. However both the Methodists and Evangelicals believed in the saving power of the Christian Gospel and also in the necessity of personal conversion and an intense moral earnestness. As both Methodism and Evangelicalism had their origin in the same religious movement, "to the close of the eighteenth century, Methodists and Evangelicals were in many respects, so inextricably mixed up that it is impossible entirely to separate the one from the other".⁴⁸

The religious revival movement regenerated among the people a spirit of enthusiasm and intense religious sentiment which changed "after a time the whole tone of English society".⁴⁹ The movement was "Middle class in character" and so spread widely "among the trading and professional classes".⁵⁰ A deep concern for the poor, ignorant and neglected people, induced the middle class to undertake "activities in philanthropy, giving ordered charity to the poor as compensation

⁴⁵Sykes, N. *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century* p. 390.

⁴⁶Abbey and Overton *The English Church* p. 314.

⁴⁷Balleine *A History* p. 41.

⁴⁸Overton, J. H. *The Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* p. 58-59.

⁴⁹Green *A Short History* p. 736.

⁵⁰Trevelyan, G. M. *Illustrated English Social History* vol. 3 p. 67.

for their own abundance".⁵¹ This charity took various forms—building churches, establishing schools, erecting hospitals and distributing religious tracts.

The same spirit influenced Hannah More⁵² to publish a tract called "Village Politics, or will chip" in 1792, with the object of checking the growth of French Revolutionary principles and anti-church ideas propagated by men like Thomas Paine,⁵³ among the poor people in England. "So great was the effect of this work" wrote Overton "that it was considered to have contributed largely to prevent a revolution in England".⁵⁴ She continued to issue a series of tracts periodically under the title "Cheap Repository Tracts" until 1798. "Methodism proved a powerful counter-attraction among the people. It directed into other channels the first rebellion of the uncared for millions, for it gave them other interests and ideas besides material".⁵⁵ The Methodist resistance to the "sceptic assault on religion" by the revolutionary writers aroused loyalty among the English people towards religion.

This concern for the salvation of the neglected people in England later grew into a concern for the salvation of non-Christians in other countries. It found practical expression in the growth of numerous Missionary Societies within a short period. *The Evangelical Magazine*, established in 1793 by Christians of different denominations, appealed to the public to see as a Christian obligation, the cause of advancing their faith in distant countries. Thus the religious revival of the Eighteenth century led to the growth of Missionary Societies in Britain during the last quarter of the century.

"On the Church of England the action of Methodism was late and slow, on Dissent it had been rapid and radical".⁵⁶ The

⁵¹Jones, M. G. *The Charity School Movement* p.7.

⁵²More, Hannah (1745-1833) a poetess, and writer of religious tracts. She conducted a charity school and was a member of 'Clapham Group'. She was an Evangelical laywoman.

⁵³Paine, Thomas (1737-1809) was the most important English writer who expressed with sharpness the doctrines of political rights held by French revolutionists. He also showed great independence of thought in his criticisms of the Bible. Two of his famous books were "*The Age of Reason*" and "*Rights of Man*".

⁵⁴Overton *The Evangelical Revival* p.142.

⁵⁵Trevelyan *History of England* p.520.

⁵⁶Halevy *England in 1815* p.410.

revival not only restored the old Missionary Societies to "life" and "activity" but also brought forth new Societies in the field. The older Societies established before the revival were the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G.

(1) *The S.P.C.K.*

The oldest organisation in the Church of England was "*The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*" which was formed in 1698 mainly through the efforts of Dr. Thomas Bray.⁵⁷ It was a private and voluntary organisation which aimed at promoting Christian Knowledge, by distributing among the poor, Bibles, New Testaments, Common Prayer Books and other religious literature, and also by establishing schools. It intended "to subsidize other institutions with the same object".⁵⁸ The original promoters of the Society wanted to confine its work to the British Isles⁵⁹ and therefore never contemplated appointing any missionary for the promotion of "Christian Knowledge".

(2) *The S.P.G.*

Dr. Bray, from his personal experiences in America, felt that the colonies required missionaries to be sent to them. He therefore, drew up a petition to the King backed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the incorporation of another organisation, in order to send missionaries to the British Colonies. By a Royal Charter, the Society was formed in 1701, called "*The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*". The object of the Society was to provide and maintain the clergy in the plantations, colonies and factories of Great Britain, beyond the seas".⁶⁰ Initially, these two sister Societies, established long before the revival had very limited objectives. The S.P.C.K. had no missionaries, while the S.P.G. restricted the activities of its missionaries to the white

⁵⁷Bray, T. (1656-1730) Rector of Sheldon, who took great interest in the education of the poor.

⁵⁸Stock, E. History of the C.M.S. vol. I, p. 22.

⁵⁹Pascoe, C. F. Two hundred years of the S.P.G. p. 6.

⁶⁰Ibid p. 7.

colonies of Britain. Both the Societies were "at the lowest point of energy and efficiency"⁶¹ before the revival.

(3) *The B.M.S.*

*The Baptist Missionary Society*⁶² was established in 1792 at Kettering outside London, through the zeal and tireless efforts of William Carey.⁶³ His paper "*An Enquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathens. In which the religious state of different nations of the world, the success of former undertakings, and the practicability of further undertakings, are considered*", published in 1792, made a most passionate appeal for missionary work. His sermon at Nottingham on May 31, 1792 led to the formation of the Society in October 2nd, 1792. Two points in Carey's sermon became the motto of the Society "expect great things from God. Attempt great things for God".⁶⁴ Andrew Fuller⁶⁵ was appointed the first Secretary of the Society. The Committee included among others, two friends of Carey, John Ryland (Jr.)⁶⁶ and John Sutcliffe.⁶⁷

(4) *The L.M.S.*

The London Missionary Society was organised in 1795. It was first called *The Missionary Society* but soon changed

⁶¹Stock, *The History of the C.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 23.

⁶²The Baptists who organised this Society were the *Particular Baptists* who believed in the Calvinistic principle that Christ died for the elect few. The headquarter of this Society was transferred from Kettering to London in 1819.

The General Baptists who believed that Christ died to save all men, also formed a Society in 1816 and sent missionaries to Orissa in India during the period under review.

⁶³Carey, William (1761-1834) In youth a cobbler, was a self-educated man and joined the Baptists in 1783. He went to Bengal in 1793 and became Professor at Fort William College. He never returned to England and died in 1834.

⁶⁴Smith, G. *The life of W. Carey* p. 51.

⁶⁵Fuller, Andrew (1754-1815) Baptist Minister at Kettering, theologian and ardent advocate of missionary cause. First Secretary of the B.M.S. from 1793-1815.

⁶⁶Ryland, John (Jr.) (1753-1825) Baptist Minister at Bristol and President of the Bristol Baptist College. He was Secretary of the B.M.S. from 1815 to 1825.

⁶⁷Sutcliffe, John (1752-1814) Baptist Minister at Olney, member of the first Committee. These three friends of Carey unitedly supported Carey's missionary efforts in Bengal.

to the present name in order to be distinguished from the other local Societies.⁶⁸ Among the sponsors of the Society were the Anglicans, Independents or Congregationalists and Presbyterians. But the Society always had its chief support from the Independents.

(5) *The C.M.S.*

In 1783 an *Eclectic Society* was formed by a group of Evangelical clergy and laity of the Church of England. They began to consider the subject of foreign missions seriously after the formation of the B.M.S. and L.M.S. This led to the formation of *The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East* in 1799. The Society was originally called *The Society for Missions to Africa and the East* which was modified to the present name in 1812.⁶⁹ A new Society within the Church of England was felt necessary by the Evangelicals, as both the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. were run on high Church principles.⁷⁰

Sydney Smith⁷¹ in one of his articles gave a nickname to this group of Evangelical Clergy and Laity who were responsible for the formation of the C.M.S. He called them "The Clapham Sect" as many of the members lived at Clapham. Some of the most important persons of the group were, William Wilberforce,⁷² Henry Thornton,⁷³ John Venn,⁷⁴ Zachary Macaulay,⁷⁵ Charles

⁶⁸*The Encyclopaedia of Missions* p. 403.

⁶⁹*Ibid* p. 164.

⁷⁰Stock *The History of the C.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 57-58.

⁷¹Smith, Sydney (1771-1845) High Churchman with Whig principles, a powerful writer, frequently contributed articles to the *Edinburgh Review*. In one of his articles he called Carey a "consecrated cobbler".

⁷²Wilberforce, W. (1759-1833) A great Philanthropist, M.P. and leader of the anti-slavery movement. He was the central figure of the Clapham Group and one of the most forceful parliamentary speakers of his time.

⁷³Thornton, H. (1760-1815) Philanthropist, M.P. and a big businessman. He was the first treasurer of the C.M.S. He spent a major part of his income in charity.

⁷⁴Venn, J. (1759-1838) The Rector of Clapham. He was the first Chairman of the C.M.S.

⁷⁵Macaulay, Z. (1768-1838) Philanthropist, anti-slavery advocate, Governor of Sierra-Leone, second editor of *The Christian Observer*.

Grant,⁷⁶ Sir John Shore,⁷⁷ Charles Simeon,⁷⁸ Josiah Pratt⁷⁹ and Hannah More. *The Christian Observer*, an evangelical paper, started in 1802, was the mouthpiece of this group. The 'Clapham Group' were the spokesmen of the Indian missionary enterprise, both inside and outside parliament, for a long time.

(6) *The W.M.M.S.*

Dr. Thomas Coke,⁸⁰ a great Methodist missionary, went to the British West Indies in 1786 and started a mission among the Negro slaves. The management of the Wesleyan Methodist missions in foreign lands was in the hands of Dr. Coke until 1804. In that year the Wesleyan conference appointed a committee to undertake the management of their foreign missions, but Dr. Coke remained as before the guiding force. At Dr. Coke's inspiration a mission to West Africa was sent in 1811. After crossing the Atlantic eighteen times, Dr. Coke at the age of 76 started for Ceylon in 1813 with six other missionaries.⁸¹ He died early in 1814 while returning from Ceylon. The Methodists made the necessary arrangements to carry Dr. Coke's initiative further in the field of Foreign missions. In the course of a few years *The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* was put on a permanent basis.⁸²

⁷⁶Grant, C. (1748-1823) Indian civilian of high rank, returned to England in 1790. M.P. from 1802 to 1818 and five times Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company.

⁷⁷Shore, J. (Later Lord Teignmouth) (1751-1834) Governor-General of India from 1793-98, lived at Clapham after retirement from India.

⁷⁸Simeon, C. (1759-1836) was the moving spirit of the Clapham group, a great Evangelical clergyman and Professor at Cambridge. He persuaded them to send the 'Evangelical Chaplains' to India.

⁷⁹Pratt, J. (1768-1844) A Clergyman, first editor of *The Christian Observer*, Secretary of the C.M.S. from 1802 to 1824. He also inspired the start of the *Missionary Registration* 1813.

⁸⁰Coke, T. (1759-1814) Methodist Bishop. He issued a plan for the establishment of Missions among the non-Christians in 1784. He established missions in America.

⁸¹Smith, G. *Short History of Christian Missions* p. 138, 175.

⁸²*The Encyclopaedia of Missions* p. 777. It seems there is some confusion as to the exact official date of its foundation as a Society. Overton gave the date as 1817 (*The Evangelical Revival etc.* p. 13), Smith gave the date as 1813 (*Short History of Christian Missions* p. 175) and *The Encyclopaedia of Missions* gave no date at all.

(7) *The E.C.S.*

The effect of the formation of the B.M.S. and L.M.S. was felt early in Scotland, where two Societies were established in 1796. They were called *The Scottish (later Edinburgh) Missionary Society*, and *The Glasgow Missionary Society*, supported by people belonging to both the Established and Secession churches. They started work in Russia and West Africa, but during the forties of the Nineteenth Century passed out of separate existence.⁸³ While these two Societies were actively carrying on their mission work, Dr. Inglis⁸⁴ made a great effort in the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland to send missionaries outside. It was due to his persuasion that *The Established Church of Scotland* appointed a *Foreign Mission Committee* of ten members in 1825.⁸⁵ This *Foreign Mission Committee* however, did nothing till 1829.

(8) *The N.M.S.*

Of all the Missionary Societies which worked in Bengal during the period under survey, only one was formed outside England, though it got inspiration from the English Societies. A Dutch Missionary of the L.M.S. organised *The Netherlands Missionary Society* in 1797, on his return from South Africa.⁸⁶ It represented chiefly the Established Church, though in the beginning it had relations with the Reformed Church.

(9) *The R.T.S.*

Apart from these, two other Societies deserve mention. During the outbreak of missionary enthusiasm, a group of practical Christians, formed a Society called *The Religious Tract Society* in 1799. It immediately took over the work which Hannah More had started earlier. From the beginning it started working on a non-sectarian basis, always

⁸³*The Encyclopaedia of Missions* p. 65.

⁸⁴Dr. Inglis (1763-1834) Scottish Divine Minister, an Ecclesiastical politician.

⁸⁵*The Encyclopaedia of Missions* p. 556.

⁸⁶*Ibid* p. 532.

selecting its Committee from both the Churchmen and the Nonconformists.⁸⁷ The object of the Society was to print and distribute Christian religious tracts. The Society always worked through agents, and granted money to the Missionary Societies and local Tract Societies throughout the world.

(10) *The B.F.B.S.*

The British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1804. Lord Teignmouth and H. Thornton were appointed respectively the first President and first Treasurer of the Society. It was organised on a non-sectarian basis.⁸⁸ The object of the Society was to encourage a universal circulation of the Bible without any note or comment. The Society was also active in sponsoring and financing the translation of the Bible into the different languages of the world.

These two Societies, although not missionary Societies in the full sense, contributed immensely to the missionary cause.

THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY UP TO 1793

The transformation of the East India Company from a purely trading concern to a ruling power in Bengal had an important bearing on its religious policy, which determined its attitude towards the missionaries. The missionary question however, never demanded much attention from the Company, before the inauguration of the modern Protestant missionary work in Bengal in 1793, and up to that period, its policy was, for the most part, one of expediency.

In 1658 the Directors of the East India Company appointed, for the first time, a chaplain for the spiritual welfare of the servants of all their Indian factories. The number was increased to four in 1668.⁸⁹ The new Charter of the Company in 1698 contained some important clauses. One of them provided that

⁸⁷*Ibid* p. 622.

⁸⁸*Ibid* p. 107.

⁸⁹Hyde, H. B. *Parochial Annals of Bengal* p. 1.

every ship of 500 tons and upwards should carry a chaplain, another required the Company to maintain one Minister in every garrison, or superior factory.⁹⁰ By another clause, the Chaplains were requested to learn the language of the people where they were to reside, in order "to enable them to instruct the Gentoos [Hindus] that shall be servants or slaves of the said Company".⁹¹ The Chaplains were not missionaries and so were not required to preach their religion outside their own community. But some writers were of the opinion that the above clause contained a suggestion that the Chaplains should do some missionary work. But nothing was done to carry it out, and the Directors of the Company even evaded the obligation of providing a chaplain for nearly sixty years, by sending ships under 500 tons. They also neglected to maintain a chaplain in every garrison and superior factory.⁹²

The first Chaplain came to Bengal in 1778. The Chaplains were the only people in the whole settlement "not avowedly connected with trade, and they represented the culture and learning, as well as the solemnity and piety of England in India".⁹³ His official rank was next only to that of the Governor. The duties of a Chaplain were to read daily prayers, to preach on Sundays and other holidays, to catechize the children and to carry on the usual duties related to baptism, marriage and funerals.⁹⁴ Private trade among the Chaplains was customary up to the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century. Some of them returned to England with large sums of money earned by private trade, and "of the personal character of these men no very high estimate is to be formed from the perusal of contemporary records".⁹⁵ With some very rare exceptions they "were neither saints nor prophets, and they were perhaps not even religious in the true sense".⁹⁶ The Chaplains had failed even in their primary objective to keep their countrymen 'Christians'.⁹⁷

⁹⁰*Ibid* p. 39.

⁹¹*Ibid* p. 40.

⁹²Spear, T. G. P. *The Nabobs* p. 106.

⁹³*Ibid*.

⁹⁴*Ibid* p. 106-7.

⁹⁵Kaye, J. W. *Christianity in India* p. 110.

⁹⁶Spear *The Nabobs* p. 112.

⁹⁷Kaye *Christianity in India* p. 56.

The Europeans as a community cared very little to attend the Church services, and indulged openly in bribery, corruption duelling, drinking and racing. Concubinage with the Indian women was the rule rather than the exception. The immoral character of the Europeans reached a scandalous point. "The age of Hastings and Francis" Kaye commented rightly "was not a moral age".⁹⁸

The Evangelical Chaplains, of whom David Brown⁹⁹ was the first to arrive in Bengal in 1786, brought about some changes. They had stricter notions about their duties and abstained from indulging in private trade. Their own enthusiasm and zeal influenced their services which became less formal.

The East India Company with the gradual assumption of the administrative powers in Bengal, did nothing to disturb the traditional religious beliefs of the people. They regarded themselves as the successors of the old rulers and heirs to their policy and methods except in so far as it was necessary to adjust things for the sake of their own commercial interests. They believed that for the sake of stability of their own position, they should not only recognise the religions of the people, but should also support and patronise them as fully as the Indian rulers had done before them.¹⁰⁰ Hence they took under their management and patronage the temples and mosques, paid money for rebuilding and repairs of important shrines and the salaries of the officials. They granted large sums of money for sacrifices and festivals. Cannons were fired on the occasion of the great festivals of both Hindus and Muslims, and government officials used to be present at these celebrations. Even rites of a cruel nature were performed with express government sanctions. In order to pay for all these religious functions, the government imposed a Pilgrim Tax, which brought in a handsome income to the treasury, after defraying all the expenses.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸*Ibid* p. 94.

⁹⁹Brown, David (1763-1812) He was a student at Cambridge and came in close contact with Charles Simeon. He came to Bengal as Chaplain to an orphan Asylum in 1786, later became Senior Chaplain of the Bengal Presidency. He was appointed as Provost of the Fort William College in 1800.

¹⁰⁰Farquhar, J. N. *Modern Religious Movements in India* p. 9.

¹⁰¹Richter, J. *A History of Missions in India* p. 185-7.

While the East India Company's primary concern was with trade it never supported any missionary work. With the assumption of political powers it adopted a cautious, almost hostile attitude towards the missionaries. The Company refused to allow the missionaries to settle or preach in their territories, believing that the hostile atmosphere thus surely created, would endanger the safety of the empire in the East.¹⁰²

"With such surroundings" where Europeans in general had "abandoned the principles of Christian morality" and "in such an atmosphere" where the European government showed definite hostility, "it was...difficult for missionary work to gain any foothold at all".¹⁰³ "Yet" said Farquhar "from quite an early date there was a certain amount of collaboration between the Government and Missions".¹⁰⁴ This was possible because of the private efforts of a few high ranking officials who had sympathy for the Christian missionaries.

Bengal felt the first impact of the European missionaries at the close of the Sixteenth Century. The Jesuit missionaries came to Bengal with the Portuguese captains and pirates, and in their cause "The sword allied itself with the cross".¹⁰⁵ They forcibly converted many people specially along the coastal regions. With the decline of the Portuguese power, during the Seventeenth Century the Jesuits left Bengal. But they left behind a considerable number of Roman Catholics with their ever-increasing descendants in different parts of Bengal.¹⁰⁶ There was, however, not a single Roman Catholic Missionary Society in Bengal, in the period between 1793 and 1833.

The first Protestant missionary to arrive in Bengal was Rev. John Zachariah Kiernander¹⁰⁷ from the "Royal Danish Mission" which had been sent to South India. "The Royal Danish Mission was established as a private religious whim by King Frederick IV of Denmark",¹⁰⁸ in 1705. It sent the first

¹⁰²Farquhar *Modern Religious Movements in India* p. 9.

¹⁰³Richter *A History of Missions in India* p. 132.

¹⁰⁴Farquhar *Modern Religious Movement in India* p. 10.

¹⁰⁵Campos, J. J. A. *History of the Portuguese in Bengal* p. 100.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid* p. 177-203.

¹⁰⁷Kiernander, J. Z. (1711-1799) was born in Sweden, and was educated in the Upsal and Halle Universities. He came to South India in 1740 and worked there up to 1758.

¹⁰⁸Spear *The Nabobs* p. 117.

Protestant missionaries to South India in 1706. From 1709 the S.P.C.K. supported the Danish Mission financially. The S.P.C.K. came forward because the S.P.G. by its constitution was to work only in British territories, and the Danish missionary field in South India lay outside British control.¹⁰⁹ It later took some of the Danish missionaries into its service and continued supporting them until 1824, when it (S.P.C.K.) surrendered all the Indian missions and missionaries to the S.P.G.¹¹⁰

When Kiernander's mission in South India was broken up by the French armies in 1758, Robert Clive invited him to Bengal. Having gladly accepted the invitation he came to Bengal in 1758 where he started work among the Portuguese Roman Catholics, and opened a school. His mission in Bengal was supported entirely by the S.P.C.K. Kiernander knew no Bengali or Hindusthani, but could speak Portuguese well, and so his labours were almost entirely "confined to the descendants of Europeans".¹¹¹

The East India Company's encouraging attitude towards Kiernander's missionary work was probably due to Clive's "personal kindliness" and desire to use Kiernander in placating the Roman Catholics at a time when the Company was at war with the French power.¹¹²

Kiernander, however, left behind him a permanent monument in Calcutta, a big church, built in 1770 with his own private funds. He called it in Hebrew "Beth-Tephilla" or "House of Prayer". Later it was simply called the "old Church" or "Mission Church".¹¹³ This church was built when Calcutta had been without a Protestant Church for a long time. The first Protestant Church in Bengal called St. Anne's was built by a subscription from the English sailors and residents at Calcutta in 1709.¹¹⁴ A severe cyclone and earthquake partially destroyed it in 1737. It was completely destroyed in 1756, during the attack on Calcutta by Siraj-ud-Daulah. Although the

¹⁰⁹Stock *The History of the C.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 23.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹Lewis, C. B. *The life of John Thomas* p. 29.

¹¹²*Ibid* p. 27.

¹¹³Richter *A History of Missions in India* p. 130.

¹¹⁴Hyde, H. B. *The Parochial annals of Bengal* p. 56.

Company obtained huge compensation from the next Nawab for the destruction of the Church, nothing was done to build a new church.¹¹⁵ In 1776, after six years of Kiernander's church, a movement was initiated by the Chaplains with the object of building a parish Church for Bengal at Calcutta. On land donated by a rich Hindu gentleman, and with money raised through subscriptions, donations and lotteries, the Church Building Committee which included the Governor-General and other important Government Officials, established the Church, called St. John's in 1787.¹¹⁶

The same year Kiernander went bankrupt, owing to some injudicious investments by his son. The "old Church" was put to auction for his debts. But Charles Grant came forward, paid the money and saved the Church.¹¹⁷ Kiernander retired to Chinsurah after 1787, and passed the last years of his life in poverty and died in 1799 at the age of 88.

Charles Grant transferred the "old Church" and its property to three trustees on behalf of the S.P.C.K.¹¹⁸ The three trustees were Grant, Brown and William Chambers.¹¹⁹ In 1775 the S.P.C.K. sent J. C. Diemer, a German, to help Kiernander. However, he was obliged to return to Europe due to ill health. The Society then sent Rev. Abraham Thomas Clarke to Calcutta in 1789 to take charge of their missionary work. He was the first English missionary to arrive in Bengal. But he gave up his job in 1790 and accepted a Company chaplaincy.¹²⁰

In 1777 the 'Moravian Brethren' established a station at Serampore, a Danish settlement about 15 miles away from Calcutta. Two of their missionaries lived at Calcutta for some time. About seven years later they opened a new station at Patna. They learnt Bengali, compiled a Dictionary and translated a number of books into Bengali.¹²¹ But their whole mission proved so discouraging that in 1786 the "Unity Elders"

¹¹⁵*Ibid* p. 163.

¹¹⁶*Ibid* p. 174-5, p. 192.

¹¹⁷Richter *A History of Missions in India* p. 130.

¹¹⁸Hyde *Parochial annals of Bengal* p. 211.

¹¹⁹Chambers, W. died in 1793. He was a religious man and Master in the Chancery in the Supreme Court in Calcutta.

¹²⁰Hyde *Parochial Annals of Bengal* p. 223.

¹²¹Richter *A History of Missions in India* p. 131.

Conference sent a deputation to investigate its prospects, with the result that the mission at Patna was at once abandoned.¹²² They also retired from Serampore in 1791.

John Thomas¹²³ a Baptist Doctor with zeal for missionary work, arrived in Bengal in 1783, as a Surgeon of a Company ship. He found such a lack of religious feeling among the Europeans in Bengal that he had to put an advertisement in a Calcutta paper, in an attempt to find out whether there existed any religious persons in the European community.¹²⁴ As he had to return soon to England he could not pursue the matter further. He came back in 1786, and continued his search and this time he was successful. He met four persons only who were reputed to be religious people and favourable towards the missionary project. They were Charles Grant, William Chambers, David Brown and George Udny.¹²⁵ Charles Grant offered to support Dr. Thomas if he wanted to stay in Bengal as a missionary. Thomas accepted the offer, gave up his job as surgeon and started missionary work in 1787.¹²⁶ Dr. Thomas was actually the first English missionary in Bengal, but never recognised as such, because he was not sponsored by any official missionary Society. He went to Malda, and started preaching among the people. His medical skill served his missionary purpose well. But owing to his unstable ways of life and heavy debts, his relation with Grant was broken in 1791.¹²⁷ During these three years Thomas studied Bengali, and translated into Bengali some portions of the Old and New Testaments with the help of his assistants.¹²⁸ He returned to England in 1792 and tried to gain some new friends who could support his missionary work in Bengal.

Charles Grant with his great sympathy for missionary work thought seriously of making an appeal to the government for

¹²²*The Encyclopaedia of Missions* p. 502.

¹²³Thomas, John (1757-1801) A Baptist doctor with missionary zeal. He was first Baptist in Bengal to start missionary work.

¹²⁴Lewis *The Life of J. Thomas* p. 42-43.

¹²⁵Udny, G. A Bengal civilian, took up Charles Grant's position as Resident of Malda, later he became a Senior member of the Governor-General's Council. He was a great sympathiser of the missionary cause.

¹²⁶Lewis *The life of J. Thomas* p. 70-71.

¹²⁷Richter *A History of Missions in India* p. 133.

¹²⁸Lewis *The life of J. Thomas* p. 137.

their support in forwarding a mission for Bengal and Bihar. After repeated consultations between Grant, Brown and Chambers a Paper was drawn up in 1786. It was called "A Proposal for establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Bihar".¹²⁹ The "plan" proposed to divide the province into missionary circles, in each of which a clergyman of the Church of England was to be stationed, who would start schools, superintend catechists and establish churches. The support of the government was deemed indispensable for the success of the plan. The proposal was circulated in India and also sent to some of the important persons in England, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Secretary of the S.P.C.K., Charles Simeon and William Wilberforce. In a forwarding letter to Wilberforce, Grant urged him to do his best to gain the "support of the Government to this scheme".¹³⁰

When Grant and his friends referred their proposal to Governor-General Cornwallis, the latter declined to support it in his official capacity. The Company's government thus shelved the matter, setting its face against any official involvement in the missionary cause.

In spite of this official attitude, the missionaries started coming to Bengal without a valid licence, in 1793, because they were encouraged by Charles Grant and his friends.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF BENGAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As the missionaries attacked from the very beginning of their arrival in Bengal, the social customs, religious ceremonies and the popular beliefs of the Indians, particularly of the Hindus, it would seem worthwhile to briefly describe some features of the religious and social life in Bengal.

Hinduism in Bengal during the Eighteenth Century, represented an admixture of diverse elements. The worship of innumerable Gods and Goddesses was its most important feature. Religious festivals were numerous, about thirteen in a year. Then, as now, the most important of these festivals was the

¹²⁹Morris, H. *The life of Charles Grant* p. 112-3.

¹³⁰*ibid.*

Durga Puja, the national festival of Bengal, celebrated for four days generally in the month of October. It is a festival for universal rejoicing and merriment. Some other religious festivals of importance were Rath-Jatra, Dol-Jatra and Charak-Puja.¹³¹ The Rath-Jatra or the Car Festival was performed during the month of June|July when Jagannatha, the incarnation of Vishnu was carried from one temple to another and brought back after seven days. In Bengal, the festival was held with great pomp and grandeur at Mahesh near Serampore.¹³² Dol-Jatra, or the Holi, a springtime festival, was performed in the month of March|April in honour of Krishna. The Hindus threw red powder and coloured water on each other during the festival. Carey described it "This is one of the Bengal holidays, and in the afternoon a number of people (smeared over their heads with Red Powder) who had been to celebrate the Obitar(sic) or incarnation of Kreeschno [Krishna]...."¹³³ The last major festival of the Bengali year (April) was the Charak-Puja, performed during the last three days of the year, in honour of Shiva. During this festival most of the devotees performed various types of self-tortures, most important among them was hook-swinging. Some of these devotees circled round a pole in the air, with the help of a hook attached to their backs, which was tied up with a rope.¹³⁴ Carey wrote "These tortures are only practised by the lower casts (sic) of the people, the Brahmans and Caesto(sic) or writers never practised".¹³⁵

Among popular Deities, the chief were the goddesses of diseases, Sitala the goddess of small pox, Kali the goddess of cholera and epidemics, and Manasa the goddess of snakes. Dakhin Roy, the presiding deity of the tigers, worshipped in the Sunderban area, was one of the most important local deities of Bengal.¹³⁶ Almost every village and town in Bengal had a

¹³¹Wilkins, W. J. *Modern Hinduism* p. 62-84.

¹³²B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal June 21, 1803. Description of Rath-Jatra Festival at Mahesh.

¹³³*Ibid* Carey's Journal Mar. 16, 1794.

¹³⁴*Ibid* April 8, 9, 10, 1794--long description of Charak-Puja. Another long description in his letter to Sutcliffe, April 5-15, 1798.

¹³⁵*Ibid* April 10, 1794. Ward in his journal dated April 11, 1800, wrote about hook-swinging that "The Brahmans disown this practice".

¹³⁶*Ibid* Carey's Journal May 26, 1794. Description of Dakhin Roy, Sitala and other deities.

special guardian deity who was believed to be responsible for the welfare of the whole community of that village or town. They were worshipped before the commencement of any other religious ceremony.¹³⁷ Among other objects of popular worship in Bengal were the sun,¹³⁸ the moon, the river Ganges, the Pipal tree (*Ficus Religiosa*) and the Tulsi plant (holy basil plant).¹³⁹

Caste rules regulated the life of the individual from his birth to his death. These rules were strictly enforced by the Brahmans who reigned supreme in Hindu Society. Inter caste dining and marriages were strictly forbidden. According to Carey the caste rule "was, I think originally political but is now interwoven with every circumstance of their lives".¹⁴⁰ In the caste hierarchy some among the Brahmans and the Kayasthas occupied a privileged position of Kulinism based on superior pedigree. To give one's daughter in marriage to a Kulin was considered a great social achievement. The limited number of Kulins encouraged the practice of polygamy.¹⁴¹

Sati or the practice of Hindu women burning themselves alive on their husband's funeral pyres was prevalent in Bengal. It was a voluntary act, but the belief of bringing eternal blessings upon the family of the Sati by burning was so strong that once a woman decided to become a Sati, it was difficult to dissuade her. Carey tried his best to dissuade an intending Sati, when he met one for the first time and wrote "I talked till reasoning was of no use".¹⁴²

During bathing festivals on an auspicious day at Ganga Sagar Island, at the mouth where the Ganges entered into the sea, the custom of throwing the first born baby in the sea, according to a previous vow was prevalent. "Women often make vows to the Gonga" described Ward "that if she will bestow upon them two children they will present one to her & [and] this is often

¹³⁷*Census Report of India 1901* ed. Gait, vol. VI, Part I, p. 199.

¹³⁸B.M.S. MSS. Carey's Journal Jan. 18, 1795. Description of a sun worship.

¹³⁹*Census Report of India 1901* vol. VI, Part I, p. 191.

¹⁴⁰B.M.S. MSS. Carey to the B.M.S. Committee. Aug. 5, 1794.

¹⁴¹Willkins, *Modern Hinduism* p. 284-294.

¹⁴²B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Ryland April 1, 1799. Ward in his Journal dated Aug. 10, 1800 recorded another case when Carey failed to persuade an intending Sati.

done."¹⁴³ In the Northern part of Bengal, there was a custom in some places, to expose on a tree the new born babies who were believed to be under the influence of an evil spirit.¹⁴⁴

There was a universal belief among the Hindus that the world was passing through an age called Kali,¹⁴⁵ which was necessarily full of wickednesses, vices and degenerations, in accordance with prophecies made centuries ago. Another important belief of the Hindus was that all religions were good like Hinduism. They believed that God has created all men, therefore Hindus, Muslims and Christians represented but a part of God's infinite variety. The Hindus affirmed confidently that everyone should seek salvation through his own religion, as all the different religious forms were but different ways to reach God.¹⁴⁶

The Hindus also believed in Maya, a conviction that the whole universe was an emanation from the Supreme God himself, and all other objects and individuals possessed no real existence. Whenever a person recognised this reality he became free from all the sorrows and miseries of earthly life. Closely connected with this was the belief in the transmigration of souls and of retribution. Hindus believed that after death the soul migrated to another body, and the process repeated until the soul became aware of its reality. Thus the whole cycle of rebirths was connected in a chain of cause and consequence. The present life was considered nothing but the result of good or bad actions in former life, which the Hindus generally call fate.¹⁴⁷

Although these were highly speculative ideas, the most peculiar thing in Bengal was that "these philosophical conceptions have penetrated deep down into the heart of the people, in

¹⁴³*Ibid* Ward's Journal Jan. 5, 1802.

¹⁴⁴S.M. P.A. p. 364, 1829. Described Carey's part in abolishing the practice "relating to the exposure of infants, chiefly in the northern parts of Bengal".

¹⁴⁵According to Hindu Mythology the whole period of the Universe was divided into four Yugas or deons, Satya, Treta, Dwapara and Kali, each of which was progressively shorter and less blissful than that which preceded it. The world according to that view was passing through Kali Yuga, which was believed to have started many thousand years ago and would continue for many thousand years more.

¹⁴⁶Wilkins *Modern Hinduism* p. 136.

¹⁴⁷B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Sutcliffe Oct. 10, 1798. Description of Hindu beliefs.

fact they have in many cases become common property of all the Hindus".¹⁴⁸

Among the Muslims in Bengal, during Eighteenth Century, an idea that they must belong to one of the four classes, viz. Sheikh, Saiad, Moghal, and Pathan, was deep rooted. The distinction which the Muslims made between foreign and local origin corresponded closely to the Hindu caste divisions.¹⁴⁹ Long residence produced a mutual appreciation between Muslims and Hindus, which reached a remarkable stage during the middle of the Eighteenth Century. Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah and Mir-Jafar were said to have participated in the Holi festival of the Hindus.¹⁵⁰

Among the majority of lower class Muslims, there was a very faint idea of the difference between their own religion and that of the Hindus.¹⁵¹ Their knowledge of the Islamic faith seldom extended, during the Eighteenth Century, beyond the doctrines of the unity of God, the Mission of Muhammad and the truth of the Koran.¹⁵² Most of them without hesitation paid respects to the Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Sitala, Kali and Manasa, and took part in different Hindu festivals. Carey was very surprised to observe the Muslims at Madnabati offering worship to the Sun God and wrote that "this is a species of idolatry in which both Hindoos and Mussulmans unite."¹⁵³

Likewise the Hindus participated in the Muslim festivals—Id-ul-Fatr and Muharram, the former a festival of joy and the latter a festival of mourning.¹⁵⁴

The Muslims of Bengal specially evolved certain forms of worship which had no sanction in the Koran. Most important of these was the worship of the Pirs, or spiritual guides who were credited with supernatural powers. During the Eighteenth Century the most popular Pirs were Satya Pir and Pancha Pir.

¹⁴⁸Richter *A History of Missions in India* p. 267.

¹⁴⁹*Census Report of India 1901* ed. Gait. vol. VI, Part I, p. 439.

¹⁵⁰Datta, K. K. *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah* p. 95.

¹⁵¹*Census Report of India 1901* vol. VI, Part I, p. 175-6.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*

¹⁵³B.M.S. MSS. Carey's Journal Jan. 18, 1795. In a letter to Sutcliffe on Jan. 16, 1798 Carey wrote "Even Mussulmans have so far Hindooized as to join in the idolatry".

¹⁵⁴*Ibid* May, 1, 1794. Description of Id-ul-Fatr.: Aug. 5, 6, 7, 1794. Description of "Muhurram".

who were supposed to have special powers of conferring happiness and curing diseases.¹⁵⁵ In most cases Hindus eagerly participated in the worship of the Pirs with their Muslim neighbours. Carey was surprised to see the Hindus offering homage to a Muslim Pir.¹⁵⁶ Thus long years of association between Hindus and Muslims had led not only to the evolution of common objects of worship, but also to respect for each other's religious sentiments. "The Muhammedans offered Puja in the Hindu temples, as the Hindus offered Sirni at Muhammedan Mosques".¹⁵⁷

The first impact of Islam on Hinduism in Bengal had produced a liberal Vaishnava movement under Sri Chaitanya,¹⁵⁸ during the Sixteenth Century. His followers were later divided into various groups, one of which was known as Byragis, a group of professional beggars. This sect welcomed all those who for some reason or other had lost caste and been excommunicated from Hindu Society. They were generally reputed to be of low morals and tastes and usually came from the lowest strata of Society. Mainly from among this group of people, a curious cult was formed during the Eighteenth Century. The cult, an offshoot of Vaishnavism, was called in Bengal the Karta-Bhaja which means worshippers of the Karta or Guru or headman. The founder of the sect was Ram Saran Pal, a milkman by profession who was born in the early part of the Eighteenth Century. He died probably at the age of 84 and was succeeded by his son Ram Dulal. Ram Dulal propagated his faith which he called "Satya-Dharma" or "true religion" vigorously. He made no distinction between the high and low castes or between Hindus and Muslims.¹⁵⁹ He converted to his faith people belonging to different religions. Thus the Karta-Bhajas like the Byragis were composed of lower class Hindus and Muslims.

Education in Bengal depended on the patronage of individual members of the ruling aristocracy and on the initiative as

¹⁵⁵*Census Report of India 1901* ed. Gait. vol. VI, Part I, p. 177.

¹⁵⁶B.M.S. (typed) Carey to Ryland. Aug. 17, 1800.

¹⁵⁷Sen, D. C. *History of the Bengali Literature* p. 793.

¹⁵⁸Sri Chaitanya (1486-1538). Founder of Vaishnavism in Bengal, as a protest against rigid caste system, and the authority of the Brahmans. His main teaching was Bhakti or devotion. His disciples were composed of all classes of Hindus and even of Muslims.

¹⁵⁹*Census Reports of India 1901* vol. VI, Part I, p. 183.

well as voluntary efforts of persons of benevolent and pious disposition.

William Adam¹⁶⁰ submitted to the Government in 1835 and 1838 his *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal*. They are the first authentic documents to throw light on the condition of education in Bengal.

The medium for higher education in Bengal was Sanskrit for the Hindus, and Persian for the Muslims. The most famous Centre for higher Sanskrit learning was at Nadia. There were three types of Sanskrit Institute: (1) for the study of grammar, general literature, rhetoric and mythology, (2) for law and mythology, (3) for Nyaya (logic).¹⁶¹

Metaphysics or Nyaya Shastra wrote Buchanan "are the glory of the Pandits of Bengal and are nowhere in India so much studied".¹⁶²

Persian education was in a flourishing condition. As the official language, both Hindus and Muslims learnt Persian. There were Madrasas in different parts of Bengal for higher education in both Persian and Arabic.

Institutes for elementary vernacular education were wide spread in both urban and rural areas. Some sort of elementary education was encouraged in almost all strata of Society. In Craufurd's opinion "there are schools in all towns and principal villages"¹⁶³ of Bengal.

Persian schools or Maktabas invariably existed for the Muslims where there was a Mosque, and in some other places as well. The subjects for study included elementary grammatical works, forms of correspondence, tales and popular poems, occasionally a treatise on rhetoric, medicine and theology. The

¹⁶⁰Adam, William came to Bengal as a Baptist missionary in 1817, left them in 1821. He was a great friend of Ram Mohun Roy, and started Unitarian Press and worship with his help. He was appointed a Commissioner to survey the state of education in Bengal. His *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* which he submitted in three parts in 1835, and 1838, were the first thorough investigation into the condition of indigenous system of education in Bengal.

¹⁶¹Adam, William *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (Ed. Basu, A. N.) p. 176-184.

¹⁶²Buchanan, H. *Eastern India* vol. II, p. 716-717.

¹⁶³Craufurd, Q. *Sketches of the Hindoos* vol. II, p. 12-13.

students learnt by heart some sections of the Koran. Elegant penmanship was considered a great accomplishment.¹⁶⁴

The Hindus in their elementary schools were taught to write in four successive stages. Ward described the first stage, "when he goes to school he begins to learn his letters by writing this with a stick or his finger in the dust".¹⁶⁵ After the first stage they were taught to write on palm leaf, plantain leaf and paper. They were given some lessons on the rules of arithmetic and accounts (agricultural and commercial). For the instruction of arithmetic, the rhythmic rules composed by Subhankar¹⁶⁶ were universally used in Bengal. The students sometimes read Chanakya Slokas, containing precepts of morality and some vernacular works like the Ramayana, Manasa Mangal, Ganga Bandana, and Saraswati Bandana. Generally there were no separate school establishments. "A school" wrote Ward "is frequently kept under the shade of a large tree".¹⁶⁷ The standard of education was not high, the teachers merely helping the students to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of things needed in common day-to-day life. Remuneration to the teachers was very low, but they enjoyed great social prestige. Both teachers and students in the elementary schools came from all Hindu castes.¹⁶⁸

This was, in brief, the traditional Indian system of education. It was mostly religious and excessively authoritarian. The students were taught to obey and conform to the traditional system. This system could hardly encourage free thinking.

The early years of the East India Company's rule hardly presented a challenge to the traditional educational system. On the contrary, a couple of measures were undertaken to encourage, rather than reform the traditional system. Hastings established the "Calcutta Madrasa", the first government institute in 1781, in response to a petition from a considerable number of respon-

¹⁶⁴Datta, K. K. *Survey of India's Social and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century* p. 19.

¹⁶⁵B.M.S. MSS. Ward to Hudsa. Dec. 21, 1799.

¹⁶⁶The exact date and locality of his birth are not known. Buchanan described him as a Kayastha of Nadia. There is no doubt among the scholars that he flourished before the establishment of British rule in Bengal.

¹⁶⁷B.M.S. MSS. Ward to Hudsa. Dec. 21, 1799.

¹⁶⁸Adam *Reports etc.* p. 6-9, 56-57.

sible Muslims. The object of the institute was "to qualify the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state".¹⁶⁹ In 1792, Jonathan Duncan opened the "Benaras Sanskrit College" with the object of cultivating the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus.

But the Government Regulation of 1793, which was to enquire into the validity of the existing Lakheraj grants (rent free lands) threatened seriously the entire system of indigenous education. The Regulation resulted in the resumption of many rent free lands on which the indigenous education generally thrived.

This was the background against which the missionaries had to work. The first of the modern Protestant missionaries—Carey and Thomas arrived in Bengal in 1793.

¹⁶⁹Howell, A. *Education in British India* p. 11.

CHAPTER II

MISSIONARY ORGANISATIONS IN BENGAL

Shortly after its formation, the Baptist Missionary Society started planning to send missionaries to some part of the world. The authorities first thought of Tahiti or Western Africa. It was at this time in 1792 that Dr. Thomas arrived from Bengal and established contact with Carey. He attended one of the B.M.S. meetings and narrated the experience he had in Malda. Everybody was impressed and it was decided that the B.M.S. would start their work in Bengal. Carey volunteered himself and asked his friends "to hold the ropes" while he was down in the "gold mine of India".¹ Carey and Thomas were appointed by the B.M.S. as missionaries on £150 a year, between them, their families and children. It was decided that the Society would pay them until they were able to support themselves as the Moravian Brethren had done before.

Carey and Thomas arrived with their families in Calcutta in November 1793. After a month's stay in Calcutta, Carey moved to a cheaper locality in Bandel, about thirty miles away. Thomas was living in Calcutta and informed Carey that their first year's salary was nearly spent. Carey was in a desperate condition and wrote that "I am in a strange land, alone, no Christian friend, a large family, and nothing to supply their wants".² His wife had most reluctantly come with him to Bengal and she felt no sympathy with his mission. In these distressing circumstances, Carey was given shelter in a garden house by a Hindu gentleman, in Manicktala in Calcutta.³ Carey at last decided to go to the Sunderbans, a vast tract of Jungle facing the Bay of Bengal, infested with wild beasts, and try to maintain his family by cultivation, and do his missionary work among the families who would come to live on his lands. He actually procured some lands and started for Sunderbans by boat

¹Quoted by Smith in *The Life of W. Carey* p. 57.

²B.M.S. MSS. Carey's Journal, Jan. 15, 16, 1794.

³His name was Nilu Datta. Smith, *The life of W. Carey* p. 73.

in 1794 and met a European gentleman at Dehatta, about forty miles south of Calcutta.⁴ He was in charge of the government salt department there and gave Carey and his family shelter in his house. Carey's land was on the opposite side of the river, called Hashnabad, where he began to erect huts for his family and started clearing the ground for cultivation. After living for five months there he received an appointment as a superintendent of an indigo-factory at Madnabat near Malda. This appointment was offered to him by Udny, who was then Commercial Resident at Malda. Udny also offered Thomas the job of superintending another of his indigo-factories at Mahipaldighi, about twenty miles away from Carey's place. Carey was very delighted to get that unexpected offer which saved him from a most uncertain future. He wrote that "This appears to me such a remarkable appearance in providence, so unexpected, unsought for, furnishing such ample supplies for our wants".⁵ It also opened to Carey and Thomas a good field for immediate missionary work among their factory workers. Carey believed that the new converts might find employment in the factories which would serve as "a comfortable and honourable asylum for all who lose cast (sic) for the Gospel".⁶

As soon as Carey accepted the offer, he wrote to the Society informing them that he would no longer require any money from them for his support. He suggested that his salary should be spent on printing a Bengali translation of the New Testament. Carey arrived at Madnabat in June 1794. When Carey's letter informing his acceptance of Udny's offer reached England, (which took about six to seven months), it created great resentment among the new members of the B.M.S. They declared that the acceptance of a secular appointment was an act of "allowing the spirit of the missionary to be swallowed up in the pursuit of the merchant".⁷ A resolution was passed in the B.M.S. Committee to the effect that "Considering the frailty of

⁴B.M.S. *Periodical Accounts* vol. 1 p. 73. Carey's letter Feb. 15, 1794.

⁵B.M.S. MSS. Carey to the Society. Aug. 5, 1794.

⁶*Ibid* Carey to Sutcliffe Aug. 9, 1794. Carey also wrote to the Society on Aug. 5, 1794 that "if any lose cast (sic) for the Gospel, we have good and profitable employment for them".

⁷Quoted by Marshman, J. C. *The life and times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* vol. 1. p. 68.

human nature in the best of men, that a letter of serious and affectionate caution be addressed to them".⁸ Carey was very much hurt on receiving the letter. He mentioned in reply that most of his income was spent for missionary purposes after deducting a bare allowance for his family. He believed that he and Thomas were acting in conformity with the Society's principle that the missionaries should be self-supporting, a principle which he himself had advocated in his "Enquiry" published in 1792. In this Carey had suggested that the missionaries could support themselves by trading in timber and cultivating lands. Trading in indigo, however, was not specifically mentioned. Carey and his colleague had accepted it under the special circumstances.

Following the Moravian example again, the B.M.S. started publishing in 1794, the "*Periodical Accounts*" of their activities. The first number contained a narrative of the foundation of the Society and extracts from Carey's letters from Bengal up to February 1794. Six such numbers appeared up to the year 1800, when all these were published again in one volume index.⁹ Six volumes covered the years between 1794 and 1817. After 1817 the reports were published under the title "*The Annual Reports*". These reports were annually presented to the General meeting of the B.M.S.

The publication of Carey's activities in Bengal, induced members of other denominations to start their own societies and send missionaries to India.

The Roman Catholic missionaries in India had conformed to the Indian tradition in their rites. They led their life like Indian sages, which easily appealed to the Indian mind. But from the very beginning the Protestants banished the crucifixes and candles from the altars and Biblical pictures from the Church walls.¹⁰ Following the example of the Moravians, the Protestants concentrated mainly on three forms of activities. They first devoted themselves to learning the language of the region, so that they could preach the Gospel to the people in their own language. Secondly they started translating the Gospel

⁸B.M.S. P.A. vol. 1. p. 97.

⁹B.M.S. P.A. vol. 1.

¹⁰Richter, J. *A History of the Missions in India*. p. 255.

into the regional language. In fact these two activities were carried on simultaneously. Thirdly they concentrated on starting elementary schools.

Settling down at Madnabati, Carey devoted his attention seriously to all these forms of activities. A few days after he landed in Calcutta, he started to learn and translate the Gospel in Bengali.¹¹ His munshi Ram Ram Basu was always with him during these months. While at Manicktala he attempted to preach in Bengali with his munshi's help. Now he devoted more attention to preaching regularly among his factory workers and also among the neighbouring Hindu and Muslim inhabitants. Carey's translation work was also progressing rapidly. He opened an elementary school at Madnabati in 1794. Towards the close of 1796, the B.M.S. sent Fountain, another missionary, to help Carey. Fountain, however, died within a few years of his arrival, in 1800. Carey's life in Bengal was by no means easy. Due to repeated failure of crops, his indigo-factory did not flourish. The place was very unhealthy and he lost one of his sons. His wife became insane and remained so until her death in 1807.

A wooden press in Calcutta was advertised for sale. Carey purchased the Press with money given by Udney.¹² Udney being transferred to Calcutta, decided to abandon his Madnabati factory in 1799. But Carey wanted to stay on. He purchased in 1799 an indigo field from Udney at Kidderpore about twelve miles north of Madnabati. It was at this time that he received the news that the B.M.S. had sent four missionaries to Bengal. Carey began to build his factory at Kidderpore and also a missionary settlement on a community basis, after the Moravian model.¹³ The four missionaries were Brunsdon and Grant,¹⁴ J.

¹¹Carey, E. *Memor of W. Carey* p.137 Carey's letter to Sutcliffe Jan. 3, 1794.

¹²Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1. p.80.

¹³*Ibid* p.78.

¹⁴Brunsdon and Grant died shortly after their arrival in Bengal. Grant died within a few days in 1799.

Marshman,¹⁵ and W. Ward.¹⁶ The missionaries, with families, came in 1799 on board a foreign ship, and went directly to the Danish settlement at Serampore, in order to avoid banishment from the British territory. The Governor of Serampore, Colonel Bie, offered them protection and advised them to settle there. Ward went to Madnabati to meet Carey. After long deliberation, Carey decided to give up his idea to settle at Kidderpore, and move to Serampore immediately to start their missionary establishment under the protection of the Danish flag. Consequently Carey arrival in Serampore in January 1800. His apprenticeship of nearly seven years was over.

Serampore was a small Danish town in the midst of a densely populated neighbourhood. It was about fifteen miles away from Calcutta. Carey described Serampore as "the city of refuge for all who are in debt, and afraid of their creditors, on this account a degree of disgrace is attached to any inhabitants thereof".¹⁷ In Ward's opinion "runaways for debt, make up the population"¹⁸ of Serampore. The missionaries purchased a piece of land and started the missionary establishment. They decided in 1800 to start a communal life with a common dining table. Each family was to receive a small allowance. All missionaries were to be considered equal. The superintendence of domestic arrangements and expenditure was entrusted to each missionary in rotation for a month. One evening in the week was devoted to the adjustment of differences and the renewal of their pledges of mutual love. It was decided that no one should engage in any private trade, and that whatsoever might be earned should be credited to the common stock.¹⁹ In 1801 Carey was

¹⁵Marshman, Joshua (1768-1837). He was a school teacher and self-educated man. He was in charge of a famous boarding school for European boys at Serampore. He translated with Carey "*The Ramayana*" in English. His great work was the translation of the Gospel in the Chinese language.

¹⁶Ward, William (1769-1823). He was a good printer, also a self-educated man. He established the Serampore Press, and took charge of it.

Carey, Marshman and Ward were so intimately connected with the Serampore Mission that they were called the "Serampore Trio".

¹⁷B.M.S. (typed) Carey to Ryland. July 17, 1800.

¹⁸B.M.S. MSS. Ward to Nichol Jan. 2, 1802.

¹⁹Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 125.

appointed a teacher in the Fort William College²⁰ at a salary of Rs. 500 per month, which was raised to Rs. 1000 in 1807. The income from the boarding school under Marshman, and from the printing press under Ward, together with Carey's salary from the College, formed a good surplus for the extension of the missionary work. The "agreed points of 1800" for communal life and mutual love was expanded into a "Form of Agreement" in 1805, which laid down the spiritual code to be followed by the missionaries in their activities among the people.²¹

Carey and his colleagues formed a plan to establish subordinate missionary stations in Bengal in 1804. The plan was drawn up by Marshman and sent to Fuller, the Secretary of the B.M.S. In giving a brief outline of their scheme, Marshman wrote, "It is that of placing...brethren...in different stations round the country, with a small capital,...to trade in cloth, indigo, or whatever each station best affords, to keep one common stock...to have exactly the same allowance, and to meet once a year at Serampore".²² The idea of taking secular employment at the substations, "arose not only from a desire to lighten the charge of them on Mission funds, but also to avoid the risk of being reported to the Government as Missionaries".²³ The first two substations were started in 1804, one at Cutwa and another at Dinajpore. Subsequently, stations were started at Jessore in 1807, Malda in 1808, Chittagong in 1812, and Dacca in 1816. The attention of the Serampore missionaries was focussed on Calcutta as early as 1801. They used to come from Serampore and preach generally among the Portuguese people. They erected a chapel at Bowbazar in 1809. After the passing

²⁰Fort William College was established by Lord Wellesley for the training of the Company's servants in 1800.

²¹B.M.S. P.A. vol. III, p. 198-211 "Form of Agreement respecting the great principles upon which the brethren of the Mission at Serampore think it their duty to act in the work of instructing the heathen". Agreed upon a meeting on Oct. 7, 1807.

The code among other things required of the missionaries a firm belief in the "doctrine of eternal punishment". Further the missionaries were not required to change the names of the converts, nor were they to carry on business for personal gain. This code was to be read publicly at each station three times a year in "order to keep these ideas alive in our minds".

²²Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 195. Marshman's letter to Fuller—April, 1804.

²³*Ibid* p. 196.

of the Charter Act of 1813, they set up a regular station in Calcutta. In order to establish a new sub-station, one missionary generally a European, with one or two Indian assistants, was sent from Serampore. Their work consisted mainly of preaching and the distribution of the tracts and other Christian literature among the people, and where possible starting an elementary school. They also gave shelter to local converts,²⁴ and conducted baptism and other regular religious functions. The missionaries used to travel as itinerant preachers widely round their main stations and if possible established some outposts. These outposts were generally managed by Indian converts at first, subsequently some of them developed into regular sub-stations. From Cutwa, the missionaries set up outposts, at Birbhum and Berhampore. From Malda, they went to Saddamahal and Goamalty, and twice attempted to get into Bhutan.²⁵ From Chittagong they went to Akyab and Arakan. From Calcutta the missionaries started work in the southern part mainly and went far in the Sunderbans area. The importance of these stations, some of which were purely experimental, depended on the work of a particular missionary, and very often his death led to the closure of the station.

The bond between Carey and the B.M.S. during the life time of its first Secretary Fuller, was of love, respect, mutual understanding and sympathy.²⁶ After the death of Fuller in 1815, the B.M.S. changed its attitude towards the Serampore missionaries. It was due mainly to two reasons. Firstly, there were many new members on the B.M.S. Committee who knew almost nothing about Carey and his original ideas about missions and missionaries. Secondly the income of the Society had increased enormously. As a result the Society could pay adequate salaries to its missionaries. This, on the one hand, made the missionaries wholly dependent on the Society and on the other enabled them to devote their full time to missionary work. Thus a great misunderstanding arose between the salaried Junior missionaries and the self-supporting Seniors. Six Junior missionaries decided to separate themselves from the Serampore

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid* p. 385.

²⁶*Ibid* vol. 2, p. 103.

Mission and start a station at Calcutta in 1818. As they submitted to the full control of the B.M.S., their action of setting up independent station was supported by the majority of the B.M.S. members at home. The demand of the Society to exercise full control over their missionaries was not acceptable to the senior missionaries at Serampore. They had worked so long on the principle of self-support and had devoted their funds to the development of their own schemes. They claimed independence in holding the Serampore properties, and selecting their colleagues.²⁷ The differences on the nature of relations between the missionaries and the Society, based as they were on fundamental principles, gradually widened. Ultimately in 1827 the B.M.S. and the Serampore Mission become two completely separate organisations. The junior missionaries of Calcutta, Cutwa and Birbhum stations remained under the B.M.S. The Serampore Mission, with Dacca, Chittagong, Dinajpore, Malda and Jessore stations, started to work independently. The Bowbazar station in Calcutta went over to the Serampore Mission. The Serampore Mission started to publish their own *Periodical Accounts*. The Serampore Missionaries had some friends in England who tried to vindicate their cause and help them by raising money in England.²⁸

The constitution and organisation of the B.M.S. were very simple. Pastors of churches who made an annual contribution, and ministers who collected funds for the Society were entitled to become members of the Society. Any other Christians who believed in the objects of the Society, and was willing to subscribe to its funds, was entitled to become a member. The affairs of the Society were conducted by a Committee which met every month. The Secretary and the Treasurer of the Society were elected at a public meeting held annually. It was at the annual meeting of the Society that the list of the members and the accounts of the Society were presented.²⁹

The London Missionary Society sent its first missionary Rev. Nathaniel Forsyth to Bengal in 1798. Although he came under their patronage, he took only a small sum at the time of his

²⁷*Ibid* p. 139.

²⁸After ten years these two organisations were united again in 1837.

²⁹*The Encyclopedia of Missions* p. 67.

embarking for Bengal. His private resources were exceedingly limited, and he was obliged to live a most simple life. He started his work at Calcutta, but after a few months moved to Chinsurah, a Dutch town about 30 miles away from Calcutta. He was appointed minister of the church by the Dutch Government, and after frequent refusals, finally consented to accept remuneration for his services.³⁰ In 1812, L.M.S. sent R. May³¹ to join Forsyth at Chinsurah. Afterwards, Forsyth ceased to be directly connected with the L.M.S. After about 18 years of work at Chinsurah Forsyth died in 1816, at the age of 47. The first batch of L.M.S. missionaries came to Calcutta in 1816 direct from England, and made it their headquarters. They had their central establishment at Bhownipore and from there started work in the southern outskirts of the city.³² They started a new station at Berhampore in the Murshidabad district in 1824. Chinsurah, Calcutta and Berhampore were the three main stations of the L.M.S. in Bengal.

The management of the L.M.S. was in the hands of a Board of Directors, annually chosen from the members of the Society. The membership was open to anyone who paid an annual subscription. The Directors appointed the Secretaries. For greater facility the Directors were subdivided into committees, but no proceedings of these committees were valid until ratified by the Board.³³ The L.M.S. published their annual "*Reports*" and also published "*Transactions*" giving details of the activities contained in the "*Reports*". In addition, they published mainly for their supporters, "*Missionary Sketches*" and "*Missionary Chronicle*", giving information about the country and the progress of their missionary work there.

The Church Missionary Society began work in Bengal in 1807, through a Corresponding Committee at Calcutta. The Corresponding Committee consisted of Chaplains of the Company and other officials "who were devoted to the Society's spiritual principles and fitted by long experience in India to

³⁰Gogerly, G. *The Pioneers* p. 59-60.

³¹May, R. (1788-1818). A great educationist, carried on a network of schools around Chinsurah.

³²Gogerly *The Pioneers* p. 52.

³³*The Encyclopedia of Missions*. p. 403.

devise and carry out good plans".³⁴ The Society had granted money to the Corresponding Committee, first for the translation of the Scriptures, then for the employment of Indian Christians. Captain Stewart, one of the company's military officers, had started in 1816 at Burdwan, two village schools, "with funds provided by"³⁵ the Corresponding Committee. The first batch of C.M.S. missionaries came to Calcutta in 1816. Stewart handed over the management of the Burdwan schools to the C.M.S. missionaries in 1817. Thus Burdwan became an important educational centre of the C.M.S. in Bengal. From Burdwan, the missionaries went to Culna in 1825, Krishnagar and Nadia in 1831. One of their missionaries had established in 1816, a station at Titalyah near the Nepal border, but it was abandoned in 1817. In Calcutta, the C.M.S. established their main centre at Mirzapore.³⁶ Calcutta and Burdwan with the neighbouring areas were the sphere of the C.M.S. activities in Bengal during the period. The work of the Bengal missionaries continued to be administered by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee. The Society at home granted money year by year to the Committee which distributed it among the missionaries and also allocated their area of operation.³⁷ Due to lack of enthusiasm among the Anglican clergy the C.M.S. had to send many German Lutherans to Bengal.³⁸

The C.M.S. had a Patron, always a member of the Royal Family, a Vice-Patron who was the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Vice-Presidents who were usually clerical members, all belonging to the Church of England. The general body of the Society included members and governors who had made subscriptions or had rendered services to the Society. The Committee consisted of both lay and clergy men.³⁹ The annual "Reports" were published under the title "*The Proceedings of the C.M.S.*". They started to publish another in 1830, called "*Church Missionary Record*" which gave a detailed account of the Proceedings. "*The Missionary Register*", a monthly maga-

³⁴Stock, W. *The History of the C.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 190-1.

³⁵*Ibid* p. 195.

³⁶*Ibid* p. 194.

³⁷*Ibid* p. 191.

³⁸*Ibid* p. 185.

³⁹*The Encyclopedia of Missions* p. 165.

zine started by the C.M.S. in 1813, published a summary of the activities of all the Protestant Missionary societies working in different parts of the world. The C.M.S. also started a quarterly "*Missionary Paper*" in 1816 to inform their subscribers about their missionary work.

After T. Clarke's acceptance of Chaplaincy in 1790, the trustees of the "old Church" in Calcutta, made an urgent appeal to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to send missionaries to Bengal. The S.P.C.K. sent a missionary named W. T. Rigeltaube in 1797. After twelve months he returned to England.⁴⁰ After his return the S.P.C.K. did not send any missionary to Bengal between 1799 and 1833. After the establishment of the Indian Episcopate in 1814, "The Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the S.P.C.K." was formed in 1815. The Bishop and some prominent laymen of Calcutta co-operated with the Diocesan Committee. With monetary and other grants from the S.P.C.K., the Committee started work in distributing copies of the Bible, tracts, prayer books and school books. The Committee also established some schools in 1818.⁴¹

The oldest missionary society was composed wholly of the members of the Church of England. New members were received on the recommendation of the existing members, after which they were elected and on payment of a certain amount of annual fee were entitled to the full privileges of receiving books and tracts. The Society was a close self-perpetuating organisation. The British Monarch was the Patron of the Society. The Archbishop of Canterbury was the President and other dignitaries of the Church of England held different positions. There were treasurers, secretaries and other organising secretaries.⁴² The S.P.C.K. published their annual "*Reports*".

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts started their work in Bengal in connection with Bishop's College,⁴³ in 1820. The S.P.G. missionaries concentrated their efforts wholly in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. A local

⁴⁰Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 25.

⁴¹Long, J. *The History of the S.P.C.K. in Bengal* p. 20-21.

⁴²*The Encyclopedia of Missions* p. 687.

⁴³The Bishop's College was established by First Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Middleton in 1820. The S.P.G. financed the College mainly and sent the Principal and Professors.

"Diocesan Committee" of the S.P.G. was formed at Calcutta under the Calcutta Bishop in 1825, which assisted the work of the Missionaries.⁴⁴ The Archbishop of Canterbury was the President of the Society. The Society depended for most of its support upon the regular Diocesan and Parish organisations of the Church of England.⁴⁵ The S.P.G. published its *Reports* annually.

Two other societies started their work in Calcutta in 1830. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society sent two missionaries to Calcutta to start work as an out-post on their Madras Mission. But after three years their work in Bengal was given up in 1833. In giving the reason for the withdrawal, the annual Report of the Society stated "The Mission in Calcutta... has been considered not to have presented those results which warrant its continuance."⁴⁶

The General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, was persuaded by Dr. Inglis to send A. Duff⁴⁷ to Bengal, as headmaster of a proposed institution, in 1827. Duff established his school at Calcutta within a few months of his arrival in 1830.

The Netherlands Missionary Society sent a missionary named A. F. Lacroix, a Swiss gentleman, to Chinsurah in 1821. When the Dutch settlement was handed over to the British authorities, the N.M.S. withdrew their mission. But Lacroix being given an option, decided to stay on, joined the L.M.S. in 1827 and continued to work in Bengal.⁴⁸

These were the Societies whose missionaries worked in Bengal during the period under present survey. Of these, the B.M.S., the L.M.S. and the C.M.S. had wide networks of stations in Bengal. The relation between the missionaries and their Societies was simple and straightforward. They were paid adequately and devoted their time solely to mission work. Only the Serampore missionaries, as noticed earlier, enjoyed an inde-

⁴⁴Pascoe, C. F. *Two hundred years of the S.P.G.* p. 473.

⁴⁵*The Encyclopedia of Missions* p. 688.

⁴⁶W.M.M.S. *Reports* vol. IV, p. 11.

⁴⁷Duff, A. (1806-1878). He organised his mission with an emphasis on higher Christian education through English medium, and thus departed from earlier missionary methods. He was successful for the first time in making converts from higher castes in Bengal.

⁴⁸Gogerly *The Pioneers* p. 64-65.

pendent status. The missionaries in Bengal tried to raise money locally by various means and had some freedom to follow their course of action depending upon the nature and circumstances of the station. The Baptists in Calcutta, formed a Society called the "Calcutta Baptist Auxiliary Missionary Society". The L.M.S. also formed a Society called "The Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society". These Auxiliary Societies like the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee, were formed for collecting funds for their work and also for managing their local affairs. The parent Societies never tried to interfere with the local affairs, which was quite impossible in those days when communications to and from England took nearly one year and more to complete.⁴⁹

In order to gain public support the Parent Societies periodically published the activities of their missionaries in India. The information, coming from the missionaries, through their letters, official and private, and the journals, was carefully edited before extracts from them were published. In this process the authorities at home suppressed those items which they believed might create an unfavourable opinion among their supporters; sometimes they twisted the facts to suit their purpose, and often published news in anticipation, which never arrived from India. A few examples would illustrate the point further.

Marshman in a letter to Ryland in 1806, said that some of their converts were excluded "for adultery and profane connections".⁵⁰ Ryland after reading that letter commented in the margin "Bad News" and instructed that it should be printed in abridged form and the names of the persons be concealed.⁵¹

George Pearce, one of the B.M.S. missionaries in Calcutta, in a letter to Dyer the Secretary of the Society in 1830, stressed that "since the discrepancies in the conduct of native Christians are so frequent, would it not be better never or at least for some time to come not to publish their names... or at most their initials only".⁵²

T. T. Thomason, who later became the Secretary of the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee, Calcutta, explained that the

⁴⁹Stock *The History of the C.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 191.

⁵⁰B.M.S. MSS. Marshman to Ryland, May 25, 1806.

⁵¹*Ibid.* Ryland's instruction in the margin of the above letter. He wrote "The former be abridged, names concealed, the next para be printed".

⁵²*Ibid* Pearce to Dyer. June 26, 1830.

effects of too much expectation in England from Bengal might be disastrous if it were not fulfilled. Thus he requested the C.M.S. Secretary that "you will on perusing accounts from India easily judge what is fit to meet the public eye, and what is not too great expectations are raised in England by such extracts".⁵³ In 1824, the C.M.S. missionaries sent an enthusiastic report about an Indian, whom they expected to make a convert. The report was published but the man never embraced Christianity. Commenting on the publication, Jetter, the C.M.S. missionary, said "you can easily imagine how painful a thing it must have been to us".⁵⁴

The L.M.S. in their "Reports" stated that their first convert in Bengal was an educated Brahman. On this, Pearson, their missionary in Bengal commented "He was a very low caste, and at that time not able to read or write".⁵⁵

The missionaries depicted the crimes of the Hindus and Muslims in dark colour in the minutest detail, while those committed by their converts were expressed in terms like "unlovely intimacies", or "irregularities" by which they meant adultery and similar crimes. These expressions frequently occur in the missionary correspondence and in their publications. Thus John Bowen's charge against missionary "misrepresentations",⁵⁶ although roused criticism, was not without some truth.

Commenting on exaggeration in the missionary writings Lord Minto wrote "some allowance must be made for the exaggeration of men partial to their own pursuits".⁵⁷ In a letter to the Court of Directors in 1813, Claudius Buchanan⁵⁸ defended the missionaries. He wrote "It is true an ardent zeal for the diffusion of the blessing of religious will, in some cases,

⁵³C.M.S. MSS. Thomason to Pratt. Feb. 5, 1813.

⁵⁴*Ibid* Jetter to the Secretary. April 14, 1824.

⁵⁵L.M.S. MSS. Pearson to the Secretary May 16, 1829. Box 2, Fol. 4, Jack. B.

⁵⁶Bowen, J. *Missionary incitement and Hindoo Demoralisation* p. 2.

⁵⁷Minto Papers (M-209) Minto to Parry. Dec. 2, 1807.

⁵⁸Buchanan, C. (1766-1815). Pupil of Charles Simeon at Cambridge, an Evangelical Chaplain of the East India Co., came to Bengal in 1790, and became Vice-Provost of the Fort William College. He left for England in 1808. He was a staunch supporter of the missionary cause.

... may produce too high colouring statements and narrators may make mistakes in description".⁵⁹

In spite of voluminous correspondence, the authorities in England, were generally very much ignorant about the local conditions in which their missionaries worked, and hence had no clear idea about the particulars. Robert Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, asked Fuller, the Secretary of the B.M.S. in 1806, as to who wrote one of their pamphlets in Bengal, in which it was stated that the Hindu Shastras are founded in fable, and are fit for women and children rather than for men. Fuller replied "yes, it was called 'The Gospel Messenger', it was not written by any of the missionaries, but by a converted native, since dead".⁶⁰ The pamphlet was written by Ram Ram Basu, Carey's munshi, who was neither a convert nor dead at that time. He was a Hindu and remained so till his death in 1813.

RELATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS

Though outwardly harmonious the relationship between the missionaries of different denominations was often tinged with bitter criticism and hostility. For example, Forsyth, the L.M.S. missionary, criticised rather unfairly, the Serampore Bengali translation of the New Testament "as might be expected with several mistakes and errors".⁶¹

The appeal of the Serampore missionaries, for public help for their "Benevolent Institution" in Calcutta which was intended mainly for the instruction of the Roman Catholic boys, encountered strong opposition from the Governors of the "Free School". The "Free School" was established by persons belonging to the Church of England in 1787 at Calcutta, for the instruction of those Roman Catholic boys whom it was able to board. The Governors issued a circular, requesting the people not to

⁵⁹H.M.S. vol. 59, p. 537. Buchanan to the Court of Directors. May 25, 1813.

⁶⁰Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 279. "A conversation between Dundas and Fuller".

⁶¹L.M.S. MSS. Forsyth to the Director. Sep. 7, 1801. Box 1, Fol. 14 Jack. A.

subscribe to the "Benovolent Institution". One of the reasons they gave was that "they consider the intended 'Benevolent Institution' conducted by persons dissenting from the doctrines and description of the established Church of England, as unnecessary and improper interference in the education of the parochial poor children".⁶²

Thomason, in a letter to Pratt, explained the reasons why the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee at Calcutta was not willing to purchase "Aldeen" the house of Rev. D. Brown at Serampore. The main reason he stated was the proximity of the Baptist establishment there. In his opinion "The Baptists (I speak not now in any bad sense, as tho' I would insinuate that they profess a bad spirit)...are especially hostile to us...they teach that we do not belong to a pure Church, since we live in the habitual violation of a command of Christ".⁶³ The effect of the Baptist teaching, in his opinion was "unfavourable to the truth and certainly prevents that cordial co-operation or even sympathy which is so desirable".⁶⁴ In conclusion, he alleged that "There are no class of dissenters so unfavourable to amicable and cordial union as of Baptists".⁶⁵

A similar opinion was expressed by S.P.G. missionary James Mill, the Principal of the Bishop's College, about the Baptists. He believed that the introduction of Christianity in India should be conducted "according to sober principles and apostolical doctrine and discipline of our Church".⁶⁶ Criticising the Baptist stand on adult baptism he commented "The good which the missionaries of dissenting communities, especially the Baptists, are actually effecting among the heathen, is strongly counterbalanced by the evil of this false opinion",⁶⁷ which arose "out of the original evil of their separation".⁶⁸

The L.M.S. was working in the Tollygunge area, the southern suburb of Calcutta. The Calcutta Diocesan Com-

⁶²B.M.S. MSS. (Paper cutting). Circular on behalf of the "Free School", Aug. 7, 1811.

⁶³C.M.S. MSS. Thomason to Pratt. Aug. 31, 1815.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶S.P.G. Reports 1821. p. 150. Letter of Principal Mill dated April 4th, 1821.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

mittee of the S.P.C.K. extended their schools in that area and requested the L.M.S. missionaries to surrender their station to the S.P.C.K. for monetary compensation. The Calcutta Diocesan Committee had the support of many dignitaries including the Bishop, Chaplains and government officials. Thus M. Hill of L.M.S. realising that the S.P.C.K., having more influence with the government, could create troubles for them, considered it wiser to move out of Tollygunge.⁶⁹ Consequently Hill most reluctantly moved from Tollygunge to Berhampore.

But the Serampore missionaries were "exceedingly displeased"⁷⁰ at Hill's removal to Berhampore, which was their station and they regarded this as an encroachment on their field of work.

In some villages, south of Calcutta both L.M.S. and B.M.S. missionaries were working in close proximity. This caused jealousy and competition between them. The converts gained by one were persuaded to join the other. The first convert of the L.M.S. went over to the Baptists, and was appointed by the latter as a teacher and posted near one of the L.M.S. stations. Both accused each other of encroachment and it was long before they realised that their mutual hostility was proving prejudicial to the advancement of Christianity in Bengal. They at last decided to do something "to put an end to this unfortunate state of things".⁷¹ In their joint letter Lacroix and Piffard both of the L.M.S., informed their Secretary with a certain amount of gratification, that whereas several B.M.S. converts had gone back to their old faith it "has not happened among us".⁷² Hodson, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary, in a letter to the Society, expressed his opinion about almost all the missionary societies in Bengal. He first charged the C.M.S. specially for giving money and a hut to live in to all "enquirers" who came to them to inquire about Christianity. The printing press of the Calcutta Baptists, he said offered employment to those who

⁶⁹L.M.S. MSS. Hill's letter, Jan. 13, 1824. Box 2. Fol. 1, Jack. B.

He explained that "considerable jealousy existed between their [S.P.C.K.] schools and ours and they have...influence with government, and if...displeased [have] the power of troubling us".

⁷⁰*Ibid* March 22, 1824.

⁷¹*Ibid* Lacroix to the Secretary May 30, 1830. Box. 3, Fol. 1, Jack. C.

⁷²*Ibid* Lacroix and Piffard to the Secretary. Aug. 1832. Box. 3, Fol. 3; Jack. C.

became converts. His opinion about the Serampore Mission was that "the Serampore concern is more mercantile than anything else".⁷³ He made elaborate comments about "a missionary college" where he found no students on several occasions. It is difficult to ascertain which college he meant, either it was Bishop's College or Serampore College.⁷⁴ He wrote about the college that "It has a bad name in Calcutta and brought mission into disgrace".⁷⁵

The Serampore missionaries were receiving substantial grants for the translation of the Bible in different languages from the British and Foreign Bible Society. During 1827, a memorial signed by twenty-two missionaries of different denominations other than Baptists, was sent from Bengal to the British and Foreign Bible Society.⁷⁶ In this, the missionaries complained against the transliteration of the term "Baptism" by Carey. They stated that the term "Baptism" as translated by Carey, meant full immersion, which therefore betrayed the Baptist denominational notion. This was claimed to be a violation of the B.F.B. Society's rule, which clearly laid down that the translations of the Bible should be free from any denominational flavour. The memorial led to a long controversy resulting in the discontinuance of the grants to Serampore and the formation of a Baptist Translation Society in England.⁷⁷

Hostility was not confined to the relationship between different denominations, it often influenced the relationship between the members of the same denomination. The S.P.G. and the C.M.S. missionaries although both belonging to the Church of England were far from friendly towards each other. The Evangelical section of the Church of England which formed the C.M.S., was hostile to the Bishop's College, run on "high" principles by the S.P.G. Although the C.M.S. granted money for the establishment of the Bishop's College, they were displeased with the college rule which provided that the students

⁷³W.M.M.S. MSS. Hodson to the Society, Oct. 31, 1831.

⁷⁴Serampore College was established in 1818 by Carey and his colleagues at Serampore.

⁷⁵W.M.M.S. MSS. Hodson to the Society, Oct. 31, 1831.

⁷⁶Browne, G. *The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* vol. 2, p. 128.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

would be at the disposal of the S.P.G."⁷⁸ only. Latham, a C.M.S. missionary expressed this opinion about the Bishop's College "I doubt how far a true Christian can contribute to its support".⁷⁹ He added further that the people acquainted with the affairs of the College in Calcutta always laughed when they read the S.P.G. Reports about the College.

In the Baptist denomination there existed hostility and bitterness between the young and the old missionaries. The younger members were especially hostile to Marshman. Marshman was charged with having "his house superbly furnished, with vehicles for the use of his family and with labouring to aggrandize and bring them into public notice to a culpable extent".⁸⁰ Carey in a secret letter to Dyer, the Secretary of the B.M.S., denied all these charges against Marshman and defended his character. He pleaded that as Marshman was running a large public school with pupils from first ranking families, he was persuaded by his colleagues to furnish his house in a manner suitable for receiving the high and rich parents. In spite of Carey's defence the charges were revived against Marshman in subsequent years. Pearce, one of the younger Baptists wrote about Marshman in 1830 that "he is entirely a worldly character. Hence you will be able to judge how far it is proper to entrust a man of this character with money for missionary purposes".⁸¹ The whole controversy between the "Seniors" and the "Juniors" at last centred round the property of the Serampore Mission which was purchased mainly with money earned by Carey, Marshman and Ward. Although these Serampore missionaries most ungrudgingly sacrificed almost everything for the missionary cause, they were very harshly treated and their characters were painted in the blackest colours by their own fellow missionaries, including Carey's own nephew. In the opinion of the younger Baptists, "Serampore has evidently degenerated into a mercantile establishment".⁸² The charges and countercharges went on after the separation and created voluminous documents in the history of the Baptist Mission in Bengal.

⁷⁸Stock *History of the C.M.S.* vol. 1, p. 188.

⁷⁹C.M.S. MSS. Latham to the Secretary. Oct. 29, 1827.

⁸⁰B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Dyer. July 15, 1819.

⁸¹*Ibid* Pearce to Dyer. April 10, 1830.

⁸²*Ibid*.

The quarrels among the members of the same denomination, and hostility between different denominations, prevented the Christian missionaries from acting as a united force in Bengal.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MISSIONARIES

Charles Grant was not disheartened by his failure in 1786 to gain government support in his missionary scheme for Bengal and Bihar. After returning to England in 1790, Grant took up the case again. He collected materials and wrote for private circulation his book, *Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals and means of improving them, written chiefly in the year 1792*. The book was later published in the Parliamentary Papers in 1813 and again in 1832.

The period of renewing the charter of the East India Company was approaching. Wilberforce tried his best to insert a clause in the Charter Act of 1793 for admission and encouragement of missionaries and schoolmasters in India. But the President of the Board of Control, dropped that clause when he found that the great majority of the Directors and Proprietors opposed it.⁸³

The policy of the East India Company remained the same as it was before. They refused to allow any missionaries to enter India. But Charles Grant carefully selected and sent to India a number of ardent Evangelical chaplains. The attitude of the Bengal Government was not however, always hostile towards the missionaries who actually came there in spite of the prohibition. Carey and Thomas came to Bengal during Sir John Shore's Governor Generalship, who "was encouraged by his evangelical sympathies to connive at"⁸⁴ their activities, although they entered illegally there. Wellesly, although not interested in evangelical work, tolerated missionary work privately. He even did not hesitate to appoint Carey as a teacher, in his newly founded Fort William College. After Wellesley's retirement there was a change in the official attitude. A mutiny among the Company's Sepoys at Vellore in Madras in 1806 caused the change in policy. There was a great clamour in England, and many of the influen-

⁸³Phillips, C. H. *The East India Company* p. 159.

⁸⁴Ingham, K. *Reformers in India* p. 6.

tial members of Parliament held the view that the attack of the missionaries upon the Indian religions was responsible for the mutiny. Edward Parry, the Chairman and Charles Grant, Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, tried their best and in the long run were successful in refuting the charges against the missionaries.⁸⁵

Lord Minto came to Bengal in 1807 when the memory of the "Vellore mutiny" was fresh in the minds of the authorities. A significant incident happened in 1807, which stiffened the policy of the government towards the missionaries. A pamphlet in the Persian language was printed and circulated from the Serampore Press in 1807. The pamphlet was addressed to the Muslims and in it the life of the Prophet Muhammad was described under the title "An account of a certain Tyrant, from his birth to death".⁸⁶ The pamphlet described the Prophet's teachings as "absurdities and lies".⁸⁷ About the Koran it said "He has borrowed in the Kooran (sic) much matter from many books, and thus the charge of theft (plagiarism) is proved against him".⁸⁸ It summed up "The aforesaid tyrant Moohummud has published a law directly opposed to that which is contained in the Scriptures, invented by himself, and infinitely remote from the comprehension of the wise. He has affirmed that the same lustful gratifications which arise in this world from an intercourse with women, will constitute the rewards of goodmen in Heaven; he (the tyrant aforesaid) has also commanded, that those who shall not embrace his religion, shall be put to the sword and consigned to infamy".⁸⁹ The pamphlet concluded with an appeal to the Muslims to renounce their religion and to embrace Christianity.

The pamphlet attracted the notice of the Government, and Lord Minto immediately imposed restrictions on the publications and preaching of the Serampore missionaries. He also asked them to remove their press from Serampore to Calcutta.⁹⁰ Professor Philips' assertion that the restrictions were imposed

⁸⁵Bodleian MSS. "Correspondence on Missions in India" 1807. A long letter of refutation from E. Parry and Ch. Grant to the President of the Board of Control, June 8, 1807.

⁸⁶H.M.S. vol. 690. p. 13, also P.P. (East India Affairs) vol. X, p. 48.

⁸⁷*Ibid* p. 14

⁸⁸*Ibid* p. 17

⁸⁹*Ibid* p. 19

⁹⁰*Ibid* p. 57-58

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

p. 48

p. 49

p. 52

Government's order 8th Sep. 1807

when the missionaries "had misconducted themselves by imprudently attacking the Hindu religion"⁹¹ seems a mistake. The letter of the Governor General in Council, to the Secret Committee dated 2nd November, 1807 clearly reported "Their Proceedings, on the subject of a pamphlet printed in the Persian language, purporting to be an address to all persons professing Mahomedan religion".⁹² The Government order also explained their action that "the language of the extract was in the highest degree injudicious and improper, and exclusively calculated to irritate the minds and inflame the religious zeal of the class of Musselmens to whom it was addressed. That the public safety, therefore, might seriously be endangered by the diffusion of this pamphlet".⁹³ The fact that the attack of the missionaries on the Muslim religion was the immediate cause of government action is made even more clear in a letter which Parry and Grant wrote to the President of the Board of Control. They wrote "it is chiefly to be looked for from the bigotry of the Mohomedans, and this opinion seems reasonable because no symptom of alarm had appeared among the Hindoos to whom the missionaries had more generally addressed themselves for a series of years, by preaching and writing, and because the Mohomedans have always cherished a species of political hostility to the British Government which does not exist among the Hindoos".⁹⁴

Carey on receiving the government order exclaimed "No Christian government that I know of, has prohibited attempts to spread Christianity".⁹⁵ Marshman also expressed the same sentiment in a letter to Ryland. He wrote "This message from a Christian Governor, acting under the express direction of the Chairman of the Hon'ble Company, an eminent servant of Jesus Christ, fills us with confusion".⁹⁶ The Chairman Edward Parry and Deputy Chairman Grant took up the missionary cause, and there passed a volume of correspondence between them and R.

⁹¹Philips *The East India Company* p. 164.

⁹²P.P. (*East India Affairs*) vol. X, p. 41.

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴Bodl. MSS. Correspondence on Missions in India. 1807. Parry and Grant to R. Dundas. No date. F. 15.

⁹⁵Marshman. *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 316.

⁹⁶B.M.S. MSS. Marshman to Ryland. Bound volume. No date 1807.

Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, who was a personal friend of Lord Minto. Lord Minto was conscious of the peculiar situation and justified his action that "our duty as guardians of the public welfare, and a consentaneous solicitude for the diffusion of the blessing of Christianity, merely require us to restrain the efforts of that commendable zeal within those limits, the transgression of which, would in our decided judgement expose to hazard the public safety and tranquillity."⁹⁷ There was a great clamour among the missionaries and their friends against the action of the Bengal Government. Buchanan in a strong worded memorial charged the Bengal Government with anti-Christian feeling.⁹⁸ Lord Minto in a letter to Parry refuted that charge, "Believe me therefore, when I assure you, that I am no enemy to the progress of Christianity in India".⁹⁹ He tried to convince Parry about the inflammatory nature of the missionary writings, "which without one word to convince or satisfy the mind of the....reader,....are filled with hell-fire, ...and still hotter fire denounced against a whole race of men for believing....the religion, which they were taught by their fathers and mothers".¹⁰⁰ Minto was not personally against the missionary undertakings. In fact he revoked within one month, the order which required the transfer of the missionary Press from Serampore to Calcutta.¹⁰¹ Carey after a long conversation with Minto, wrote to Fuller that "I have reason to believe that Lord Minto is not personally adverse to our undertaking".¹⁰² Minto took a reasonable view of the whole situation, although in his anxiety overestimated the danger. The memory of the "Vellore Mutiny" was working in the background.

The draft answer to Minto's letter drawn by the Secret Committee, was finally approved on 16th Aug. 1808. Although Parry and Grant signed it, they had certain reservations which they clearly stated in a Memorandum. They stated that "we are

⁹⁷P.P. (East India Affairs) vol. 10, para 39, p. 45. G. General in Council's letter to the Secret Committee. Nov. 2, 1807.

⁹⁸H.M.S. vol. 690. Memorial of C. Buchanan to Lord Minto Nov. 7, 1807 (p. 241-243).

⁹⁹Minto Papers. (M-209) Lord Minto to E. Parry. Dec. 2, 1807.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹H.M.S. vol. 690, p. 137-8. Govt. order. Oct. 5, 1807 also P.P. vol. X, p. 63.

¹⁰²B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Fuller. April 20, 1808.

of the opinion, that our Indian Government ought to exercise a superintendence and control over the conduct of missionaries, employed in our territories, but they ought to use their power impartially, neither conniving at real danger, nor groundlessly advancing the plea of it to crush the labours of missionaries".¹⁰³ They concluded their memo with a definite charge against the Bengal Government that "We think that in parts of the proceedings towards those missionaries, the Government went beyond what its professed objects required".¹⁰⁴

However these reservations were not incorporated in the official reply sent to Minto on 7th September, 1808. As a Christian Government was charged with anti-Christian attitude, the letter acknowledged at the very beginning that it was a "subject of the greatest importance and the greatest delicacy".¹⁰⁵ It was categorically stated that "we are anxious that it should be distinctly understood, that we are far from being averse to the introduction of Christianity into India, or indifferent to the benefits which would result from the general diffusion of its doctrines, but we have a fixed and settled opinion, that nothing could be more unwise, and impolitic, nothing even more likely to frustrate the hopes and endeavours of those who aim at the very object,....than any imprudent and injudicious attempt to introduce it by means which should irritate and alarm....religious prejudices".¹⁰⁶ After describing the attitude towards Christianity, the letter, clearly explained the government's religious policy in India, that "The paramount power....imposes upon us the necessity as well as strengthening our obligation to protect the...inhabitants in the free and undisturbed profession of their religious opinions, and to take care that they are neither harrassed nor irritated by any pre-mature or over-zealous attempts to convert them to Christianity. It may be useful and necessary to introduce the control and superintendence of Government whose responsibility for the public tranquillity will

¹⁰³Minute of Secret Committee. vol. 5. Memorandum by Parry and Grant, Aug. 16, 1808. Copy in Minto Papers (M.172) also in Bodl. MSS.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵*P.P.* (East India Affairs) vol. X, p. 72.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

force it to direct its views to those political considerations which the zeal of the missionaries might overlook".¹⁰⁷

Both Grant and Dundas agreed that the missionaries acted unwisely on that occasion. Grant in a letter to Udny confirmed that "the publications of the missionaries, some of them at least, are quite indefensible and discreditable".¹⁰⁸ Dundas advised Fuller in a private conversation that the people were "required to be treated with prudence and caution. You must not be too zealous".¹⁰⁹

In 1808, Dundas advised Minto to continue the government's policy of collecting Pilgrim taxes and management of the temples. Grant and Parry were shocked and tried to persuade Dundas to reverse the policy. Dundas in a letter to Parry, declared that the Company's "political power and authority over India" rendered "our controlling superintendence" over religious institutions "expedient or indispensably necessary".¹¹⁰ C. H. Philips comments rightly that "Dundas undoubtedly adopted a saner view in advising the Bengal Government to base its religious policy on political expediency rather than on the Saint's idea of Christian principles".¹¹¹

The missionary question was again taken up by the "Clapham Sect" in the year 1812, with a view to influence the Parliament during the debates on the ensuing renewal of the Company's Charter. In this, Wilberforce played an important part. He was successful to some extent in bringing different denominations together for the missionary cause. The Parliament was flooded with petitions from various organisations, in support of the missionary cause. "Few of the organisations can have understood exactly what they were petitioning for, but during February to June 1813, 837 petitions were presented".¹¹² During debates Wilberforce freely quoted from Grant's "observations" and diagonalised the "virulence of the disease" the Indians were suffering from. He confidently suggested a remedy—"That

¹⁰⁷*Ibid* p. 73.

¹⁰⁸Morris, H. *The life of Charles Grant* p. 303. "Grant to Udny—Sept. 15, 1808".

¹⁰⁹Marshman, *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 279. "Fuller's letter 1807".

¹¹⁰H.M.S. vol. 59, p. 478. Dundas to Parry. Sept. 6, 1808.

¹¹¹Philips *The East India Company* p. 165.

¹¹²*Ibid* p. 189.

remedy, Sir, is Christianity".¹¹³ He had never been to India and so hastened to add that "I indignantly repel the charge which has been unjustly brought against me, that I am bringing an indictment against the whole....population".¹¹⁴ The Bill was passed without difficulty. Clause XXXIII of the Charter Act of 1813, laid down that "such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them [Indians] of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement, and in furtherance of the above object, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India".¹¹⁵ Although this clause did not mention the missionaries, it was intended to cover them. However, the entry and the movement of persons concerned in India were restricted by the Act. The same clause (XXXIII) required a valid licence for every person desirous of going to India. Clause XXXVI gave the Government of India power to declare licence "void" against any person, if they deem it necessary.¹¹⁶ The Act also provided for the establishment of a Bishopric at Calcutta.¹¹⁷

The missionaries started to come in greater numbers after 1813. The first Bishop of Calcutta, T. F. Middleton¹¹⁸ arrived in 1814. Lord Hastings continued the cautious government policy towards the missionaries. In 1820, the Bengal Government received a letter from Bishop Middleton, including a copy of a representation addressed to him. Bishop Middleton, in his letter requested for "the interference of the Government with a view to prohibit the native artisans from working on"¹¹⁹ Sundays. In reply, the Bengal Government declared that "It had been,...the avowed and hitherto applauded principle of the British Government in this country to shun every procedure calculated to wound the religious prejudices of the native inhabit-

¹¹³*Parliamentary Debates* vol. XXVI, June 22, 1813. col. 529.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵*General Statutes* 53 George III. cap. 155. "Charter Act of 1813".

Cl. XXXIII, p. 1134.

¹¹⁶*Ibid* Cl. XXXVI. p. 1135.

¹¹⁷*Ibid* Cl. XLIX. p. 1140.

¹¹⁸Middleton, T. F. (1769-1822). He was a strict High Churchman, and had little sympathy with the missionary work of the Evangelicals. He established the Bishop's College on high church principles in 1820.

¹¹⁹Bengal Letters Received. vol. 85, para. 24. Ecclesiastical Dept. Jan. 4, 1821.

ants. We therefore entreated His Lordship not to encourage hasty suggestions, which, however praise-worthy,.... must unavoidably have further scope leading to serious danger".¹²⁰ Lord Amherst also followed the same policy. Both Hastings and Amherst, had personal regard for the missionaries, especially towards their translations and educational work. Lord W. Bentinck was more cautious about the missionaries. His recall from the Governorship of Madras on account of the "Vellore Mutiny" might have influenced his attitude towards the missionaries.

The missionaries always resented the association of the Christian government with the religious festivals and institutions of the Indians, particularly their collection of the Pilgrim tax and their management of the Hindu Temples and Muslim Mosques. Ward wrote in his journal that the Brahmans at Kalighat told him that Lord Warren Hastings used to go every Sunday to worship the Goddess there. They told him further that the Company's Government gave about 60 rupees a year for offerings to the Goddess Kali.¹²¹ Ward recorded another event when a deputation from the Government went in a procession to Kalighat and made an offering of thanks worth about five thousand rupees to the Goddess for the Company's victory over Tipu Sultan. Ward lamented that "several thousand natives witnessed the English presenting their offerings to this idol. We have been much grieved at this act, in which natives exult over us".¹²² The missionaries, however, never criticised the government openly in Bengal, during the whole period, for as Marshman put it in 1807, "Resistance to Government never made any part of our plan".¹²³ But they sent full reports with comments to their Parent Societies in England. The Societies brought these facts to the public notice. Publication of these reports, attracted greater attention of the reader when they were accompanied by huge engravings, "by horror and ugliness of the subjects they depicted rather than by any artistic merit".¹²⁴ In spite of the best efforts of the missionary societies to agitate the

¹²⁰*Ibid* Para. 28, 29.

¹²¹B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal, Oct. 28, 1807.

¹²²*Ibid*. Jan. 2, 1802.

¹²³*Ibid* Marshman to Ryland. 1807. No date. Bound volume.

¹²⁴Ingham. *Reformers in India* p. 39.

public mind they had little effect on the Government policy, until 1830. In that year, Charles Grant, son of the elder Grant, became the President of the Board of Control. He was as much in sympathy with the evangelical work as his father and this had its gradual bearing on the Government policy. In a letter to the Court of Directors in 1832, he strongly advocated for creating three Bishoprics in India, instead of the existing one, which he said "experience had proved to have been too onerous for a single individual".¹²⁵ The Charter Act of 1833 created three Bishoprics in India, at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.¹²⁶ The Act also allowed any person to enter India "without Licence".¹²⁷ The Act however did nothing to withdraw the government's connection with religious institutions of India.

Underneath the cautious attitude of the government towards the missionaries during the period under review lay the prime concern for the safety and preservation of the Empire. Analysing the cautious policy of the government Parry and Grant had stated in 1807—"There appear to be but two principal objections to the scheme of converting the natives to the faith of the Gospel, first the attempt might produce convulsion, and secondly that if successful the natives would be less easily governed and more ready to shake off our authority than before".¹²⁸ Refuting these arguments, Charles Grant stated in his *observations* that the demand for a "popular form of government and assertion of independence", like the Americans, was "hypothetical" for "political liberty is the last thing likely to flourish"¹²⁹ in India. He was of the opinion that the Indians would become more loyal to the British rule, if they were Christianised, and so put forward his view with emphasis that "In success would lie our safety, not our danger".¹³⁰ The introduction of Christianity, he argued, will "serve the original design with which we visited India....

¹²⁵Letters from Board to Court vol. 8, p. 517-8, June 12, 1832. (He was referring to the unusual fact that as many as four Bishops in India died in harness between 1814 and 1831).

¹²⁶*General Statutes* 3. 4. William 4. cap. 85. "The Charter Act of 1833" Clause LXXXIX. p. 1107.

¹²⁷*Ibid* Clause LXXXIII. p. 1106.

¹²⁸Bodl. MSS. Correspondence on Missions in India. Parry and Grant to Dundas. June 8, 1807.

¹²⁹*P.P.* vol. X, p. 100. Grant's "Observations".

¹³⁰*Ibid* p. 112.

the extension of our commerce".¹³¹ A similar, almost identical view was expressed by Parry and Grant in 1807. They in their letter to Dundas rejected the objection that the Indians would demand independence as "rests upon mere hypothesis, is destitute of proof and unsupported by probability or experience".¹³² As to the safety of the Empire, they declared that "Religion, and religion only will supply a common principle or bond of union between the Governors and the governed.... If...they embrace our religion, they would have a new cause of attachment to us...which would give us better assurance of their fidelity".¹³³

Buchanan also in 1805, expressed his opinion that "a Christian policy ever looks to the Christian religion for the perpetuity of empire".¹³⁴ He strongly advocated for the introduction of Christianity in India, as he believed that "it attaches the governed to the governors. There can never be confidence, freedom and affection between the people and their sovereign, when there exists a difference in religion".¹³⁵ Wilberforce eloquently and passionately addressed the Parliament during the renewal of the Charter in 1813, and put forward the same arguments with force. He said "the endeavour to communicate to our fellow subjects in India, the benefits of Christian light and moral improvement may not only be made without danger, but what is more, there is no way whatever by which we should be so likely to promote our political interests in India, because there is no other way by which we should so greatly strengthen the foundation of our government in that country".¹³⁶

These arguments carried little weight with the Government. but they did influence the manufacturers of Britain and an alliance was made possible between them and the missionaries. The imagination of the manufacturers was caught by the missionary arguments that the introduction of Christianity would change the habits and manners of the Indians and consequently

¹³¹*Ibid* D. III.

¹³²Bodl. MSS. Correspondence on Mission in India. Parry and Grant to Dundas, June 8, 1807.

¹³³*Ibid*.

¹³⁴Buchanan, C. *Memoir of the expediency of an Ecclesiastical esta-*

¹³⁵*Ibid*.

lishment for British India etc. p. 29.

¹³⁶P. Deb. vol. XXVI. June 21, 1813 col 867-8.

increase their demand for British manufactured goods. From this ensued the pressure of the Free Traders on the Government for the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly and their support for evangelical works in India. As J. C. Marshman puts it "thus commerce became the handmaid of religion and under their combined influence, the gates of India were opened at once to the cottons of England and the truths of the Bible".¹³⁷ Ward in 1822, visualised the effect of Christianity on India and her relation with Britain, after "five or six hundred years hence". If India became independent by that time, then according to Ward "India thus enlightened and civilised would even in an independent state, contribute more to the real prosperity of Britain, as a commercial people, by consuming her manufactures to a vast extent, than she does at present or even will do, remaining uncivilised".¹³⁸ The spread of Christianity was thus intimately connected with the ultimate good of the British interest. It explains also the English middle class support for the missionary Societies.

The missionaries thought that "the dominion of India was consigned by Divine Providence to the British nation".¹³⁹ According to Ward "Great Britain is the only country upon earth, from which the intellectual and moral improvement of India could have been expected".¹⁴⁰ The missionaries also believed that "the British Government is the greatest national blessing vouchsafed by Divine Providence to India for many ages".¹⁴¹ Marshman was confident in his declaration that "I cannot but view every new acquisition of British territory in India as a solid, a lasting, and inestimable blessing to the poor natives".¹⁴² The Serampore missionaries in their memorial to the Government prayed for the permanent prosperity of British rule in India, because they declared that "our personal safety, and the safety of our families...our very existence in this, a

¹³⁷Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 45-6.

¹³⁸Ward, W. *A view of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos etc.* Preface to vol. 1—p. LII-LIII.

¹³⁹B.M.S. P.A. vol. 6, p. 7.

¹⁴⁰Ward *A view etc.* p. XVII-XVIII.

¹⁴¹H.M.S. vol. 600. p. 115. Memorial from the Serampore missionaries to the G.G. in Council. Sep. 30, 1807, also *P.P. East India Affairs* vol. X, p. 60.

¹⁴²B.M.S. MSS. Marshman to Ryland, no date, 1807. Bound volume.

heathen country, is suspended on the prosperity of the British Empire in India".¹⁴³

The missionaries sincerely believed that their work actually was helping the British power in India. In their memorial to the Government, the Serampore missionaries declared that they were "happy in the idea that in every real convert they were securing to their country a friend....attached to the British nation by new and inviolable ties".¹⁴⁴ Marshman wrote to Ryland that "We have baptised nearly a hundred natives, and if the English government have a hundred firm and cordial friends among the natives it is among these persons".¹⁴⁵ Marshman wrote in 1813, a tract in which he explained the point further—"Every converted Hindoo or Musselman is necessarily the cordial friend of the British, on the ground of his own interest and security, for on the continuance of their empire in India his very existence depends".¹⁴⁶ He argued that "by embracing Christianity he has not only dissolved all the ties which hold him firmly to his cast (sic)...., but he has incensed his friends and countrymen against him, and has everything to dread from their obtaining ascendancy in India".¹⁴⁷ The plan of education, the missionaries believed, in the long run would create an "attachment" for the British nation among the Indians. The Serampore missionaries, while reviewing their schools declared that the "diffusion of just ideas therefore, would enable the Hindoos duly to appreciate these blessings" of "impartial administration of justice" and "welfare of man as man,...which would naturally strengthen his attachment to the British nation, by whom they are so fully cultivated and exemplified".¹⁴⁸ A. Duff, in describing his personal experiences at Calcutta, referred "to the effect of a European education on the disposition of the natives of India towards the British Government".¹⁴⁹ English

¹⁴³H.M.S. vol. 690. p.77. Memorial addressed to the Governor of Serampore. Sep. 8, 1807. also P.P. vol. X, p. 55-6.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid* p. 102-3. Memorial addressed to the G.G. in Council Sep. 30, 1807. also *Ibid* p. 58.

¹⁴⁵B.M.S. MSS. Marshman to Ryland, no date, 1807. Bound volume.

¹⁴⁶Marshman, J. *Advantage of Christianity in promoting the establishment and prosperity of British Government in India* p. 8.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid*.

¹⁴⁸B.M.S. P.A. vol. 5, p. 665. Review of schools.

¹⁴⁹Duff, A. *A brief statement relative to the General Assembly's India mission.* p. 29.

education, Duff believed, would surely make Indians loyal to the British crown. He declared confidently his belief that "there are no more loyal or patriotic subjects of the British Crown, than the young men that composed the more advanced classes in our Institution"¹⁵⁰ at Calcutta.

The belief of the missionaries, that they were practically helping to create an atmosphere of security and stability for the British power in India, through their activities, did not produce any radical change in the government policies. The government followed more or less a consistent policy of non-interference with the religions and customs of the people. The government supported in some cases the educational efforts of the missionaries. The Governors-General were more or less sympathetic to the missionary efforts and activities. There was definitely an understanding of a common religious sentiment. So long as the missionaries conducted their activities with caution and moderation, there was no interference from the Government. Towards the close of the period under survey, A. Duff claimed that the activities of the missionaries, had changed the attitude of the government officials towards them. Duff declared that "many members of the present government of India, . . . instead of regarding us with jealousy and suspicion as enemies, look upon us as the truest friends of the British Government, the staunchest supporters of the British power".¹⁵¹

EUROPEANS AND THE MISSIONARIES

The missionaries appear to have been equally concerned about the unchristian life and behaviour of the European Christians. The Europeans were not only insolent in their behaviour towards the Indians and self-seeking in their worldly pursuits, but also openly disregarded the forms and moral restraints of Christianity. If Christianity was going to change for the better the life and fortunes of the Indians why had it failed to have any impact on born Christians? To this question which any Indian could hurl at a missionary there was no easy answer. Hence the Europeans in Bengal presented a greater

¹⁵⁰*ibid.*

¹⁵¹*ibid.*

obstacle to the missionaries in their work. The attitude of the Europeans towards their own religion was one of disregard and disrespect. They cared very little to attend the Church services or to show any respect even to the basic religious principles. In one of his letters to Wilberforce, Sir John Shore wrote in 1793, that the Europeans in India would never tolerate the missionaries, and that "they needed first to Christianize themselves".¹⁵² The Europeans did manage to forget the Christian restraints and openly enjoyed cock-fighting, gambling, boat parties on Sundays, and pursued all sorts of pleasures and amusements.

The moral character of the Europeans was very low. They mostly lived with Indian concubines, often more than one at a time. The custom was almost universal. J. C. Marshman recorded an event in 1804 which reflects on the moral character of the Europeans. The members of the Bengal Civil Service wanted to create a fund for the benefit and support of the orphans. The old members of the service wanted to extend the benefit of the fund to cover the illegitimate children of the Europeans from Indian mothers. The young civilians objected. After a long discussion the two parties were divided. "The civil service at that time consisted of 350 members, one half of whom voted for the admission of the bastards, the other half against it".¹⁵³ The missionaries were very critical of European participation in the religious functions of the Indians. They believed that the European participation gave the people the impression that the European also supported the Indian religions. Ward recorded strong resentment in his journal that "The countenance given by Europeans encourages.... idolatries. We are told that one evening last week several streets in Calcutta were almost filled up with palanques of Europeans going to see the worship of Dhoorga".¹⁵⁴ He was told at Kalighat that many Europeans made regular offerings to the Goddess Kali.¹⁵⁵

The missionaries however, were more concerned with the

¹⁵²Stock. *The History of the C.M.S.* vol. I, p. 55. "Shore to Wilberforce".

¹⁵³Marshman. *The life and times etc.* vol. I, p. 204.

¹⁵⁴B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal. Sept. 25. 1800.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.* Oct. 28, 1801.

failings in Christian character of the Europeans which stood as a great obstacle to their propagation of Christianity. In reply to missionary criticism of Indian moral characters, Ram Mohun Roy wrote "I might easily draw a comparison between the domestic conduct of the natives and that of the inhabitants of Europe, to shew where the grossest deficiency lies".¹⁵⁶ W. Adam, in his replies to H. Ware in 1824, described that "The low state of religion and morals among Christians tends to the discredit of the Christian cause".¹⁵⁷ The Serampore missionaries acknowledged that the immoral character of the Europeans was "injurious" to the progress of Christianity.¹⁵⁸ The C.M.S. also expressed their deep concern about "the injudicious conduct of many....Christians".¹⁵⁹

F. J. Shore, son of Sir John Shore, a high ranking officer in India, wrote about the Europeans in 1835, that "the habits of the English in this country,....were, as far as religion is concerned, far below the heathen by whom they were surrounded. These at least paid attention to their own forms and ceremonies, but the English appear to have considered themselves at liberty to throw aside all considerations on the subject".¹⁶⁰ As to the attitude of the Indians towards the religion of the Europeans, he commented "There is indeed little in the conduct of the English whether Government or individuals be concerned which should induce the people of India to respect the religion professed by us....The mass of people, indeed consider the English as a low tribe, who have no religion".¹⁶¹

To the people all Europeans were Christians and their lives were the evidences of the practical effect of their faith. The habit and conduct of the Europeans, Shore asserted, "has been repeatedly alluded to by the natives, in reply to those missionaries and clergymen who have attempted to make converts among them".¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶Roy, Ram Mohun *The English works* vol. 1, p. 204 edited by Ghosh, J. C. "The Brahmunical Magazine" Number III, 1821.

¹⁵⁷Adam, W. *Replies to H. Ward's queries etc.* p. 41.

¹⁵⁸S.M. P.A. (Supplement) p. 5, 1830.

¹⁵⁹C.M.S. *Record* p. 25, 1833.

¹⁶⁰Shore, F. J. *Notes on Indian Affairs* vol. 2, p. 455.

¹⁶¹*Ibid* p. 457-8.

¹⁶²*Ibid* p. 455.

Because of such attitudes and conduct of Europeans in India, Sir. H. Montgomery, during Parliamentary Debates in 1813, advised firmly that "If we wished to convert the natives of India, we ought first to reform our own people there".¹⁶³

¹⁶³*P. Deb.* vol. XXVI, June 22, 1813, col. 829.

CHAPTER III

THE MISSIONARIES AT WORK

MISSIONARY ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INDIANS

Handicapped as they were by the cautious policy of the government and dissensions among themselves, the missionaries started their work in Bengal with still greater handicaps—their formidable ignorance of and hostility towards the religious and beliefs of the people.

It may, therefore, seem worthwhile to examine first their attitude towards the people among whom they worked before enquiring into the various methods they used to convert the Indians to Christianity and “civilise” them.

The urge to “disseminate...the humane and saving principles of the Christian religion”¹ among the “uncivilised barbarians”² determined the attitude of the missionaries towards the people of Bengal. The attitude of the missionaries was moulded to a great extent in England by Charles Grant’s “observations”. Grant’s long residence in Bengal made his “observations” an authority, from which the missionaries drew arguments freely, in many of their subsequent writings. The major part of Grant’s book was devoted to describing the degradation of the Hindus and Muslims and its causes. He mostly wrote about the degradation of the Hindus, with brief references to Muslims. Grant in his “observations” painted a dark picture of the Bengalee Hindus. He wrote about them that “They want truth, honesty, and good faith, in an extreme, of which European society furnishes no example. In Bengal, a man of real veracity and integrity is a great phenomenon.... Frauds, deceptions, evasions, and procrastinations....discord, hatred, abuse, slanders, injuries, complaints and litigations, all the effects of selfishness unrestrained by principle, prevail to a surprising degree”.³ About the Muslims, Grant made a passing remark that “Maho-

¹B.M.S. *P.A.* vol. 1, p. 8-9. An address embodying the objects of the Society to their fellow-Christians at large.

²*Ibid* p. 9.

³*P.P.* vol. X, p. 26-27. Grant’s “observations”.

medans....proud, fierce and lawless, attached to their superstitions. They were rendered by success yet more proud sanguinary, sensual and bigotted. Perfidy in them, was more signal than in Hindoos".⁴ He attributed this degradation to the "false" religions of the Hindus and Muslims. He explained that "The character of the whole multitude of Hindoo Deities, male and female is another source of immorality. The legends and histories of their actions are innumerable and in the highest degree extravagant, obscure, ridiculous and incredible".⁵ He asserted that the Brahmans held a tyrannical sway over the people, because of the latter's ignorance. After describing in great details the evils of the Indian society, Grant suggested remedies in the last chapter of his book. In his opinion, "The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant".⁶ He firmly believed that "The communication of our light and knowledge to them would prove the best remedy for their disorders".⁷ He advocated strongly, the introduction of the English language into India, which he believed would gradually help to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the Indian people. Grant gave his opinion that "undoubtedly the most important communication....through the medium of our language would be the knowledge of our religion".⁸ The introduction of English education, he argued "would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error",⁹ and then ultimately "idolatry with all....its false principles and corrupt practices,...its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions would fall. The reasonable service of the only and infinitely perfect God, would be established".¹⁰ As an Evangelist, Grant with all sincerity laid the whole emphasis on education, which he believed can rescue the individual mind from tyranny, and thus would suddenly bring a total transformation of the individual. Education was thus an important means for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity.

⁴*Ibid* p. 38-39.

⁵*Ibid* p. 64.

⁶*Ibid* p. 76.

⁷*Ibid*.

⁸*Ibid* p. 79.

⁹*Ibid* p. 77.

¹⁰*Ibid* p. 80.

The missionaries of different societies had more or less identical attitudes towards the people of Bengal. Most of the missionaries, started to send home their impressions about the people within a short period after their arrival. Carey, for example, formed his opinions about the Indians after nine months stay in Bengal. In his opinion "The Moors, who are Mahometans (sic) are more rigid and fierce than the Hindoos".¹¹ About the Hindus he wrote "The common sins of lying and avarice.... are universal".¹² He denounced the current belief that the Hindus were benevolent and humane. He wrote "The stories of their benevolence, humanity and meekness are all false The very reverse is the case. Lying, avarice, perfidiousness, cruelty to animals, and servility are the most prominent features in their character."¹³

J. Marshman, in a letter to his parents wrote that "there is not one principle of righteousness among the natives....to lie, to steal to cheat is not disgrace".¹⁴ Like Grant he too discovered that the causes of the degradations of the people lay in their religions and argued "The pretended Gods they worship are.... monsters of vice, how can their worshippers be otherwise".¹⁵

Ward on witnessing a Hindu mode of worship accompanied with dance commented in his journal "They all seemed to be drunk with superstition. This is the holiness which does not pretend to be connected with one single moral quality".¹⁶ About the Muslims Ward wrote "They cannot bear a single syllable of Mohometanism (sic) to be disputed. Every Musselman is a murderer in his heart".¹⁷ Since his arrival in Bengal Ward had been collecting materials for a book on the Hindus. In 1811 he published from Serampore "*An account of the Writings, Reli-*

¹¹B.M.S. P.A. vol. 1, p. 72. Carey to the Society June 3-5, 1794.

¹²B.M.S. MSS. Carey's Journal July 12, 1794.

¹³B.M.S. P.A. vol. 1, p. 138. Carey to R. March 12, 1795.

¹⁴B.M.S. MSS. Marshman to his parents. Aug. 17, 1800.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid* Ward's Journal. Nov. 1, 1800.

¹⁷*Ibid* Dec. 28, 1801.

gion and Manners of the Hindoos, including translation from their principal works"¹⁸ in 4 volumes.

Like Grant's "observations", Ward's "view" was acclaimed by the missionaries as an authoritative exposition of the Hindu way of life. Ward declared in the beginning that his book would contain "simple facts". Indeed Ward exhibits a wonderful power of observation in describing the manners and customs of the people, and it is the most important section of his work. But he did not know Sanskrit and therefore could not consult the Hindu Shastras... His knowledge of the Hindu Scriptures was thus based on second hand information he acquired from the Pandits whom he had employed to translate them. Even J. C. Marshman noticed that "The least valuable portion of it is that which relates to the sects of the Hindoo philosophy and the doctrines by which they are distinguished".¹⁹

The missionaries in general and Ward in particular had a tendency to make sweeping generalizations. Ward wrote in the preface of his book "if vices of lying, deceit, dishonesty and impurity, can degrade a people, the Hindoos have sunk in the lowest depths of human depravity".²⁰ He strongly denounced the idea that the Hindus possessed any good quality, and asserted that the Hindus "have never erected a charity school and alms house, nor hospital".²¹ While describing the custom of Sati, Ward asked "Is there anything like it in all the records of the most wild and savage nations".²² The Hindu Shastras according to him "abound with the grossest absurdities, the greatest exaggerations and the most puerile conceits".²³ He discovered the causes of all these in the Hindu religion and confidently concluded that "the characters of the gods, and the licentiousness which prevails at their festivals, and abounds in their popular works, have made the Hindoos the most effeminate and corrupt

¹⁸The name was changed to "*A view of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos, including a minute description of their manners and customs, and translation from their principal work*", in subsequent editions both in England and Serampore. In the titles of the third and fourth volumes, the word "religion" was replaced by "mythology". Subsequent editions underwent other changes and alterations.

¹⁹Marshman, *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 443.

²⁰Ward, W. *An Account etc.* vol. 1, p. XX.

²¹*Ibid A view etc.* vol. 1, p. LXVI.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid An Account etc.* vol. 1, p. V.

people on Earth.... Suffice it to say, that fidelity to marriage vows is almost unknown among the Hindoos; the intercourse of the sexes approaches very near to that of irrational animals".²⁴ While discussing the circumstances of married life and the position of Hindu women in the family, he made a sweeping remark that it is not surprising that "in these circumstances female chastity should be almost unknown in India".²⁵ Ward vehemently rejected the compliments of virtue and morality given by some to the Hindus, and argued, "If the religious institutions of a country be the prime source of corruption, how should the people be virtuous".²⁶ "The frank object" writes Ingham about Ward's book "was to present to the English public a full account of Hinduism and by so doing to win support for the missionaries' aims".²⁷ Ward gave a detailed description of the worship of Durga, which he witnessed at Calcutta in 1806. The ceremonies accompanied by song, seemed to Ward "a crime of high treason against the God of heaven".²⁸ In order to give an idea to the readers in England how "indecent" and "abominable" those ceremonies were, Ward explained that "A poor ballad-singer in England would be sent to the house of correction, and flogged for performing the meritorious actions of these wretched idolaters".²⁹

That the B.M.S. missionaries never changed their attitude is evident from an article which was published in their *"The Friend of India"*³⁰ in 1822. They wrote that "...in their [Hindus] conduct there is now visible almost a total absence of moral principle, that neither dishonesty, falsehood, nor impurity, is at all foreign to their present character".³¹

The B.M.S. missionaries were equally critical about the Roman Catholics in Bengal. One of their missionaries discovered a group of Roman Catholics in a village, and remarked that "they were nearly as ignorant as their heathen neighbours

²⁴*Ibid* "A view etc." vol. 1, p. XCIV-XCV.

²⁵*Ibid* p. XLIX.

²⁶*Ibid* p. XXXVI-XXXVII.

²⁷Ingham *Reformers in India* p. 36.

²⁸Ward "A view etc." vol. 1, p. 119.

²⁹*Ibid*.

³⁰*The Friend of India* ed. by J. Marshman was started in 1818.

³¹*Ibid* quarterly series—vol. 2, p. 389.

having merely thrown off cast (sic), and substituted the worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints, for that of Doorga and other Hindoo Deities".³² The Protestant missionaries wanted to convert the Roman Catholics whom they called "idolaters in disguise" or "Nominal Christians". Ward in his book acknowledges it as a painful fact that "many nominal Christians are as wicked as the Hindoos, if not far more so".³³

N. Forsyth wrote about the Hindus that "Idolatry of the grossest, abominable and bloody description...., dishonesty, falsehood, deceit, treachery, hypocrisy are universal among all classes or casts (sic) almost without an exception.... Insensibility and cruelty have carried them beyond that of the most brutal race".³⁴ J. Mundy, another L.M.S. missionary who worked for a long time at Chinsurah, wrote a book in 1827, entitled "*Christianity and Hindooism contrasted*" in which he compared Christianity with Islam also and showed the superiority of Christianity over both Hinduism and Islam. Mundy describes that "The Hindoo....debtas whom they call the representatives of the Deity, [are]....exceedingly wicked,...addicted to every vice which can disgrace human nature".³⁵ After the description he made some general conclusions about Hinduism, that "The Hindoo Shasters (sic) on account of their being full of inconsistencies....on grounds of reason and common sense, be rejected as the fruit of imposition and falsehood",³⁶ and also that "The Hindoo Religion produces no beneficial effect on the moral character".³⁷ Mundy, after a comparative study of Islam and Christianity, came to the conclusion that "If we contemplate the nature of the religion of Mahomud, and compare it with that which is revealed in the Scriptures of the New Testament, we shall observe a striking difference between the immoral tendency of the former, and the exalted purity of the latter".³⁸

During the years 1821 and 1829 two persons were deputed by the L.M.S. to visit their outer stations. They came to

³²B.M.S. A.R. p. 20, 1820.

³³Ward *A view etc.* vol. 1, p. 296.

³⁴L.M.S. MSS. Forsyth to the Directors. Sept. 7, 1801. Box 1, Fol. 1, Jack. A.

³⁵Mundy, J. *Christianity and Hindooism contrasted* p. 12.

³⁶*Ibid* p. 16.

³⁷*Ibid* p. 30.

³⁸*Ibid* p. 114.

Serampore in 1826 when Carey conducted them round the neighbouring places. They were shown some temples and mosques. They recorded their impression about a temple of Jagannatha and a mosque in their journal. They wrote that "This seat of Satan rises in a pyramidal form like the temple. . . . Near the temple of "the beast" there is another to "the false prophet" a Mahomedan mosque".³⁹

The Missionary Sketches used to inform the L.M.S. subscribers about various aspects of the Indian religious life with illustrations. They would first describe the pictures of Hindu idols and then appeal to the readers to help them to "pull down the strongholds of Satan". The first number, gave a picture of "The Cavern Pagoda of Elephenta". After a full description, they commented "Such Christian reader. . . . are the gods of the heathen, vanity, lies, abomination. . . . Their worship is a horrid mixture of impurity and cruelty".⁴⁰ It continued to write about Hindu Gods and Goddesses in each number, with almost similar comments in the conclusion. In one number in 1832, it was stated that although the Muslims were not "avowed idolaters" and believed in one God, yet their "false apostle, that arch imposter has altogether obscured the glory of the invincible God, by imposing upon man a pretended revelation from heaven to himself; . . . consisting chiefly of human invention, . . . calculated to lead away the mind perhaps more completely than the Hindoo Shasters (sic) or any other tissue of lies, composed to answer the purposes of a false religion".⁴¹ The missionaries believed that the Muslims always expected that the world would become "a sensual paradise, everything that can be imagined to gratify man's corrupt desires".⁴² *The Missionary Sketches* thus concludes that "The addition of traditions to the Koran, all of which are extremely childish and grossly absurd, . . . has made Moham-medanism a complete system of superstition which sinks its votaries into a moral state, as wretched and hopeless as the others".⁴³

³⁹Montgomery, J. *Journal of voyages and travels of Tyerman and Bennet*. vol. 2, p. 303.

⁴⁰*The Missionary Sketches* vol. 1 (1818-1841) No. 1, April 1818.

⁴¹*Ibid* No. LVII. April 1832.

⁴²*Ibid*.

⁴³*Ibid*.

Claudius Buchanan wrote in 1805 a book *"Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India"*, in which, while advocating the ecclesiastical establishment, he made observations on both Hindus and Muslims. "The Mahometans" he asserted "professed a religion which has ever been characterised by political bigotry and intemperate zeal.... whenever a Mahometan feels his religion touched he grasps his dagger".⁴⁴ The moral state of the Hindus, in his opinion, was still worse, "neither truth, nor honesty, honour, gratitude, nor charity, is to be found pure in the breast of a Hindoo".⁴⁵ He found in the Hindu religion the sources of all the evils and wrote "How can it be otherwise? The Hindoo children have no moral instruction.... what branch of their mythology has not more of falsehood and vice in it, than of truth and virtue".⁴⁶

J. T. Reichardt, a C.M.S. missionary, while commenting generally on the Hindus wrote, "They [Hindus] are the most imprudent liars, and not a spark of truth is among them. The sensuality.... is beyond conception, and the foolishness of their worship and religious auspices is totally a disgrace and shame to any reasonable being".⁴⁷ Jetter another C.M.S. missionary expressed his indignation against the Hindus in the same way. He wrote to the Secretary, "I really can hardly believe that there is another nation on the globe equal to the Hindoos in total depravity and corruption of mind".⁴⁸

In one of its numbers, *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, gave a detailed description of the Hindu Gods and their influence over the peoples' mind, and in the concluding part drew the attention of the readers, "such reader is the said condition of fifty millions of men, in whom the moral principle is generally debased, corruption and licentiousness of manners almost universally prevalent".⁴⁹

The L.M.S. and B.M.S. missionaries in Bengal, together brought out in 1823 a quarterly paper, *"The Asiatic observer"*

⁴⁴Buchanan, C. *Memoir of the Expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India*. p. 30.

⁴⁵*Ibid* p. 32-33.

⁴⁶*Ibid*.

⁴⁷C.M.S. MSS. Reichardt to Bickerspeth. Feb. 18, 1823.

⁴⁸*Ibid* Jetter to the Secretary. April 14, 1824.

⁴⁹*The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* Vol. XXI, p. 161, 171, 178. May 1813.

which lasted for about two years. It published an article "on Mahometanism" in one of its numbers, where the missionaries gave their judgement about the Prophet and his followers. According to them the Prophet's "life was licentious and his principles impure and that his votaries are fierce, intolerant and intractable".⁵⁰

The W.M.M.S. missionary Hodson in a letter to the Society in 1830 gave his opinion about the Hindus. He expressed emphatically that "No English words with English ideas... can describe their state. They appeared the lowest of the low".⁵¹

After a few years stay in Calcutta A. Duff returned to England and published a book "*India and Indian Missions*" in 1839. Sunming up his impression of Hinduism he wrote "of all the systems of false religion ever fabricated by the perverse ingenuity of fallen man, Hinduism is surely the most stupendous".⁵²

Having been fed as they were almost exclusively on missionary reports and letters from India, the missionaries about to leave England for India possessed a biased knowledge of the Indian way of life. They believed that they were going to a country whose people were "half-wild savages",⁵³ that they were such because they were not Christians and that their salvation lay in Christianity alone. Anything good they might discover in Hinduism or the Indian way of life was to be underestimated for "to allow a single virtue, or good quality, to be co-existent with Hinduism, would be a virtual renunciation of the cause in which they had embarked".⁵⁴

The sweeping generalizations of the missionaries were often based on limited experience acquired in a still more limited circle of people. Even Grant admitted in his "observations", that those who come most within the sphere of European observation were of "the lower orders".⁵⁵ Shore, while strongly criticising the title of Ward's book commented, "Had his work been entitled 'An account of the Bengalee Hindus, derived from observations

⁵⁰*The Asiatic observer* Oct. 1824. p. 405.

⁵¹W.M.M.S. MSS. Hodson to the Society. Nov. 3, 1830.

⁵²Duff, A. *India and Indian Missions* p. 179.

⁵³Shore, F. J. *Notes on Indian Affairs* vol. 2, p. 462.

⁵⁴*Ibid* vol. 1, p. 520.

⁵⁵P.P. vol. X, p. 29. Grant's "observations".

in the neighbourhood of Serampore', it might have been correct enough, but to publish the book to the world as a description of the Hindus in general... was incorrect and unfair".⁵⁶

Thus in furtherance of their motive to keep up the tempo of missionary zeal through writings, they often over-emphasised the vices and bad qualities of the Indians. The Indians were painted in the darkest colour to show the British public the importance and necessity of missionary work among them. Ward in the concluding part of his book, expressed the hope "that the view of the normal and religious state of the Hindoos will enhance the value of Divine Revelation in the estimation of every sincere Christian".⁵⁷ *The Missionary Sketches*, after every description of the Indian way of life or religion, appealed to the readers for their "compassion". In one number, they appealed saying "Shall we not labour, then, with all our might, to convey to these misguided people, and to diffuse among them the light of the glorious Gospel"?⁵⁸

A remarkable exception was Bishop Heber⁵⁹ who called himself "the chief missionary in India". In a sermon delivered to the clergy in Calcutta, Heber thus spoke of the Indians, "I have found a race of gentle and temperate habits, with a natural talent and acuteness beyond the ordinary level of mankind, and with a thirst for knowledge which even the renowned and inquisitive Athenians can hardly have surpassed or equalled".⁶⁰ Dr. Thomas, though not a sympathetic critic like Heber, remarked that the Bengalees "are most harmless and inoffensive people. in the world".⁶¹ But not wishing to contradict other missionaries he added—"I speak, of course not absolutely, but comparatively".⁶² Even Ward made an exception in the case of some Hindu customs when he wrote—"The Hindoo lawgivers have established several customs which, if separated from idolatry, would be worthy of the highest commendation".⁶³ In

⁵⁶Shore, *Notes on Indians Affairs* vol. 1, p. 518.

⁵⁷Ward "A view etc." p. 275.

⁵⁸*The Missionary Sketches* vol. 1, No. 1, April, 1818.

⁵⁹Heber, R. (1783-1826) A poet, scholar, second Bishop of Calcutta, came to India in 1823.

⁶⁰Heber, R. *Sermons Preached in India* p. 18. "A Charge" delivered in Calcutta, May 27th, 1824.

⁶¹Lewis, C. B. *The life of J. Thomas* p. 271. "Thomas to Pearce".

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³Ward "A view etc." p. 80.

another place he wrote "It is however, but justice to the Hindoos, to mention certain of their institutions which would do honour to any country".⁶⁴ Rev. J. Long, a C.M.S. missionary in Bengal in the forties, disapproved totally Ward's views, when he wrote that "Many of Mr. Ward's remarks respecting cruelties and immoralities among the Hindus are no more applicable to the body of the people than a description of Billingsgate and the old Bailey in London, would be to the inhabitants of the Westend of the town".⁶⁵

The "*Samachar Darpan*",⁶⁶ the Bengali weekly, conducted by the Serampore missionaries, may be cited as a further exception. Some of its issues contained an objective and detailed description of the religious festivals of the people. Sometimes unqualified praises were given to the most orthodox Brahmins. Donations and charities from the people for benevolent purposes were highly praised.⁶⁷ The attitude of the missionaries as manifested in *Samachar Darpan* appears less critical or a little sympathetic towards the people and is different from their attitude as revealed in their letters, journals, reports and books. Why this difference between the English and Bengali writings of the missionaries? Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that their letters, journals, reports and books were meant for circulation among the people in Britain. *Samachar Darpan* on the other hand, was meant for Bengalee readers.

MISSIONARY OBJECT

The missionaries believed that the religions of the Indians were responsible for their degradation. The remedy therefore, was very simple. The Indians must change their religions for

⁶⁴*Ibid* p. 285.

⁶⁵Long, J. *Handbook of Bengal Mission* p. 40-41, foot note.

⁶⁶*Samachar Darpan* (1818-1841) A weekly Bengali paper, edited by J. C. Marshman of Serampore.

⁶⁷Bandopadhyaya, Brajendranath "*Sambad Patre Sekaler Katha*" Ben. text. vol. 1 (1818-1830) vol. 2 (1830-1841) (Hereafter written as S/P.S.K.) Bandopadhyaya compiled and edited under the above title Reports mainly from "*Samachar Darpan*" which he arranged in different subsections such as, Education, Literature, Society, Religion and Miscellaneous. Numerous reports in support of the above statement can be cited from this compilation. "*Samachar Darpan*" however, criticised some of the social customs and religious ceremonies, but the wholesale degradation of the people was totally absent here.

Christianity, which to the missionaries was the only true religion of the world. The B.M.S. in their first circular to 'Christians at large' in 1792, stated that "The object of this Society is to evangelize the poor, dark, idolatrous Heathen, by sending missionaries".⁶⁸

Carey after describing a Hindu festival commented in his journal "who would grudge to spend his life and his all to deliver an (otherwise) amiable people from the misery and darkness of their present wretched state".⁶⁹ After starting work at Serampore, he expressed his satisfaction that their work had already gained ground in the country, and he believed that it would continue so "till the idols and their vices....fall into dishonour".⁷⁰ Fountain in a letter stated their object, "India the stronghold of Satan,...must fall before the universal conqueror".⁷¹

Marshman, in a letter to Ryland, tried to convince him that the introduction of Christianity was not only possible in Bengal, but also free from any danger at all. He wrote "Nor can anything be more safe than the introduction of Christianity among the Hindoos".⁷² He explained that "The Hindoos are like an immense number of particles of sand, which are incapable of forming a solid mass. There is not the least bond of union among them, nor principle capable of effecting it. Their hierarchy has no head no influential body, nor subordinate orders".⁷³ After explaining the causes, Marshman firmly concluded that "when to this are added their natural imbecility and the enervating influence of climate, it will be apparent that nothing is more impossible than steady and concerted opposition to the spread of Christianity".⁷⁴

Keith, the L.M.S. missionary used metaphoric language to explain their object. He wrote to the Director in 1817, "We have unfurled the banners of the cross, laid siege to the enemy's fortress. We have drawn our swords and determined to use

⁶⁸B.M.S. *P.A.* vol. 1, p. 8.

⁶⁹B.M.S. MSS. Carey's Journal. April 10, 1794.

⁷⁰*Ibid* Carey to Ryland. March 15, 1800.

⁷¹B.M.S. *P.A.* vol. 1, p. 316. Fountain to the Society.

⁷²B.M.S. MSS. Marshman to Ryland. No date, 1807. Bound volume.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

them to place Jesus... on his throne in this land".⁷⁵ Mundy in his book, after contrasting Christianity with other religions, recorded his expectation that in the very near future "every other false system of superstitious and idolatrous worship will be swept as a refuge of lies from... the earth".⁷⁶

The C.M.S. missionary Reichardt wrote in 1823 "when shall the time arrive that India shall bow at the cross of our gracious Bedeemer".⁷⁷

The W.M.M.S. in their report stated clearly that "our primary object is to benefit the native population, by the communication of Gospel truths".⁷⁸

The Bishop of Calcutta, in a letter expressed his views in 1833 that "All India seems now waiting for the doctrine of salvation. Hindooism and Mahomedanism are crumbling under their own weight... to erect the modest Christian edifice on the ruins of the deserted mosque and pagoda—that is the high office of England".⁷⁹

A. Duff, in a statement before the General Assembly about his work in India, explained the object again. He stated confidently that "the great object is to make known the gospel of Christ among the people of India, as the only sufficient remedy for all their miseries".⁸⁰

The object of the missionaries was thus to convert the Indian people to Christianity. They and their friends made repeated assertions that nothing but total conversion would satisfy them. The missionaries not only considered it possible but also believed that they were destined to succeed as part of a divine plan. It was therefore, not a question of belief to them, but fulfilment of a divine duty. *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* made an assertion in the editorial that it is a "solemn, indispensable duty of sending the gospel... to those who in the course of Providence are (sic) become our fellow-

⁷⁵L.M.S. MSS. Keith to the Director. March 1, 1817. Box. 1, Fol. 2, Jack. D.

⁷⁶Mundy. *Christianity and Hindooism contrasted* p. 118.

⁷⁷C.M.S. MSS. Reichardt to Bickerspeth. Feb. 18, 1823.

⁷⁸W.M.M.S. *Reports* vol. IV, p. 35, 1830.

⁷⁹S.P.G. *Reports* p. 152. 1833. Letter of Bishop Wilson. June 21. 1833.

⁸⁰Duff. *A brief statement relative to General Assembly's India Mission* p. 7.

subjects".⁸¹ The Serampore missionaries also believed that "For the deliverance of this interesting portion of mankind from this state of moral darkness and wretchedness, Britain seems evidently destined by Providence".⁸²

To achieve the object, the missionaries devised certain methods, which they considered, if applied effectively would lead them to their goal. Among these methods the first and foremost was that of Preaching.

PREACHING METHOD AND PLACE OF PREACHING

The missionaries had learnt from the success of English Methodists to concentrate first on preaching for gaining converts. Preaching in Bengal was organised generally in three ways. Firstly, the missionaries undertook regular preaching in their neighbourhood. They used to visit market places, bathing ghats, and other public places, where they expected to meet a good number of people. Sati-sites were one of the first preaching centres of the missionaries in Bengal.⁸³

Secondly, they devoted time for itinerant preaching in the interior of the country once or twice a year. The European missionaries, accompanied by Indian converts, during these tours used to visit villages and towns on their way and preached there.

Thirdly, the missionaries made occasional preachings during religious festivals and great religious melas (fairs).

The missionaries would first sing in Bengali, at cross roads, in order to attract the attention of the people.⁸⁴ As soon as the necessary "congregation" was formed, they would start preaching. While preaching, the missionaries would first attack violently the characters of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses and the Prophet Muhammad. By doing so they wanted to convince the people that their God or Prophet was totally incapable of

⁸¹*The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle* p. 161. May, 1813.

⁸²*Prospectus for 'The Friend of India'* April 30, 1818.

⁸³Lewis. *The life of J. Thomas* p. 143. Thomas' encounter with the Brahmans at a Sati-site.

B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal. Nov. 9, 1800.

⁸⁴*Ibid* Marshman to Ryland. Feb. 2, 1807. Found volume. These two also recorded similar encounters at Sati-sites.

⁸⁵Marshman, *The life and times etc.* vol. I, p. 129.

bestowing any good upon their votaries. Then they would come to the theory of universal sin, that all men are sinners, and lastly to the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. In conclusion the missionaries would appeal to everybody present to embrace Christianity, because all sinners must seek salvation through Jesus Christ only.

Attack on the Indian religious was the most important part of the preaching, but the individual missionaries might differ in their techniques. Carey for example was sometimes blunt and emphatic in his attack. In one of the street preaching he asked the people whether they had any guardian deity of their town. The people replied in the affirmative. He then asked what He was made of—'of stone' was the answer. He then proposed to bring a hammer and "break him to pieces" in order to show that He was not a God. "I had on the road made a similar proposal, with respect to Juggunath, but as he was a wooden one, I proposed to burn him".⁸⁵

In a "wonderfully good address"⁸⁶ Dr. Thomas emotionally spoke to the people "what is the name of Seeb (Shib), Krishna, Doorga, Kalee (Kali) or Mohomet (Muhammad)? All vain and wicked names of men or Devils and shall all sink into perdition shortly, at the name of Jesus. This is the only son of God, who came down from heaven and became a man, to suffer, to die, to save sinners. . . . If sin is the cause of all our misfortunes and calamities of soul and body—past, present, and to come, then this our disease. If God has sent Jesus Cdrist, then He is our physician".⁸⁷

After two years residence at Serampore the B.M.S. missionaries began to itinerate in the interior of the country. The Serampore missionaries believed that to carry on preaching from village to village, from market to market, from one assembly to another, in season and out of season, was the "life to which we are called in this country".⁷⁸

The missionaries in Bengal, continued to preach more or

⁸⁵B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Sutcliffe. Nov. 27, 1800. The last two pages of the letter are missing quoted by E. Carey in "*Memoir of Carey*" p. 440-1.

⁸⁶*Ibid* Bound letters of Thomas. Nov. 4, 1800. Comment in the margin probably by Ryland.

⁸⁷*Ibid*.

⁷⁸B.M.S. P.A. vol. III, p. 200-201 "form of Agreement" Para IV.

less in the same form throughout the whole period. Eustace Carey wrote "we sung a hymn, read a portion of Scripture and then addressed the crowd which had by this time assembled around us, exposing the . . . total insufficiency of bodily austerities or outward observations of any kind whatever to procure the pardon of sin and the favour of God".⁸⁹

The L.M.S. informed that their missionaries at Kidderpore were engaged in "occasionally preaching in the streets and market places".⁹⁰ George Pearce informed the B.M.S. Secretary in 1830, that he visited about twenty villages "in which . . . the way of salvation of Christ . . . has been fully declared".⁹¹ In another letter in 1831, Pearce wrote "During the last few months I have endeavoured according to my ability to preach the blessed Gospel to the heathen. In the chapel, street, bazars, ghats and other places again and again, I have declared . . . the unsearchable riches of Christ".⁹²

WHY PEOPLE ASSEMBLED ?

There were many causes which induced the people to gather round the missionaries and thus form, as the missionaries would call it "congregations". The novelty of seeing a European singing and speaking in their own language mostly attracted them. Ward wrote about his experience that "the natives do not collect around a native as they do around a Sahaib".⁹³ Chamberlain the B.M.S. missionary wrote from Cutwa that "when I first came here, the people were attracted by the novelty of the affair to come and hear".⁹⁴ Rowe, another B.M.S. missionary wrote to the Committee, that when they first started preaching around Serampore "the natives seemed pleased with the novelty of hearing European talk in their own language".⁹⁵

Sometimes the audience would consist of persons who had come hoping to acquire favour or some material gain. One of the main reasons for the workers of Carey's indigo-factory to

⁸⁹B.M.S. MSS. E. Carey's journal. Nov. 1822.

⁹⁰L.M.S. *Report* p. 41-42. 1827.

⁹¹B.M.S. MSS. Pearce to Dyer. April 10, 1830.

⁹²*Ibid* Aug. 17, 1831.

⁹³*Ibid* Ward's journal. Oct. 20, 1803.

⁹⁴*Ibid* Chamberlain to White. June 21, 1806.

⁹⁵*Ibid* Rowe to the Committee. June 25, 1809.

come to hear him preach was to please him. At the end of one of Carey's preaching meetings a man asked him whether he wanted "a *Durwan* (a gate-keeper)?"⁹⁶ The man told Carey that if he got the job he would attend his preaching regularly. Hill used to distribute medicine to the sick which attracted many to his meetings.⁹⁷

The missionaries enjoyed a very privileged position in Bengal, being members of the ruling European race. There was not a single case of extreme physical violence against the European missionaries in spite of their open and most bitter attack upon the religious belief of the people. That the missionaries themselves were very conscious of this is evident from one of the letters of J. Marshman to his parents. He wrote "It is true that the Europeans are Lords of the country and not a dog dare move his finger scarcely against one of them".⁹⁸ Raja Ram Mohun Roy expressed the same sentiment when he protested against the missionary attack on the religion of the people. He wrote "In Bengal, where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name of Englishman is sufficient to frighten people, an encroachment upon the rights of her poor, timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion, cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act".⁹⁹

DIFFICULTIES OF PREACHING

In spite of their privileged position the European missionaries in Bengal had to face several difficulties in Preaching. The first and foremost obstacle in preaching was the language. In order to overcome that difficulty, the missionaries started to learn the regional language. Carey was so eager to preach that he started preaching in Bengali within a few months of his arrival in Bengal, "tho' imperfect in the knowledge of the language, yet with the help of Moonshee".¹⁰⁰ In spite of their hard labour most of the missionaries had to employ interpreters to communicate to the people. There were only a few who

⁹⁶*Ibid* Ward's journal. March 23, 1800.

⁹⁷L.M.S. MSS. Hill's journal. Feb. 14, 1833.

⁹⁸B.M.S. MSS. Marshman to his parents. Aug. 17, 1800.

⁹⁹Roy, Ram Mohun. *The English works* vol. 1, p. 170, edited by Ghosh J. C. "The Brahmunical Magazine" No. 1, 1821.

¹⁰⁰B.M.S. MSS. Carey's Journal. May 26, 1794.

could preach without any help. During hot and rainy seasons, the European missionaries found it almost impossible to undertake regular preaching tours. The other difficulties originated from the belief, customs and practices of the people, which the missionaries found very puzzling. Among those most puzzling, was the caste system. "The strongest attachment to cast(sic)" Carey regarded as "one of the strongest chains with which devil ever bound the children of men".¹⁰¹ Carey repeatedly wrote about caste, which he regarded as the greatest obstacle in propagating the Gospel. In a long letter, he gave a detailed account of some of the difficulties which he experienced in Bengal. Of these difficulties he described two as most important. He mentioned caste as the first—"This is a custom which I have often mentioned before, and have observed it to be an almost insuperable bar to the profession of Christianity".¹⁰² Fatalism presented the other difficulty. "The Hindoos most generally believe themselves to be a sort of machines, which God acts upon in a physical manner, and that they are not accountable for their own actions. It is a common opinion among the Hindoos that the fate of every man is written in his forehead; they conclude that all their actions are chargeable on God, and not on themselves. This doctrine is almost constantly avowed when we attempt to press on them the sinfulness of sin, and the guilt of their conduct. This notion prevails amongst them almost universally".¹⁰³

Another difficulty was presented by the popular belief of the Hindus "that this was the Colley Yoga (Kali Yuga), and that it was vain for a man to hope to become holy till this period was expired".¹⁰⁴

THE REACTION OF THE PEOPLE

Carey went to a village near Madnabati, which was mostly inhabited by Muslims, and discussed with them "the evils and universality of sin together with the Holiness of God" and the possible way to "escape the wrath to come". In an attempt to show the purity of the Bible, he then drew a "Parallel between some parts of the Bible and some parts of the Koran". The

¹⁰¹*Ibid* July 4, 1794.

¹⁰²B.M.S. P.A. vol. I, p. 481. Carey to Mr. P. Nov. 23. 1798.

¹⁰³*Ibid* p. 482-3.

¹⁰⁴B.M.S. MSS. Ward's journal. Nov. 7, 1800.

people gathered there were so simple and ignorant that they "were confounded and said they had never heard these things before".¹⁰⁵ Dr. Thomas tried on one occasion to persuade a prospective Sati to give up the idea, saying "This is a great sin. . . . Have pity . . . have mercy on yourself and your children". She answered, pointing to the heavens and "pointing to her forehead, . . . it was all written there"¹⁰⁶ and she had to surrender to her fate and therefore could not go back. During an encounter with a Brahman, Carey asked him whether he believed God had given the Koran to the Muslims. The Brahman answered confidently that "God has created both Hindoos and Musselmen and had given them different ways to life"¹⁰⁷ and expressed his firm belief that everyone should follow his own religion always. Carey one day during his preaching came across another Brahman who at that moment was preparing for his Sandhya or evening prayers. Carey asked him whether the people of other countries could also expect to attain holiness by performing prayers like him. The Brahman replied "No, everyone will be saved by attending to the religion of his country".¹⁰⁸ Carey was not satisfied and asked why God had given different religious ways for different men. The Brahman replied "The fruit of both is the same".¹⁰⁹

The missionaries fanatically adhered to their views and consequently were very intolerant. That they become easily irritated is evident from their description of people whom they disliked. Ward described a man who argued with Carey as "this villain said that sin was necessary as holiness for that God had made hell as well as heaven".¹¹⁰ He further described a boatman as a "scoundrel" because he said "God was light and darkness, was merciful and unmerciful, was in fact a sinner".¹¹¹

After the first spell of novelty was over, the Brahmans began to manifest their dislike towards missionary preaching in every possible way. As soon as Carey tried to put before his

¹⁰⁵*Ibid* Carey to the B.M.S. Jan. 6, 1795.

¹⁰⁶Lewis. *The life of Thomas*. p. 143. Thomas' Journal.

¹⁰⁷B.M.S. MSS. Carey's journal. Jan. 25, 1795.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid* Carey to Ryland. Aug. 17, 1800.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid*.

¹¹⁰*Ibid* Ward's journal. Feb. 2, 1800.

¹¹¹*Ibid* Feb. 18, 1800.

audience the case of Christ's crucifixion, the Brahmans "immediately manifested the utmost dislike of the very name of Jesus".¹¹² Carey, in a letter to Fuller, stated that "The Brahmans are now most inveterate in their oppositions. They oppose the Gospel with the utmost virulence, and the very name of Jesus Christ seems abominable to their ears".¹¹³

Carey, in one of his preachings in a market place, told the people that "I knew one who would make everyone who went to him as rich as he pleased. An old man said what should we do with riches, if I have God."¹¹⁴ Carey argued that everyman was a sinner, and God is holy. Man requires a mediator to go to God, and Jesus Christ was that mediator. He then explained the sufferings of Christ and his death. The people enquired "How could God die? It is true, said I, had he not been incarnate he could not, but he took flesh for the purpose of suffering death".¹¹⁵ The people then asked "How we could be assured that the Bible was the word of God."¹¹⁶ "The purity of its precepts, the excellency of its contents"—Carey replied "made it the instrument of salvation to many thousand sinners, and of the destruction of innumerable idols".¹¹⁷ After all these arguments one man remarked "God had given one Shashtra to them and another to us."¹¹⁸

The people near Serampore became less disposed to hear the missionary preachings and the Brahmans and the young people showed every degree of contempt and "the name of Christ became a bye-word like the name of Methodist in England formerly".¹¹⁹

During an itinerant journey Ward met a learned Muslim in a village near Naihati. He had a long discussion with him during which Ward attacked the character of Muhammad saying "Prophet was a great sinner, a murderer and adulterer."¹²⁰ The man "was now in a rage" and they had to retire without delay.

¹¹²*Ibid* Nov. 7, 1800.

¹¹³*Ibid* Carey to Fuller, Nov. 23, 1800.

¹¹⁴*Ibid* Carey to Sutcliffe. Nov. 27, 1800.

¹¹⁵*Ibid*.

¹¹⁶*Ibid*.

¹¹⁷*Ibid*.

¹¹⁸*Ibid*.

¹¹⁹*Ibid* Ward's journal Jan. 12, 1801.

¹²⁰*Ibid* Oct. 21, 1801.

J. Marshman, in his first visit to Jessore, found the Brahmans manifesting the strongest repugnance to the Gospel.

M. Hill once met a Muslim Maulavi near Murshidabad. During discussions the Maulavi entirely "disputed the Divinity of Christ and said that He was merely a Prophet. . . . as Mahmid (sic) succeeded Christ in the office of a Prophet so he was to be regarded as having said the last revelation from God and of course his Doctrines are now binding on man rather than those of Christ".¹²¹

"The Brahmans of Culna and Burdwan, wanted to convince C.M.S. missionary Deerr about unity amidst diversity, by giving an example during his preaching. Addressing him, they said "You are dressed like a Sahib and therefore we call you Sahib. Were you to come in the uniform of the military, you would be called a soldier, if in a merchant's dress you would be called a merchant, if in a sweeper's, a sweeper. Thus God revealed himself in the various forms. . . ., but he is one and the same".¹²² In another of Deerr's preachings people reacted in a different way. They said, we acknowledge that your Gospel is good, but the Europeans do not keep it. They asserted "We Hindoos commit what you call sin, we do it in conformity with our Scriptures, but you do it against yours, who are the worst".¹²³

One gentleman interrupted a young C.M.S. missionary in his preaching in Calcutta and said "we worship God according to our Shaster (sic), you according to yours, and the Mussulman according to his, each believes his own Shaster to be true, why do you wish therefore to turn people out of the way?"¹²⁴

The L.M.S. missionary G. Gogerly, after long service in Bengal summed up the popular reaction to their preachings in his book. He wrote that the Hindus "invariably insisted that all religions were equally good, and would all end happily. The Mahammedans, used towards our blessed Saviour the most approbious epithets and spoke of him in the most insulting terms,

¹²¹L.M.S. MSS. Hill's journal. No. 1826.

¹²²C.M.S. MSS. Deerr's journal June 26 to July 1, 1827.

¹²³C.M.S. *Proceedings* vol. 12, p. 77, 1827-1830.

¹²⁴C.M.S. *Reports* vol. IV, p. 21-22, 1833.

adding that all who trusted in Him would assuredly be sent to hell".¹²⁵

The wisdom of preaching in the manner which the missionaries adopted in Bengal was questioned by various contemporary people. Adam in his replies to Rev. H. Ware, after furnishing information respecting the places where missionaries generally preached, remarked that during religious festivals "where the imagination and passions and prejudices [of the people]....are....in a state of the very highest excitement"¹²⁶ was surely not an ideal place or time for preaching.

The missionaries themselves noticed the ineffectiveness of their preaching on such occasions. Two L.M.S. missionaries went to a great religious festivals near Murshidabad. They recorded their experience—"we have much to distress our mind. It is true they hear with attention....and then....turn aside and unite in....their....worship".¹²⁷

Duff discarded the idea of wayside preaching totally and criticised it in the strongest terms. He said "it is confessedly the mere dream of visionaries to suppose that the Gospel can be effectively preached to these teeming millions by....foreign agents, labouring under....a stammering tongue and shattering constitution and comparative ignorance of the....peculiarities that distinguish the social and religious habits of the people?"¹²⁸

F. J. Shore considered "The injudicious conduct of some of the missionaries" as a principal obstacle to "the conversion of the people". He criticised the missionaries who "seldom wait to make themselves acquainted with the language and habits of the country, but are eager to set to work as soon as possible, preaching and discussing the highest mysteries of our religion to those to whom alone they have immediate access,....the peasants and villagers, poor, ignorant men, who never thought of anything beyond their daily wants".¹²⁹

¹²⁵Gogerly *The Pioneer* p. 15-16.

¹²⁶Adam *Replies to H. Ware's queries etc.* p.15.

¹²⁷L.M.S. MSS. Hill, Gogerly (Extracts of their journal). March 22-30, 1827.

¹²⁸Duff. *A brief statement relative to the General Assembly's India Mission* p. 27.

¹²⁹Shore. *Notes on Indian Affairs* vol. 2, p. 462-3.

The people could rarely understand what the missionaries preached, about the theory of sin, crucifixion of Christ and salvation, as they lived in a wholly different world of thoughts and ideas. The missionaries gradually came to realize the inadequacy and uselessness of sporadic preaching to such people. At a general conference of Bengal Protestant missionaries in 1855, the methods so far adopted in missionary preaching in Bengal were reviewed thoroughly. J. Wenger, a B.M.S. missionary raised objections to some methods adopted by earlier missionaries. He said that the missionaries had expected to gain much "from preaching in the midst of a crowd intoxicated with the excitement of a religious festival or of a busy market".¹³⁰ He also criticised "too great an eagerness" among early missionaries "to assail...Hinduism and Mahomedanism".¹³¹ It was decided in the conference that the missionaries would abandon in future, the technique of abusing Hinduism and Islam in their preaching.

TRANSLATIONS

THE USE OF TRANSLATION

Preaching and translation of the Gospel in the vernacular went hand in hand. In carrying on the translation of the Gospel the modern missionaries in Bengal were following the example set by the Danish and Moravian missionaries in India. The B.M.S. missionaries, explained their object of translation and distribution of tracts in a letter to the Society in 1805. They wrote "We...keep distributing small tracts without reserve", in order to "insure the universal diffusion"¹³² of Christian knowledge in Bengal. They explained further, "Knowledge spreads wide and fast by these means. A pamphlet attracts, when our immediate presence, perhaps, would excite prejudice, and is read when we are employed in another way, or it may be, asleep in our beds".¹³³ The L.M.S. missionary Hill, believed that a tract was capable of preaching "a continued sermon". He wrote "I regard the distribution of tracts, gospels etc. as a mighty engine

¹³⁰*Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries* p. 47 "A paper read by J. Wenger".

¹³¹*Ibid.*

¹³²B.M.S. MSS. Carey, Marshman, Ward and others to the B.M.S. Committee. Aug. 6, 1805.

¹³³*Ibid.*

to effect the destruction of idolatry".¹³⁴ But the literary activities of the missionaries would not have been commenced without a printing press. The credit for the introduction of which goes to the Serampore missionaries.

THE INTRODUCTION AND EXPANSION OF THE PRINTING PRESS

Carey purchased a wooden Press in 1798, and was contemplating establishing it in North Bengal. When he came to Serampore in 1800, he brought the Press with him, and Ward set the types with his own hands, and thus was established the Serampore printing press in 1800.¹³⁵ The Bengali types were first used in 1778. The punches for that fount were prepared by Sir Charles Wilkins¹³⁶ who instructed a local blacksmith named Panchanan in the art of punch-cutting. Panchanan was employed at the Serampore Press in 1803. Ward, with the help of Panchanan and his relative Manohar who was also working at the Serampore Press, made several experiments in the art of type casting. They were successful in their attempt to prepare smaller and neater fount in Bengali. They also made improved types in many other languages and issued the first metal type for the Chinese printing. These types were gradually introduced in different establishments in Bengal.¹³⁷ The number of presses went on increasing at Serampore. The Serampore printing establishment became the most important and famous one in Bengal in subsequent years. In 1812 the Serampore printing office was destroyed by fire. The loss of property was estimated to be enormous.¹³⁸ The missionaries, however, were delighted to discover the punches and types undamaged. With monetary help both from India and England, they recommenced printing within six weeks. Carey informed Ryland in 1813, that "We are going to set up two more presses" in the printing establishment which already had "eight presses constantly at work".¹³⁹

¹³⁴L.M.S. MSS. Hill to the Society. April 12, 1825. Box 2, Fol. 2, Jack. A.

¹³⁵Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 129.

¹³⁶Sir Charles Wilkins (1750-1830), a Bengal civilian—called Caxton of Bengal.

¹³⁷Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 179.

¹³⁸B.M.S. P.A. vol. IV, p. 454 Marshman to Ryland, March 12, 1812.

¹³⁹B.M.S. (typed) Carey to Ryland, April 14, 1813.

Other missionaries in Bengal followed the example of Serampore Mission. When the younger B.M.S. missionaries started their station at Calcutta in 1818, they established a press and type foundry of their own.¹⁴⁰ This B.M.S. press at Calcutta expanded very rapidly.

The L.M.S. missionaries established a press at Calcutta in 1819. G. Gogerly was in charge of this printing establishment. After about six years of service, the printing establishment was given up in 1825. The Calcutta B.M.S. missionaries purchased this press.¹⁴¹

The C.M.S. missionaries established their press in Calcutta in 1822. After long years of work this press was also closed in 1943.¹⁴² The S.P.G. established their printing press at the Bishop's College.¹⁴³

BIBLE TRANSLATION

The literary activities of the missionaries were directed principally in two directions. The first and foremost was the translation of the Bible. The second was the translation or preparation of small tracts.

Carey was the only missionary during the period under survey, to devote his main efforts to the translation of the Bible. He started to translate the New Testament in Bengali in 1794, and while in Madnabati wrote to Sutcliffe in 1796, "The translation of the New Testament is nearly finished, and once corrected".¹⁴⁴ The Bengali New Testament was printed at Serampore in 1801. Carey regarded the translation of the Bible as his life's work. The Serampore missionaries sent to their Society in 1804, a plan to translate the Bible into at least seven languages. Carey's position at the Fort William College made it possible for him to get the necessary assistance from men learned in different languages.

During this time, "The British and Foreign Bible Society" sent a letter to Udny suggesting to him five names including

¹⁴⁰Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 167.

¹⁴¹L.M.S. MSS. Gogerly to the Secretary. May 29, 1827, Box. 2, Fol. 3, Jack. B. "A list of books printed at the Mission Press".

¹⁴²Long. *Handbook of Bengal Mission* p. 117.

¹⁴³Pascoe. *Two hundred years of the S.P.G.* p. 805-6.

¹⁴⁴B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Sutcliffe. Nov. 11, 1796.

Carey, Marshman and Ward, to form a Corresponding Committee of that Society in Calcutta. Carey, Marshman and Ward gladly approved the plan. Marshman drew up a plan showing "the practicability of translating and publishing the Bible here for a comparatively small sum".¹⁴⁵ This led to the formation of a Corresponding Committee in Calcutta, with Udney, Brown, Buchanan, Carey, Marshman and Ward as members. The Serampore missionaries received financial help for their translation of the Bible from the British and Foreign Bible Society until 1827.

The number of languages into which Carey and his colleagues tried to translate the Bible or parts of it, went on increasing. In 1813, Carey wrote "The Bible is translated or under translation in twenty-four languages of the East".¹⁴⁶ During the whole period under present survey, Serampore missionaries tried to translate the Bible into forty languages. Of these, Carey personally undertook to translate the whole Bible into Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Sanskrit and numerous portions of the Bible into all other principal Indian languages and dialects. Marshman devoted his efforts entirely to the translation of the Bible into Chinese. Thus almost all the important languages and dialects of India, in "addition Maldivese, Javan, Burmese, Malayan and Chinese"¹⁴⁷ were included in the list of the Serampore translations.

Adam in his correspondence with H. Ware, described how these translations were done at Serampore. According to Adam, the Serampore missionaries employed learned men to translate the Bible into different languages. Carey's Bengali version was the standard work from which it was translated into other Indian languages. This was done by a man who knew both these languages. Adam continued, "The next Pundit employed, does not perhaps understand Bengalee, but understands that version which was made from the Bengalee and consequently has it put into his hands as a standard".¹⁴⁸ Adam acknowledged that "The only redeeming circumstance is this, that all the

¹⁴⁵*Ibid* Carey to Fuller, Dec. 10, 1805.

¹⁴⁶B.M.S. (typed) Carey to Ryland, April 14, 1813.

¹⁴⁷Richter, *A History of Indian Mission* p. 139.

¹⁴⁸Adam *Replies to H. Ware's queries etc.* p. 6.

versions without exception receive the final corrections of Dr Carey".¹⁴⁹ But in Adam's opinion, "had the same exertion been made within a more limited range, the result, if less splendid, would have been more satisfactory and useful".¹⁵⁰ An article in "The Christian Remembrances" signed by "A Constant Reader" was published in England in 1820. The writer attacked the Serampore translations severely. He said that the Serampore translations were done in three, four, or more languages at a time. All persons engaged to translate the Bible in different languages, according to his description, gathered round. One read the Bible in English, another translated it word for word in Hindi, another translated it from Hindi to his own language, thus "one mouth....serves to produce as many copies of the Gospel....as there are persons of different dialects".¹⁵¹ Ram Mohun Roy also criticised the missionary translations saying "They were, too hasty to engage themselves in so difficult an undertaking".¹⁵²

In a letter to Sutcliffe, Carey wrote, "We do employ natives (for our translations)....but we never give up our judgement in any language, nor ever intend to do so. In this way we mean to go as long as we can".¹⁵³

J. C. Marshman criticised Carey's first translation of the New Testament in Bengali as "barely intelligible" as it was made in the jungles of Mudnabatty (Madnabati)". In his opinion Carey, due to his association with the Fort William College "was enabled to discover the genius of oriental philology and the true principles of translation".¹⁵⁴ Carey, with tireless industry and perseverance toiled at the correction and improvement of his translations up to his death. He finished the eighth edition of the Bengali New Testament in 1832, which incidentally was his last. Carey was very delighted and wrote "I have done

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰*Ibid* p. 5.

¹⁵¹B.M.S. A.R. 1820. Appendix No. 1. Ward to a friend. May 10, 1820.

¹⁵²Roy, Ram Mohun. *The English works* vol. 1, p. 261. "Replies to H. Ware's etc."

¹⁵³B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Sutcliffe. May 4, 1808.

¹⁵⁴Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 180.

all in my power to make the edition correct and the language easy".¹⁵⁵

In spite of these efforts, the Serampore translations were found to be inaccurate "in language and imperfect in idiom, and some indeed were so faulty that they had to be replaced by completely new versions".¹⁵⁶ All Serampore versions were thus superseded in the future. This totally rejects Marshman's claim that Carey discovered "the genius of oriental philology" in his Bible translations.

TRACTS

The Gospels were large in volume and so "too expensive to give".¹⁵⁷ The missionaries therefore distributed small religious tracts.

The Missionary Societies in Bengal up to 1823, received tracts from England and also printed them in Bengal separately. In 1823 the missionaries of the B.M.S., L.M.S. and C.M.S. and some lay members met and formed "A Religious Tract Society" in Calcutta, as a branch of the London Religious Tract Society. The name was changed to "The Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society" in 1827.¹⁵⁸ The Serampore missionaries never associated themselves with the operation of this Society, but started to work as a Corresponding Committee of the London Religious Tract Society from 1827.¹⁵⁹ The London Religious Tract Society helped the Bengal missionaries by giving paper, money and English tracts.

The tracts varied in size from four pages to sixteen or more. There were mainly three types of tract, written generally in prose, but sometimes in verse also. First were the tracts containing polemic writings against the Indian religions, against caste system or other social customs.¹⁶⁰ They also contained portions of Christian truth and evangelical conception of life.

¹⁵⁵B.M.S. MSS. (photostat copy) Carey to Rev. Anderson. June 11, 1832.

¹⁵⁶Richter. *A History of Missions in India* p. 139-40.

¹⁵⁷L.M.S. MSS. Replies to Directors' questions. Oct. 6, 1823. Box. 1, Fol. 1, Jack. E.

¹⁵⁸Murdoch J. *The catalogue of the Christian vernacular literature of India* p. 10-11.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid* p. 5.

¹⁶⁰R.T.S. *Annual Report* 1828.

These tracts generally laid emphasis on the power of Christianity to save sinners. The second category consisted of elementary tracts which contained some distinctive features of the Christian religion. The third category included the devotional tracts for the spiritual nourishment of the local Christian community, such as hymn books, liturgies, books on homilies and commentaries on different Scriptures.¹⁶¹

The Bengali tracts may be classified in two groups, one consisting of translations from English tracts, another consisting of tracts written in vernacular language either by missionaries, converts, or friends of the missionaries. The tracts written by missionaries of one Society could be published and circulated by another Society.¹⁶² The tracts in most cases were published without any date, and without mentioning the name of the author. Some Bengali tracts went through numerous editions which makes it difficult to ascertain the date, if any, of their first publication. Among Bengali prose tracts, generally the dialogue form was preferred. The question and answer or dialogue form made some of the tracts easy to be used as text-books in missionary schools.¹⁶³

The main theme in these tracts was to show Christianity as the only true religion. The missionaries laid the theme before the people in two ways. In some tracts they made a comparative study of Christianity and other Indian religions, then attacked and pointed out the "bad" qualities of Indian religions, and finally came to the conclusion that Christianity was the only "pure" religion. In other tracts, the missionaries, assuming that Christianity required no defence, simply put forward some special features of Christianity for the people.¹⁶⁴ In all cases the final appeal to the people was a call to embrace Christianity. In Bengali tracts, the missionaries mainly concentrated on attacking Hinduism. There were very few tracts which attacked Islam.

The first Bengali tract was "The Gospel Messenger" written by Ram Ram Basu in verse, at Carey's request and printed at

¹⁶¹Richter, *A History of Missions in India* p. 286-7.

¹⁶²*Appendix B.*

¹⁶³*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 132.

the Serampore Press in 1800. This was intended "to introduce the doctrines of the Gospel to his fellow country men".¹⁶⁵ Ram Ram Basu, who incidentally was not a convert to Christianity wrote another tract also in verse called "*Inanodaya*" in 1801. In English it is called "*The Rise of Wisdom*" or "*The Rise of Intelligence*". Ram Ram Basu, in this tract attacked the Brahmans vehemently and described them "as deceivers, malicious, artful, pernicious and profligate".¹⁶⁶ Carey acknowledged that it was "no doubt a weak piece, and full of abuse".¹⁶⁷ In a small tract intended for the school children, the Serampore missionaries, attacked the Prophet Muhammad and his religion. They wrote that Muhammad "is a master of falsehood, who said . . . that heaven is like a prostitute's home, and commanded it to be a sacred act to kill those who refuse to become Muslims".¹⁶⁸ In the same tract, there were similar remarks made to prove that Hindu Gods and Goddesses were false. It concluded with the assertion that salvation from sin was possible only through Christ. Marshman wrote a tract in Bengali verse called in English "*The Difference*" in which he compared Krishna with Christ. His intention was to show that Krishna was the "instigator of war" who had no "compassion, mercy" and power to save".¹⁶⁹ Marshman showed that Christ had all these virtues which Krishna lacked, and therefore Christ was superior to Krishna. In the end, Marshman appealed to the Hindus to leave Krishna and follow Christ for their salvation. Most of the other Serampore tracts gave simple facts about Christianity.

The L.M.S. missionaries wrote some Bengali tracts, in dialogue form, which were published again and again. These tracts were printed at first by the L.M.S. Press, and then frequently published by the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society. "*A Dialogue between a Padre and a Brahman*" was first published in 1818. In this tract Christ was compared to a tree and his disciples to the branches.¹⁷⁰ "*A Dialogue between a Durwan and a Mali*" written by Keith, was first published in

¹⁶⁵Appendix B.

¹⁶⁶H.M.S. vol. 690, p. 163-203. Appendix C.

¹⁶⁷B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Fuller. March 8, 1809.

¹⁶⁸*Sishu Ganer Pustak* Ben. text. 1801. "Children's Book".

¹⁶⁹"*The Vedaved*" Ben. text. 1807 "The Difference".

¹⁷⁰"*A Dialogue between a Padre and a Brahman*". Ben. text.

1818. In this, purification of the heart from sin was compared to rooting weeds out of a garden.¹⁷¹ "*A Dialogue between a Pundit and a Sarkar*" was written without date by Townly. The principal topic in this tract was salvation through the atonement of Christ.¹⁷² "*What Shastra should be obeyed*" also written by Townly was first published in 1818. Here nine arguments were advanced in favour of the Bible.¹⁷³ "*A Dialogue between Ramhari and a Sadhu*" by Keith was first published in 1818. In this tract the change brought by Christianity in a Hindu convert was pointed out.¹⁷⁴

One of the repeatedly published C.M.S. tracts "*A Dialogue between a Mother and a Daughter*" on salvation by Christ, was mainly used in the missionary girls' schools.

These were some of the most important Bengali tracts.¹⁷⁵ The tracts were generally distributed after the preaching. The arguments in favour of Christianity which the missionaries put forward in their preaching, were also advanced in these tracts. There was therefore a repetition of the main arguments.

The missionaries distributed these tracts freely to the people. Everywhere the missionaries noticed a huge demand for the tracts. The missionaries believed that the novelty of seeing something printed attracted the people. It is rather difficult to ascertain how many who took the tracts could read. The missionaries as late as 1823, expressed their fear that the tracts were not read "Very extensively".¹⁷⁶ The eagerness shown by the people to take the tracts was not followed by the same eagerness to read them. The missionaries noticed it and thought that "in many cases they have been sought from improper motives".¹⁷⁷

Adam severely criticised the contents of the Bengali tracts, which he characterised as "either mystical or puerile or both....

¹⁷¹*A Dialogue between a Durwan and a Mah.* Ben. text.

¹⁷²*A Dialogue between a Pundit and a Sarkar.* Ben. text.

¹⁷³*What Shastra should be obeyed.* Ben. text.

¹⁷⁴*A Dialogue between Ramhari and a Sadhu.* Ben. text. Ramhari was the first convert of the L.M.S. He afterwards joined the B.M.S. These tracts published by C.C.T. & B.S. bear no date of publication.

¹⁷⁵Appendix B.

¹⁷⁶L.M.S. MSS. Replies to the Directors. Oct. 6, 1823. Box. 1, Fol. 1, Jack. E.

¹⁷⁷L.M.S. Reports vol. IV, p. 68. 1824-1828.

scarcely fit to be put into the hands of a native of understanding and reflection".¹⁷⁸ Adam also said that the missionaries always drew their conclusions without any convincing argument or proof, "as if it necessarily followed that Christianity is true because Hinduism is false".¹⁷⁹ The arguments put forward by the missionaries in favour of Christianity, in most cases had no appeal to the common people who lived in a different world of ideas and dogmas of their own religion.

It is very difficult to accept Ingham's view, in so far as Bengali is concerned, that the missionary translations of the Bible and writings of the tracts contributed in any way "to the establishment of structural unity among the vernacular and to their uniform development".¹⁸⁰ Some contemporary Bengalees criticised the missionaries for their defective style in Bengali translations. Kashi Prasad Ghosh, a student of Hindu College and a well-known writer, in an article in *The Calcutta Literary Gazette* in 1830, wrote that the Serampore missionaries translated the Scriptures in Bengali simply following the English way of writing. This style, which is quite different from the natural way of Bengali writing, makes it difficult for the Bengalee people to understand them. He added that because of so many faults the people of Bengal contemptuously call it "Serampore Bengali", indicating its unnatural style.¹⁸¹ Dr. S. K. De, in his history of Bengali literature comments, "The missionary writings in Bengali have a sort of traditional repute for crabbed syntax and false juxtaposition of words; here surely the tradition for once is not misleading".¹⁸² These "Bible translation and tracts on Christianity" Dr. De rightly concludes had little "claim to importance"¹⁸³ as contributions to Bengali literature. This unnatural style of the Bengali writings of the missionaries is an object of popular ridicule in Bengal even today.

¹⁷⁸Adam. *Replies to H. Ware's queries etc.* p.9.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰Ingham *Reformers in India* p.97.

¹⁸¹*Samachar Darpan* Feb. 6, 1830. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 59-60.

¹⁸²De, S. K. *History of Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century* p. 104.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

THE MISSIONARIES AT WORK (*Continued*) EDUCATION : ITS OBJECT

The establishment of schools was recognised by the B.M.S. in their original constitution, "as one of the means to be adopted for the introduction of Christianity in India",¹ in addition to Preaching and Translations. The Evangelical missionaries believed that education could illuminate the individual mind, which in turn would arouse conviction in the truth of the Gospel. Thus it was hoped that education would lead to conversion to Christianity. To the missionaries, education was the most important factor in the whole process of conversion. The missionaries in Bengal, sincerely believed that as soon as the people would learn to read the Bible, they would be inevitably convinced of the superiority of the Christian religion over their own and embrace it. The B.M.S. Periodical Account quoted extracts from a memorandum drawn by Crighton,² in which he appealed to the missionaries to establish schools. He said that "Christian missionaries found them [schools] a principal means of success, whether for gaining or securing converts to their faith."³ May, the L.M.S. missionary considered schools as "mighty engine for spreading moral and spiritual instruction".⁴ The L.M.S. missionaries in Bengal also believed that "the influence of the schools will hasten the fall of Hindooism".⁵ The Serampore missionaries believed that the introduction of the Bible as a class book would overturn the "system of idolatry".⁶ G. Pearce, the B.M.S. missionary expressed his firm conviction "that schools are instrumental for the conversion, . . . few I think will doubt".⁷

¹Marshman. *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 81-82 also B.M.S. *P.A.* Preface.

²Crighton, a European indigo-factor stationed near Malda. He established some schools in his locality where he employed Indian teachers. He also translated some portions of the Scripture into Bengali.

³B.M.S. *P.A.* vol. III, p. 447.

⁴L.M.S. *Transactions* vol. IV, p. 337. May to the Director. Oct. 25. 1816.

⁵*Ibid Reports* vol. III, p. 55.

⁶B.M.S. *A.R.* p. 32, 1819.

⁷*Ibid MSS.* Pearce to Dyer. Aug. 31, 1831.

Jetter, the C.M.S. missionary wrote to the Secretary of their Society that "I scarcely know any means more effectual for making known the saving truth to the Hindoos than schools".⁸ The S.P.G. made a grant to Bishop Middleton to use it for "most prudent" and "practical methods" of promoting Christianity in India. Middleton in a letter suggested for the establishment of a college near Calcutta, as he believed that "one great instrument of success of Christianity will be the diffusion of European knowledge".⁹ The S.P.C.K. in an appeal to the English public declared that "The immense importance of establishing schools for the diffusion...of Christian knowledge...in India, must be admitted by all who have seriously reflected upon the means of propagating the Gospel in the East".¹⁰ An article in *The Friend of India* urged the missionaries to multiply their schools for it believed "Schools will to a certainty destroy idolatry".¹¹ In order to introduce religious books immediately in their schools, some missionaries in Bengal formed a Society called "The Bengal Christian School Society"¹² in 1823. The missionaries expressed their firm conviction "that one of the most promising means by which idolatry can be attacked, is through the medium of schools".¹³ A. Duff believed that Christian education if managed prudently "must become a mighty engine" for the subversion of Hinduism and "one of the highways to general success of Christianity".¹⁴ Duff considered education as the only effective method for conversion.

In 1817, a group of individuals both European and Indian established "The Calcutta School Book Society". The object of the Society was to supply the indigenous schools freely or at a

⁸C.M.S. *Proceedings* vol. 9, p. 110-111.

⁹S.P.G. *Reports* p. 88, 1819. Middleton to the Secretary of the S.P.G. Nov. 16, 1818.

¹⁰Long. *Handbook of Bengal Mission* p. 23. Appeal by the S.P.C.K. for public support. 1822.

¹¹S.M. *P.A.* p. 47-48, 1827. From *The Friend of India*.

¹²The main inspiration came from the L.M.S. missionaries, the Calcutta B.M.S. missionaries also agreed to work with them.

¹³L.M.S. *Printed circular* by the Secretaries—Female Dept. of the Bengal Christian School Society. Oct. 1823. Box. 1, Fol. 4, Jack. E.

¹⁴E.C.S. MSS. Duff to Dr. Inglis. June 10, 1830. *East India Mission Letters*. vol. 1, (1829-1837).

cheap rate, printed class books.¹⁵ Within a few months another Society was formed in 1818 called "The Calcutta School Society". The object of this Society was to improve the existing indigenous schools and seminaries, by supplying mainly trained teachers, and to establish and support any further schools and seminaries if required".¹⁶ 'The Calcutta School Book Society' laid down a fundamental principle "That it form (sic) no part of the design of this Institution, to furnish religious Books".¹⁷ The missionaries of Bengal were so much convinced about the ultimate result of conversion through education, that they fully co-operated with these two Societies, in spite of the fact that these Societies were not going to introduce religious books in the schools. The L.M.S. declared that these Societies "are destined to prepare the natives of Hindoostan for the reception of the Gospel".¹⁸ But the friends of the missionary Societies questioned the propriety of assisting the "Societies" which decided neither to publish nor to introduce any religious books. The missionaries argued in favour of their case, in a long article "on the tendency of the Calcutta School Book Society, and similar Institutions, to promote the cause of Christianity in India", published in *The Asiatic Observer*¹⁹ in 1823. The article clearly put forward the missionary objective, in pursuing education in Bengal. The missionaries argued that "Before we can reasonably hope that the Hindoos will be converted unto Christ, it is necessary that they should be capable of understanding.... of what the Missionary preaches to them. It is also reasonable to suppose that, before the Hindoos will be 'delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus', those chains will be somewhat slackened by which Satan has bound them fast".²⁰ All these objects, the article argued were "most effectively promoted by the labours"²¹ of these Societies. The missionaries believed that diffusion of

¹⁵L.M.S. Report p. 35, 1819. Also Lushington, C. *The History, Design, and Present State of religious, benevolent and charitable institutions etc.*, p. 159.

¹⁶Lushington, *Ibid* p. 170.

¹⁷*Ibid* p. 157. 3rd Fundamental Principle of the Calcutta Book Society.

¹⁸L.M.S. Report p. 36, 1819.

¹⁹*The Asiatic Observer* vol. 1, p. 152-155. April, 1823.

²⁰*Ibid* p. 154.

²¹*Ibid*.

"sound notions on astronomy, geography, history, natural philosophy, psychology, morality, logic etc." without religious books even, "cannot but secretly and gradually yet effectively undermine the fabric of the present system of Hindoo idolatry".²² They concluded firmly that "The more therefore true Knowledge is diffused among the natives of India, . . . the more they will be necessarily prepared to forsake the false systems of religion to which they are respectively devoted, and to embrace that doctrine, which, as it is the only true one, is alone able to guide men to everlasting life".²³

The missionaries thus considered education to be the mightiest of all their methods for the gradual destruction of the local religions and for implanting Christianity in their place.

MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

The schools established by the missionaries in Bengal, may be classified under five heads. The first were the Boarding schools for European boys and girls. The objects for such schools were mainly two, the first was to acquire financial gains and the other was to train future missionaries. The B.M.S. missionaries established two Boarding schools at Serampore in 1800, one for European boys, another for European girls. These schools were believed to be "a nursery for the Church".²⁴

The second type of school was "designed for the education of the children of such who lose cast (sic) for the Gospel".²⁵

The third type were the Boarding schools for Indian Christian boys and girls. In order to avoid contamination their "association with the heathen boys is entirely disallowed".²⁶

The fourth type of school was established mainly for the 'Roman Catholic' boys and girls.²⁷ Although non-Christian students were admitted to these schools, their number was very insignificant. Thus the first four types of school were somewhat limited in their operation.

²²*Ibid* p. 155.

²³*Ibid*.

²⁴B.M.S. MSS. Carey, Marshman, Ward and others to the B.M.S. Committee. No date. Postmark. Jan. 1805.

²⁵*Ibid* (typed) Carey to Ryland. June 29, 1802.

²⁶*Ibid* Pearce to Dyer. Aug., 1831.

²⁷*Ibid* Marshman to Fuller. Aug. 31, 1811. About 'The Benevolent Institute' at Calcutta. Bound vol.

In order to fulfil their main object of gaining converts the missionaries therefore concentrated on establishing the fifth type of school, which was intended to cover local non-Christian boys and girls.

The missionaries at first started these schools in a sporadic way. Carey started a school at Madnabati in 1794, just after his arrival there, which he was obliged to close shortly. He decided to start another one in which he intended "to clothe and feed" the boys and "to educate them for seven years".²⁸ At Serampore, the missionaries started a Bengali school in 1800 which "contains between 50 to 60 scholars".²⁹

The missionaries in an attempt to expand their schools among the local people, wanted, as far as possible, to improve the indigenous system of education. May, who was first among the missionaries in Bengal, to put into effect his own plan of improvements said, "I have attempted improvements in almost every part of their own mode of teaching, as practised in their own schools".³⁰ He further explained "I have endeavoured to form a system, . . . combining the advantages of the new system of education, with that which is prevailing among the natives of Bengal".³¹ The main object of "The Calcutta Christian School Society" was to "graft" religious instruction in the "indigenous system".³²

The number of missionary schools and the strength of students in them was always fluctuating. The accounts of the various Societies contain the minutest information regarding their schools and students in different parts of Bengal.

Calculating from Adam's reports it appears that there were about 58 missionary schools of different types outside Calcutta and its neighbourhood with a total of more than 3000 boys in 1833. In addition, there were six schools at Chinsurah, one Boarding School at Serampore, and one circle of schools each at Culna and at Cutwa. Adam could not give any information on the number of boys in these schools. In Calcutta and its neigh-

²⁸*Ibid* Carey's Journal. Jan. 18, 1795.

²⁹*Ibid* Ward's Journal. July 20, 1800.

³⁰L.M.S. *Transactions* vol. IV, p. 219-20. May to the L.M.S. Committee.

³¹*Ibid*.

³²*Ibid* Report p. 61, 1824.

bourhood, there were about 45 missionary schools of different types, with about 3250 boys in 1833.

There were about 22 missionary girls' schools with 782 girls outside Calcutta in 1833. In addition there was one Boarding School at Serampore, for which Adam furnishes no specific number of girls.

In Calcutta there were 9 missionary girls' schools with 828 girls, in addition to one infant department of the "Free School" with 50 girls.

From Adam's Report it appears therefore that the missionaries in Bengal had under their management a total number of about 134 boys' and girls' schools of all types, with nearly 8000 boys and girls. It is very difficult to give any accurate statistical account of the missionary schools because of frequent fluctuations both in the number of schools and the pupils. On the basis of the Reports of Adam together with the various reports of the missionaries an attempt is made here to give a quantitative picture and the latest position of the missionary schools.⁸³

PLANS FOR INSTRUCTION

Most of the missionary schools were for elementary teaching, where the students were taught to read and write in their own language. In some cases the students were taught some accounts also. The missionaries always wanted the students to sing hymns and to "write out parts of the Scriptures for their exercises".⁸⁴ As the missionary Boarding Schools for European boys and girls were conducted on a competitive basis and for profit, a high standard of education, including teaching of Greek and Latin was maintained. The course of study in the schools for the children of converts, generally consisted of Bengali,

⁸³Adam, W. *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal*. ed. Basu, A. N.

The figures are collected mainly from Adam's First Report in 1835 p. 1-22, as compared with various missionary accounts;

(1) B.M.S. A.R.

(2) S.M. P.A.

(3) C.M.S. Reports.

(4) L.M.S. Reports p. 10-11, 1816. p. 30-31, 1833, p. 29-30, 1834.

(5) S.P.G. Report p. 15, 1824. p. 54, 1826. etc.

⁸⁴ B.M.S. P.A. vol. I, p. 374. Carey to P. June 1, 1797.

Persian and English languages, principles of Christianity, system of Christian doctrine, elementary astronomy, geography and history.³⁵ In the Christians Boarding schools for Indians, the missionaries imparted thorough religious teaching, in addition to Bengali and English languages. In the schools for Roman Catholics the missionaries drew up a plan in the first instance "to impart a knowledge of reading and writing and arithmetic for the pupil".³⁶ They decided not to enforce any particular creed on the students, but read and explain the Scriptures daily as a simple class book. In all these schools the missionaries were free to adopt the courses of study more or less according to their own liking.

But the missionaries found it difficult to introduce the Christian religious teaching immediately, in their schools for non-Christians. They had to follow a cautious policy. J. Marshman of Serampore, and R. May of Chinsurah devised extensive plans for imparting education among the non-Christian population. The missionaries tried to overcome the great problem of shortage of teachers in two ways. Firstly they universally adopted the "Bell and Lancastrian method"³⁷ of teaching, which Andrew Bell carried from Madras to England where it became very popular. 'The Madras system', in essence was "the mutual" or "monitorial" system of instruction, in which the elder boys of the class helped the teachers in educating the junior boys. Under this system it was thus possible to increase the number of schools with a limited supply of teachers. Secondly, the missionaries like other Europeans who conducted schools in Bengal, appointed non-Christian teachers under their supervision.

J. Marshman drew up a plan "for the extension of Lancastrian school among the heathen" at the close of 1813. J. C.

³⁵B.M.S. MSS. Ward to Morris. Feb. 1802.

³⁶Marshman. *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 424.

³⁷Bell, Andrew (1753-1837) was a Chaplain in Madras, who, after his return to England published a pamphlet in 1797 in which he introduced the "Madras System" of education in England. After six years Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) a Quaker, published a pamphlet in 1803, in which he attempted to make some improvements on Bell's plan. It was then called the "Bell and Lancastrian method of Education".

Marshman,³⁸ claimed that this plan of his father's was the "first organised plan for the establishment of schools, which had ever been devised in India".³⁹ Marshman proposed to start teaching with simple treatise on arithmetic, geography, history, and also some select passages from the sacred books of the people. He believed that people might object if the missionaries wanted to introduce the whole Scriptures into the schools. Marshman, therefore, proposed to introduce Christian religious education in instalments. He proposed first to prepare a volume of selections from "Divine oracles, or the Events of Scripture history". Another volume was intended to embrace the subject of Christian ethics, and it was to be written from dictation, and committed to memory. "The series was to close with a treatise on the Gospel dispensation, including an epitome of the prophecies relative to Christ, a narrative of his life and death, and a history of the propagation and progress of Christianity".⁴⁰ In 1816, Marshman published a pamphlet entitled "*Hints relative to Native Schools*" which was an improvement on his original plan of 1813. Marshman proposed here, at first, for a selection of words intended to promote a knowledge of orthography and of grammatical rules of Bengali language. He also proposed for a vocabulary of three or four thousand words in Bengali which were in general use, and a simple treatise on arithmetic. For the advanced students, Marshman proposed an outline of solar system, a view of geography and popular treatise on natural philosophy relative to light, air and similar things. That should be followed by a short history and chronology and lastly by a treatise on ethics and morality.⁴¹

Marshman, in the third section of his 'Hints' explained how he intended to communicate this knowledge in the schools. He proposed preparation of the "Tables of Instruction" on each subject according to Lancastrian plan which he believed would

³⁸Marshman, J. C. (1794-1877) son of J. Marshman. He also devoted himself to the work of the mission. He was a powerful writer, both in English and Bengali. He was editor of the Bengali journals *Samachar Darpan* and *Dig Dashan*. He was also editor of *The Friend of India* from 1835. He wrote many books both in English and Bengali. He returned to England in 1852.

³⁹Marshman, *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 82-3.

⁴⁰Marshman, *Hints relative to Native Schools*. p. 10-20.

⁴¹*Ibid* p. 86.

serve twofold purposes. One, it would save expenses and another, when hung before the students, it would enable many at a time to receive instruction. Marshman proposed to exhibit on the Tables, the alphabet and its various combinations, together with words of two, three, and four syllables, and also nouns, pronouns, verbs, and rules of arithmetic and other subjects. "These Tables printed in large type, and pasted on boards were to be suspended around the room and to be used for reading exercises".⁴² Marshman proposed that instruction to advanced students was to be dictated by the monitor from the text books which each boy would write in his copy book. At the end of the day, the monitor would revise the lessons and insert the errors at the foot of each copy book. Each student in turn then read aloud what he had written, sentence by sentence. The duties of the teacher would be to maintain discipline, to prescribe lessons, and to register the daily labours of each class, conducted by the monitors. Thus one teacher was considered by Marshman sufficient to manage eight or ten such schools. Marshman, however put emphasis on the fact, that these schools to be efficient must be inspected by a European. The chief duties of the European inspector, on his periodical visits, would be to compare the register of attendance with daily exhibition of work in the copy books, and examine each class and students. Marshman also calculated the expenses of a circle of fifty schools each with an average of seventy students, to be about £1000 a year.⁴³

The Serampore missionaries established an "Institute for the support and encouragement of Native Schools" in 1816. With the help of this "Institute", the Serampore missionaries put into effect Marshman's plans contained in his "Hints". The result was a mushroom growth of schools around Serampore.⁴⁴ Thus wrote J. C. Marshman that the "plan for the extension of education...introduced to public notice in the 'Hints' had succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations."⁴⁵ This experiment, however, was almost given up in 1824, as the Seram-

⁴²*Ibid* p. 21-22.

⁴³*Ibid* p. 23-32.

⁴⁴*The Second Report of the Institution etc.* p. 53-61 Appendix. About 92 schools. 1819.

⁴⁵Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 157.

pore missionaries decided to devote more attention to their College.⁴⁶

R. May devised a systematic plan which he applied to the schools under his supervision. May established a central school at Chinsurah, and all other schools he started along two sides of the river were regarded as branches of the Central School. May's plans were put into effect first in the Central School under his personal supervision. From the Central School it gradually spread to the branch schools. May decided to impart lessons with the help of painted boards and not by printed books as Marshman proposed. May believed that Board lessons were by far the best method in "cheapness", "durability", and "convenience".⁴⁷ He calculated to have about 140 Board lessons in use, consisting chiefly of arithmetic, letters, leases, bonds, invitations, names of men, towns, villages, birds, beasts, and some moral lessons.⁴⁸ May believed that one teacher was sufficient to teach 100 to 120 children under his plan. He calculated that on an average Rs. 12 was required per month to run a school, including teacher's salary, house rent, pens, ink, plaintain leaf, and fees for the monitors. "The strict and regular superintendence of these schools", May believed like Marshman, was essential "to the success and improvements of the plan".⁴⁹ May's plan when put into effect was successful in increasing the number of schools. The L.M.S. Report informed in 1816 that "Mr. May has been encouraged to establish....twenty schools"⁵⁰ which contained a total number of 1650 children. The number gradually increased to a maximum of 36 schools with a total of 3000 children in 1818 when May died. The number of schools decreased after May's death. The L.M.S. missionaries then adopted printed books, instead of painted boards, for imparting lessons. All other Missionary Societies in Bengal used printed books in their schools.

The C.M.S. missionaries in their Burdwan schools, introduced for advanced students a few preamples of the East India

⁴⁶*Ibid* p. 297-298.

⁴⁷L.M.S. *Transactions*. vol. IV, p. 220. May's correspondence. July 4, 1815.

⁴⁸*Ibid* p. 221.

⁴⁹*Ibid* p. 224.

⁵⁰*Ibid Report* p. 10-11, 1816.

Company's Regulations, as a course of study, besides outlines of Astronomy and the history of England.

PROBLEM OF ATTENDANCE

When the missionaries attempted to put their plans into practice, they faced one serious difficulty—the irregular attendance of the students. This was so common that the missionaries had to distinguish between the number of students on the Register and the number that regularly attended the schools. The average attendance always fell far below the number on the Register. The poverty of the parents, rain, flood, fever, cholera, religious and private festivals, were some of the causes of irregular attendance. Carey had to abandon his school at Madnabati because he said “poverty of the natives caused them frequently to take their children to work”,⁵¹ specially during planting and harvesting seasons. There was also a general tendency among the parents to take away their children from the school as soon as they learnt reading and writing and some accounts. “The perpetual recurrence of festivals, poojahs, marriages, dinner invitations, funeral rites etc.” wrote the C.M.S. missionaries, “are all hindrances in the way of their attending the schools, the consequence is, that in most cases they forget nearly all that they have learnt”.⁵² According to Duff, the general period of studies in a missionary school was “for greater part remaining only a few months, several a twelve month, the merest fraction a year and a half, scarcely any more than two years”.⁵³ Even in that short period students were not regular in their attendance.

The missionaries tried to overcome this serious problem in various ways. Firstly, they paid money for regular attendance. Carey wrote that he was “obliged to pay something to scholars to induce them to come”.⁵⁴ The missionaries gave always special prizes for regular attendance. Pascoe reported that “The discontinuance of the system of giving pice as rewards to the scholars almost emptied the central school in 1832”⁵⁵ at Howrah.

⁵¹B.M.S. MSS. Carey's Journal. Jan. 18, 1795.

⁵²C.M.S. *Proceedings* p. 78, 1825-6.

⁵³Duff, *India and Indian Missions* p. 512.

⁵⁴B.M.S. *P.A.* vol. 1, p. 224. Carey to Mr. P. Dec. 31, 1795.

⁵⁵Pascoe. *Two hundred years of the S.P.G.* p. 477.

Secondly, under May's plan the teachers were to be paid according to the number of students attending their classes. It led to some fraudulent practices, to minimise this, May put emphasis on surprise inspection. He drew up a plan for regular and uniform method of inspection which he kept concealed so that the teachers "may not be prepared for our visits".⁵⁶ By this means some abuses were reformed.

Thirdly, the C.M.S. missionaries employed physical means to enforce attendance. They employed a "Hirkara [Peon] whose duty...[was] to enforce attendance and to search for absentees".⁵⁷

Fourthly, the missionaries adopted a more subtle method to induce the students to come regularly and stay longer in their schools. They found in Bengal a general desire among the people to learn English. They wanted "to turn the almost universal desire of this people to acquire English to some profitable account"⁵⁸ and made provisions for teaching English for the advanced students of their elementary schools. May introduced English teaching at his central school at Chinsurah "as an encouragement and reward".⁵⁹ The C.M.S. missionaries also introduced English teaching at their Central school at Burdwan. In the same manner, the S.P.G. also established one Central school in which English was taught.

PROBLEMS OF GIRLS' SCHOOLS

The wives of the missionaries took a leading part in female education in Bengal. Mrs. Marshman took charge of the Serampore Boarding School for European girls in 1800. The attempts of the missionaries for the education of girls in the early part were very sporadic. It is difficult now to determine who took the initial step in that direction. According to Adam "The first attempt in Bengal, and I suppose in India, to instruct native girls in an organised school was made by Mr. May...in 1818".⁶⁰ It is not clear in what sense Adam has used the term "native girls". If he meant the local non-Christian girls only,

⁵⁶L.M.S. *Transactions* vol. IV, p. 224. May's correspondence July 4, 1815.

⁵⁷C.M.S. *Proceedings* p. 85. 1817-18.

⁵⁸B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Fuller. Nov. 23, 1800.

⁵⁹L.M.S. *Transactions* vol. IV, p. 229. May's correspondence.

⁶⁰Adam. *Reports etc.* p. 67.

then probably his statement is true. But if he meant local girls irrespective of Christian and non-Christian then his statement is untenable. J. Marshman in a letter to Fuller as early as 1811, informed him that his eldest daughter in conjunction with her mother had conceived a plan for "teaching a dozen poor Portuguese girls",⁶¹ and that plan was put into effect and a school started. In the year 1812, the B.M.S. reported that the door of their "Benevolent Institution at Calcutta, has been extended to girls".⁶² Even the L.M.S. reported in 1815 that their Chinsurah free school under May contained "seventeen girls".⁶³ The Christian School at Dacca also contained six girls in 1817. The extension of the girls section in these schools was intended to take in the local Roman Catholic girls.

The plan for a systematic female education originated with the B.M.S. missionaries who formed a Society in 1819, with the specific object of opening free schools in Calcutta and its suburbs. The name of the Society was "The Female Juvenile Society for the establishment and support of Bengalee Female Schools".⁶⁴ When "Bengal Christian School Society" was organised in 1823, this Society changed its name to "The Female Department of the Bengal Christian School Society".⁶⁵ In 1832 the Society again changed its name to "Calcutta Baptist Female Society for the establishment and support of Native Female Schools".⁶⁶

Miss M. A. Cooke was the first woman from England to arrive in Bengal as a teacher in 1821. The C.M.S. decided to bear her expenses, and she started work in Calcutta. She later married Issac Wilson, a C.M.S. missionary. Cooke was successful in establishing many girls' schools in Calcutta.⁶⁷ In 1824 "The Ladies Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its vicinity" was formed, which took over the management of these schools.⁶⁸ The wife of the Governor-General, Lady Amherst, consented to become the Patroness of the Society. In 1825, another Society, "The Ladies Association for native

⁶¹B.M.S. MSS. Marshman to Fuller. Aug. 31, 1811.

⁶²*Ibid* P.A. vol. V, p. 23.

⁶³L.M.S. Reports p. 15, 1815.

⁶⁴B.M.S. A.R. p. 52, 1821.

⁶⁵L.M.S. Printed circular Oct. 1823. Box. I, Fol. 4, Jack. E.

⁶⁶Adam. Reports etc. p. 46.

⁶⁷*Ibid* p. 47.

⁶⁸*Ibid* p. 48.

Female education" was formed. Its object was to establish girls' schools in those areas of the city which were not covered by the "Ladies Society".⁶⁹

The problems faced by the missionaries in their attempt to impart education among the girls, were enormous. The greatest difficulty was a long prevailing opposition of the people to allow their girls to come out of their homes for education. In 1822 Gaur Mohan Vidyalkar, a Sanskrit scholar, wrote a book entitled *Stri Siksha Vidhayak* (about Female education), in which he argued that the Hindus formerly imparted education to their girls. He also mentioned some females who were reputed to be learned at the time of his writing in India. After citing all these examples he concluded that there is nothing in Shastras which can justify opposition to female education.⁷⁰

The missionaries made full use of this book. The B.M.S. missionaries published the first edition in 1822, and distributed them freely. "The Calcutta School Book Society" published all the enlarged subsequent editions. However, the opposition to education of the girls in an open place, continued. When Miss Cooke came to Calcutta, it was decided that she would work for the Calcutta School Society. But this Society could not utilise her services, as their Indian members opposed the idea of public education of their girls. Radha Kanta Deb⁷¹, a prominent member advised that Cooke "should first go and visit the females.... in their own houses".⁷²

For the Christian girls, the courses of study were, history, geography, arithmetic, prayer, hymns, the tract called "*A Dialogue between Mother and Daughter*", spelling and reading books. The non-Christian girls were given a plain instruction in needlework and knitting in addition to reading and writing.⁷³

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰Gaur Mohan Vidyalkar. *Stri Siksha Vidhayak* 1822. Ben. text or The importance of Female education or Evidence in favour of the education of Hindoo females from the examples of illustrious women both ancient and modern Title page.

⁷¹Radha Kanta Deb (1784-1867). A great Sanskrit scholar. He was a Director of the Hindu College, and Secretary of the Calcutta School Society. He was the leader of the orthodox Hindus.

⁷²C M.S. MSS. Jetter's Journal. Nov. 24, 1822.

⁷³B M.S. MSS. Mrs. A. Carey (Secretary of the Christian schools) to Dyer. Jan. 1, 1825 also *Ibid A.R.* p. 3, 1829. *Appendix No. 1.*

The custom of very early marriage among the girls, made their period of study even shorter than that of the boys. Frequent occurrences of private and religious festivals made their attendance as irregular as the boys. The missionaries adopted similar methods to stop the irregularity. The Serampore missionaries paid the school masters "according to the number of children brought by them".⁷⁴ The Calcutta B.M.S. missionaries also regulated the wages of their Sircars [Peons] "on the number of children which they bring".⁷⁵ The missionaries also encouraged the girls to come regularly by giving them prizes in cash and kind.

The greatest difficulty which the missionaries faced was to procure qualified female teachers. To overcome that difficulty they in many cases allowed their male teachers extra allowance for teaching in girls' schools. The B.M.S. decided "to allow four annas per month to any schoolmaster for every girl he instructs".⁷⁶ When Miss Cooke and the wives of European missionaries started establishing girls' schools, they found it extremely difficult to get girl "monitors" in sufficient numbers. With a very limited number of qualified female teachers, the missionaries found it necessary to establish a few central girls' schools instead of establishing many schools in all areas. Even then they had to depend a great deal on male teachers for the instruction of the girls. But the centralization, everywhere led to a decrease in the number of girl students, as the guardians were not willing to allow their girls to travel openly outside their own locality. The Serampore missionaries reported in 1831 that "The chief cause of . . . reduction has been the refusal of the people . . . to allow their daughters to come to such a distance to school".⁷⁷

The missionaries used to take periodical public examinations. Boys and girls were generally examined orally. After examination, prizes were given to the students, monitors and teachers. The needlework of the girls was shown during examinations. On these occasions the girls were also given a new

⁷⁴*Fifth Report of the Serampore Native Female Schools* p. 60, 1830.

⁷⁵B.M.S. MSS. Pearce to Dyer. June 26, 1830.

⁷⁶B.M.S. A.R. p. 53, 1821. *Appendix III*.

⁷⁷S.M. P.A. p. 67, 1831 (supplement).

garment in addition to their cash prizes. The Serampore missionaries gave their girl students one new "sari" and four annas each in 1821.⁷⁸ This practice became almost universal.

THE EDUCATION POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

When missionaries were thus actively engaged in educational works the government was doing almost nothing in that direction. Education in India under the British Government, remarked Howell "was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous".⁷⁹ The surplus amount of Rs. 1,000,000 provided by the Charter Act of 1813, could not be put apart before 1823. In the meantime the Government on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Chinsurah granted in 1815 an aid of Rs. 600 monthly to May's schools.⁸⁰ The grant was increased to Rs. 800 afterwards. This was the first government grant-in-aid in Bengal. The Government established a new department called "The General Committee of Public Instruction" in 1823, which took charge of the Chinsurah schools directly from the L.M.S. missionaries in 1824. The Government ran those schools as an experiment which was abandoned wholly in 1829 as "some of the members of the Committee in 1827 expressed doubts as to the utility and expedience of maintaining them".⁸¹ The Government granted Rs. 1300 as a donation to the "Benevolent Institution" in 1826. In 1827 the Government made a permanent grant of Rs. 200 a month to the "Institution".⁸² But because of the controversy between the "Anglicist" and "Orientalist", and also because of inadequate resources, no large scale extension of Government's educational policy was either possible or anticipated. Thus the Government policy during the whole period was characterised by utter indecision.

At a time when the Government could not formulate any policy for mass education, and when the indigenous system

⁷⁸*Samachar Darpan* April 10, 1821. Ben. text. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 16.

⁷⁹Howell, A. *Education in British India* p. 11.

⁸⁰L.M.S. MSS. May to the Society. Aug. 31, 1815. Box. 1, Fol. 1, Jack. C.

⁸¹Adam. *Reports etc.* p. 60.

⁸²*Ibid* p. 44.

lacked efficiency and organic unity, the missionaries became the pioneers in providing education to the general masses, both Christian and non-Christian. The Bell and Lancastrian method of education suited the special needs and circumstances of the time. The missionaries could bring, at a small cost, thousands of children into admirable discipline, and give them the rudiments of education, and inculcate among some the desire to learn more.

But from the strict educational point of view, the missionary elementary education was not very significant. There were inherent limitations in the Bell and Lancastrian system of education. "It was merely a system of drill and mechanism by which large bodies of children could be made orderly and obedient, and by which the scholars who knew a little were made to help those who knew less".⁸³ The system was officially condemned in England in 1839, as a vicious system leading to disastrous results.

However defective the system, the missionaries made a great contribution in the field of education. They were successful in their educational efforts to arouse public interest in the subject of mass education in Bengal.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The idea of higher Christian education was put into practice first by the Serampore missionaries. After several years of contemplation, the Serampore missionaries issued a prospectus for a "*College for the Instruction of Asiatic Christian and other Youth in Eastern Literature and European Science*" in 1818. The main object put forward in the prospectus was to train adequately the Indian Christians in the Sacred Scriptures and other dogmas which formed the soul of Hinduism and Buddhism, so that they could effectively combat those principles.⁸⁴ The Serampore College was established in 1819, on the principle that "If ever the Gospel stands in India, it must be by native being opposed to native in demonstrating its excellence above all other systems".⁸⁵ The Serampore missionaries laid emphasis on the

⁸³*Dictionary of National Biography*. vol. 32, p. 42. Lancaster, J.

⁸⁴*Prospectus of the "College" etc.* p. 1-6.

⁸⁵*Ibid* p. 5-6.

teaching of oriental languages, specially Sanskrit on two grounds. Firstly, they believed that a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit would give the Indian Christians a respected position among their countrymen. Secondly, it would enable them to learn languages which were derived from Sanskrit. The Serampore missionaries were out and out orientalists and advocated that the students be instructed in their mother tongue. They expressed their firm conviction that it would be "vain to attempt enlightening a country through the medium of any language beside its own".⁸⁶ Provisions, however, were made for "a select number" of their students "to acquire a complete knowledge of the English language".⁸⁷ Although the Serampore College intended to give the benefit of its literary and scientific instruction to non-Christians also⁸⁸ the emphasis always was on Christian education. In 1834, according to Adam "there were 10 European and East European students, 48 native Christian students, and 34 native students not Christian".⁸⁹ The European students were taught Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Bengali and Mathematics. They also attended lectures on Philosophy, Chemistry, and ancient and Ecclesiastical History. The Indian students both Christian and non-Christian were taught Sanskrit, Bengali, English and other useful knowledge, such as religious truth, moral obligation, astronomy, general history and various other branches of European sciences.⁹⁰

The second missionary College was the Bishops College, founded by Bishop Middleton in 1820. The College was established at Shibpore, about three miles away from Calcutta. The declared objects of the College were, "(1) of instructing native and other Christian youth in the doctrine and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists and schoolmasters.

(2) For teaching the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mussulmans or Hindoos, having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage.

⁸⁶*Ibid* p. 8.

⁸⁷*Ibid*.

⁸⁸*Ibid* p. 9-10.

⁸⁹*Adam. Reports etc.* p. 64.

⁹⁰*Ibid* p. 64-65.

(3) For translating the Scriptures, the liturgy, and moral and religious tracts.

(4) For the reception of English missionaries to be sent out by the Society, on their first arrival in India."⁹¹ The second object in the Bishop's letter remained inoperative up to 1833, as no steps were taken to admit non-Christian students in the College.⁹² The courses of study were theology, Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, History both ancient and modern, ecclesiastical and civil, the elements of Philosophy and Mathematics. For Indian students, the courses were different oriental languages, together with the English language.⁹³

Duff, after his arrival in Bengal made a thorough examination of the prevailing missionary education and decided to make a new experiment. Duff's whole idea, as to the methods which should be adopted in Bengal for converting the people to Christianity differed from that of other missionaries. He believed that to qualify "Indian agents" should be the primary object of the missionaries in Bengal.⁹⁴ This could be achieved only by educating the Indians. Hence Duff laid sole emphasis on education whereas other missionaries carried their work through preaching and translation as well.

Duff's intention was to start a Central Institution for higher education. But after surveying the existing condition of missionary education he decided to revise his decision. The reason for changing his decision "was obvious". He found that the missionary efforts were mainly confined to "elementary Bengali schools, where the highest attainment ever reached... was confined to a moderate proficiency in reading and writing the native language, and a little smattering of arithmetic".⁹⁵ "From such schools" Duff explained, "no adequate supply or no supply at all could be obtained or even expected, towards the replenishing and perpetuating of a higher central Institute".⁹⁶ The students of these missionary schools were "willing" but not "qualified" to

⁹¹S.P.G. *Reports* p. 86, 1819. Middleton to the Society. Nov. 16, 1818.

⁹²Adam. *Reports* etc. p. 25.

⁹³*Ibid* p. 24.

⁹⁴Duff. *India and Indian Missions* p. 392.

⁹⁵*Ibid* p. 507.

⁹⁶*Ibid*.

enter into a higher collegiate institute. As a consequence Duff decided to open immediately a preparatory English Seminary, and make an experiment to train a select number of students for higher education. He wrote to Dr. Inglis, that in regard to Education, elementary English Schools are best adapted to the present circumstances".⁹⁷

Duff started his Seminary in 1830 at Calcutta, because he believed that for an immediate "success" Calcutta was the most suitable place in Bengal, with its dense population. The Serampore College was too far away to create any impression on the minds of the Calcutta people, and the Bishop's College was ineffective as it did not admit non-Christian students. The object of Duff's plan was to make Christianity a self-developing power. This he hoped to achieve by educating and converting the members of the higher classes who in turn would convert their fellow countrymen.

Duff's approach to education differed from earlier missionaries' on two points mainly. Firstly in his method of teaching, which was called "interrogative system",⁹⁸ an improved version of the monitorial system. This system was based on the method of instruction through questions and familiar examples. Particular care was also taken not only to give the meaning in which a word is used, but to trace its origin and mention as many of its compounds as possible. Secondly, in his introduction of English as a medium of instruction, Duff considered English to be "the most effective medium of Indian illumination".⁹⁹

[The courses of study were English grammar, reading and arithmetic, geography, political and physical, elementary mathematics including algebra, translation and composition in English and Bengali, a brief survey of history ancient and modern, the Bible, and a comprehensive outline of the evidences and leading doctrines of Christianity.¹⁰⁰ After twelve months "the English

⁹⁷E.C.S. MSS. Duff to Inglis. Aug. 23, 1830. East Indian Mission Letters vol. 1 (1829-1837).

⁹⁸David Stow (1793-1844) introduced this system in his Model School at Glasgow in 1828. It was also called "intellectual system".

⁹⁹Duff, *India and Indian Missions*. p. 518.

¹⁰⁰Adam *Reports etc.* p. 31-32.

classes passed on to Collegiate studies in Sacred and secular truths".¹⁰¹ Adam describes Duff's Institute as "the most prominent and popular"¹⁰² English Institute in Calcutta.

PUBLIC REACTION

The people generally were not opposed to missionary education, though they were always apprehensive about the real object of the missionaries. They were afraid that their children if permitted to attend the missionary schools would be persuaded or even forced to become Christians. Therefore, whenever there was conversion of any Indian to Christianity, there was alarm followed by a wholesale withdrawal of the students from the missionary schools. The conversion of the first Indian by the Serampore missionaries resulted in the withdrawal of all students from their Bengali School.¹⁰³ Marshman commented on the incident that the same result "has followed at subsequent periods".¹⁰⁴

The people, for the same reason, also opposed the introduction of Christian religious books in missionary schools. In 1828 the B.M.S. reported "Great opposition was made at first to the introduction of the Holy Scriptures, and for several days nearly all the pupils absented themselves on this account".¹⁰⁵ Similarly Duff found his institute "all but deserted"¹⁰⁶ in 1831.

The opposition to missionary schools sometimes came from local teachers who feared unemployment. One of May's village schools was broken up violently in 1816.¹⁰⁷ According to Adam this was the only instance of its kind in Bengal and "it was done by the zaminder at the instigation of the old teacher".¹⁰⁸ Further, the people in general were opposed to female education in open missionary schools.

The missionaries tried to face the people's objections in various ways. They first of all tried to pacify the school

¹⁰¹Smith, G. *The life of A. Duff* vol. 1, p. 130.

¹⁰²Adam *Reports etc.* p. 31.

¹⁰³B.M.S. MSS. Ward's journal. Dec. 29, 1800.

¹⁰⁴Marshman, *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 140.

¹⁰⁵B.M.S. A.R. p. 15, 1828.

¹⁰⁶Duff *India and Indian Missions.* p. 576.

¹⁰⁷L.M.S. *Transactions* vol. IV, p. 393. May's correspondence. Dec. 31, 1816.

¹⁰⁸Adam, *Reports etc.* p. 60.

teachers by absorbing some of them in their schools. It served a double purpose. It not only pacified the teachers, but also made the people less afraid of sending their children to the care of an Indian teacher. For the introduction of Christian literature in the schools the missionaries were obliged to follow an indirect and slow method. The missionaries clearly stated, "The servants of Christ who would raise up a Church among the idolatrous people, must never lose sight of their Master's injunction, to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. Sound policy requires us to proceed with caution, and to assail, with a delicate and tender hand, deeply rooted prejudices. Our great object being to convince those who are in error, and to turn them by the persuasive power of truth from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, it is folly to excite disgust, by an open and direct attack upon hereditary superstitions".¹⁰⁹ Principal Mill expressed the same belief when he wrote "that the Scriptures and other Christian books, even in places the most contradictory to the whole system of idolatry, may be read in Heathen schools, where Brahmin Pandits are the hearers and teachers, without exciting any alarm or offence whatsoever".¹¹⁰

The missionaries therefore found it necessary to conceal their real motives in order to dispel the fear from the people's mind. When May first opened his school at Chinsurah, he composed a letter "stating that my design was to teach them to read, write, and cypher on a more easy plan than their own, that they might be qualified to gain a subsistence for themselves, and assist their parents also when unable to work. I invited them to come and see the school, and told them they might send their children without fear".¹¹¹

The missionaries were convinced that the important facts and truths of Christianity, even if without any other efforts, were "written from dictation by the students and read over three or four times, could not fail to remain deeply impressed on the

¹⁰⁹C.M.S. *Proceedings* p. 124, 1818-1819.

¹¹⁰S.P.G. *Reports* p. 151, 1821. Principal Mill to the Secretary April 14. 1821.

¹¹¹L.M.S. *Transactions* vol. IV, p. 223. May's correspondence. July 4, 1815.

memory".¹¹² This conviction led the missionaries to introduce Christian religious Books as a simple class book. It was read and dictated to the students as any other class book, without any explanation and sometimes without mentioning the name of Christ...Owen Leonard, a B.M.S. missionary wrote from Dacca in 1816 "we are obliged to be silent respecting the sweet name of Jesus, otherwise no schools can be carried on. I find the word [Jesus] born in my heart, and drop under a sense of the very worst kind of hypocrisy".¹¹³

The people, although opposed to direct religious teaching in missionary schools, were rather enthusiastic in their support for missionary education in general. When the Serampore missionaries established their "Institute" for the "support and encouragement of Indian schools, the people welcomed their efforts. "Nineteen schools had been established within the circle of a few miles, and all at the request of the people themselves. In some instances, men of influence had offered their own house, and in other cases family temple, for a school-room".¹¹⁴ The Serampore missionaries expressed their astonishment at "the earnestness with which they have sought these schools".¹¹⁵ May also received similar responses from the people. He wrote in 1816 "Scarcely a month passes but I receive three or four petitions [for new schools]".¹¹⁶ The people in distant places also responded equally to the missionary efforts in education. Near Goamalty, Mardon, a B.M.S. missionary opened a village school "at the unanimous request of all the inhabitants".¹¹⁷ The people of Cutwa, reported W. Carey (J), "seem particularly desirous of a school".¹¹⁸ From Dacca, Leonard reported "the natives received our proposals with warmth".¹¹⁹ The C.M.S. missionaries started a school at their Kidderpore station, "on the ground made over to the Committee" by a wealthy Hindu gentleman. The missionaries changed it into "an English school" at

¹¹²Marshman. *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 125.

¹¹³B.M.S. MSS. Leonard to Pastor. Nov. 23, 1816.

¹¹⁴Marshman. *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 127.

¹¹⁵B.M.S. P.A. vol. VI, p. 332.

¹¹⁶L.M.S. *Transactions* vol. IV, p. 395. May's correspondence. May 31, 1816.

¹¹⁷B.M.S. P.A. vol. IV, p. 247.

¹¹⁸*Ibid* p. 103.

¹¹⁹*Ibid* MSS. Leonard to Pastor. Nov. 3, 1816.

the request of that gentleman.¹²⁰ This gentleman also informed the missionaries that he would bear all the expenses of the school. Similarly the L.M.S. missionaries started a school near Burdwan "the expense of which was defrayed by H.H. the Rajah of Burdwan".¹²¹ A. Duff was given overall charge to establish and run a school at Taki about 40 miles away from Calcutta, by the local Zaminders. Duff established the school in 1832, which within three days enrolled 340 boys.¹²²

The people, although strongly opposed to the education of girls in public institutions, were not averse to the idea of their being taught privately. This is evident from a letter published in *Missionary Register*. The letter says "some of those very native Gentlemen who declined, . . . taking part publicly (sic) in Native Female Education, privately assist us in procuring ground for erecting schools".¹²³ Raja Baidyanath Roy,¹²⁴ donated openly Rs. 20,000 for the proposed Central School of Miss Cooke (later Mrs. Wilson), for which he was highly praised.¹²⁵ The B.M.S. states in 1829, "that several of the most respectable of the Hindoo community are at this period having their daughters instructed in their own houses".¹²⁶

The demand for English education was so great among the people that sometimes they were obliged to accept conditions laid down by the missionaries. J. Harle, a B.M.S. missionary, while on tour, received an application from the people of a village requesting him to set up a school in that locality. He mentioned that "if we opened a school the Bible would be one of the School Books". The people replied "It is a matter of indifference to us what books you introduce, . . . that our boys are taught to read and write. . . and understand accounts, this is what we want".¹²⁷

¹²⁰C.M.S. *Proceedings* p. 13, 1819-20.

¹²¹L.M.S. *Reports* vol. III, p. 61-62.

¹²²*Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. June 30, 1832. *S.P.S.K.* vol. II, p. 63.

¹²³*The Missionary Register* p. 194-5, 1823. Corrie to the Secretary of British Foreign School Society.

¹²⁴Ingham made a mistake when he states the name as "Babu Rabinath Roy" in his *The Reformers in India* p. 93.

¹²⁵*Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. Dec. 31, 1825. Jan. 7, 1826. *S.P.S.K.* vol. I, p. 17.

¹²⁶B.M.S. *A.R. Appendix No. 1* 1829.

¹²⁷B.M.S. MSS. Harle. Letters and journals. Nov. 16, 1821.

There were no class or caste restrictions in the missionary schools. But the students of Carey's school were mostly "of the lowest cast (sic)".¹²⁸ In reply to a question about class and caste of the school children, Pearson the L.M.S. missionary replied in 1823 "a few of all castes including Brahmans, but principally Soodras".¹²⁹ In 1832, a letter was published in a Bengali newspaper. The writer who claimed to be an inhabitant of Chinsurah, wrote about the missionary schools there. He said that May used to give cash prizes to the boys who attended his schools. The boys of Hindu and Muslim cultivators attended May's schools as long as they were paid. The writer never heard or believed that boys from any respectable family ever attended May's schools. He confirmed that after May's death the schools continued to attract students from the labouring and other lower classes.¹³⁰ Another letter about female education in Bengal was published in 1831. The writer after elaborate discussions, pointed to the missionary schools, as an example of great failure. He said that the missionaries, although had established many schools at great expense for the last twenty years, were successful only in teaching girls of some very low class people such as Bagdi, Byadh, Gipsy, Byragi, and even prostitutes.

These two letters indicate the contemporary popular notion about the general class composition of the missionary schools. Duff himself confirmed it. He totally rejected the idea of establishing any Bengali school like other missionaries in Bengal, because he believed that "all the pupils who frequented Bengali mission schools, were children of individuals of a very inferior grade in Society".¹³²

OTHER MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES LITERARY WORKS

The conversion of the Indians to Christianity was the main though not the sole occupation of the missionaries in Bengal.

¹²⁸*Ibid* P.A. vol. 1, p. 420. Carey to Fuller. 1798.

¹²⁹L.M.S. MSS. Pearson replies to Director's questionnaire Box. 1, Fol. 4, Jack E.

¹³⁰*Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. March 3, 1832. S.P.S.K. vol. II, p. 72-74. A letter to the *Samachar Chandrika*.

¹³¹*Ibid* June 25, 1831. S.P.S.K. vol. II, p. 91-92. From other Bengali newspapers.

¹³²Duff, *India and Indian Missions*. p. 515.

They were engaged in activities which were not directly connected in any way with their main object of conversion. An examination of these activities seems essential to form a total picture of missionary impact on the life and thoughts of the people of Bengal.

Of all these activities, Carey's association with the Fort William College was the most important one. Carey became a teacher in Bengali and Sanskrit in 1801. He was promoted to Professorship in 1807. Many considerations influenced his decision to accept a secular appointment. First and foremost among them was his salary, "chiefly from the prospect it offered them of becoming independent of support from England".¹³³ Secondly it opened to Carey "a way to preach to the Hindoos in Calcutta and its environs".¹³⁴ Thirdly it "put a number of respectable Hindoos under my direction as Moonshis"¹³⁵ which enabled Carey to improve his knowledge of Oriental languages. It also made possible for him to seek the necessary help from them in translating the Bible in different languages. When Carey had accepted Udney's service he was criticised for accepting a secular employment. Carey therefore, wanted to remove any fear from the minds of the B.M.S. members this time by assuring that "I was appointed... in the character of a Missionary so that our friends in England may be perfectly at ease respecting the safety of the Mission".¹³⁶ Carey later was also appointed as Bengali Translator of the Government with an additional monthly allowance.

Carey found a great difficulty in starting his classes as there were "no books or helps of any kind to assist me".¹³⁷ He immediately started compiling a Bengali Grammar, which was published in 1801.¹³⁸ His *"A Grammar of the Bengalee*

¹³³Marshman, *The life and times etc.* vol. 1. p. 149.

¹³⁴B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Sutcliffe. April 8, 1801.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

¹³⁷Carey. *Memoir of W. Carey* p. 453-4. Carey to Ryland. June 1, 1801.

¹³⁸Carey. *A Grammar of the Bengalee Language* 1801. Bengali-English text.

Language", although modelled on Halhed's¹³⁹ work, was an original work. The grammatical rules were comprehensive, expressed with brevity and simplicity, and examples were numerous and well chosen. It went through four editions during 1801 and 1818 with slight alterations. Carey published his second book in the same year (1801). It was called "*Dialogues intended to facilitate, The Acquiring of, The Bengalee Language*".¹⁴⁰ As it was intended to familiarise the young civilians with different modes of conversation among different classes of people in Bengal, it contained a great variety of idiomis and colloquial phrases. The dialogues thus represented different classes of people—a European giving orders to his servant, servants talking to their European masters, a Bengali gentleman, a Zaminder, a merchant, a Brahman, a peasant, a low class woman, a day labourer, a fisherman, and a beggar. There were examples of quarrels between women to show that "women speak a language considerably differing from that of the men, especially in their quarrels".¹⁴¹ To ensure correctness in the representation, Carey employed "some sensible natives to compose dialogues upon subjects of a domestic nature, and to give them precisely in the natural stile (sic) of the persons supposed to be speakers".¹⁴² This book presents a lively picture of some aspects of the life led by the middle and lower classes of Bengal. "The faithfulness of the picture" writes S. K. De rightly, "is guaranteed by the fact that even in the present day it has not lost all the force and precision of its realism".¹⁴³ The style was simple and straightforward. Carey's extraordinary command over Bengali was nowhere better exhibited. It went through three editions during 1801 and 1818.

Carey's next book was *Itihas Mala* including a collection of 150 stories, derived from various sources, of fables and folklore,

¹³⁹Halhed, N. B. (1751-1830) a Company's servant he had compiled and published in English a *Grammar of the Bengal Language* in 1778. It was the earliest approach to scientific study of the Bengali language.

¹⁴⁰Carey, *Dialogues intended to facilitate, The Acquiring of, The Bengalee Language* 1801. Bengali-English text.

¹⁴¹*Ibid* p. IV Preface.

¹⁴²*Ibid* p. VII Preface.

¹⁴³De, S. K. *Bengali Literature etc.* p. 125.

both Eastern and Western. Written in simple homely prose it was published in 1812.¹⁴⁴

Carey undertook a more laborious work to compile "A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language"¹⁴⁵ in two volumes. With hardly any model before him, Carey finished his first volume in 1815, and the second in two parts in 1825.¹⁴⁶ Carey introduced into his "Dictionary" every simple word used in the language and all the compound terms which were current or to be found in standard Bengali works. The words were traced to their origin and their various meanings were given. For a long time it was regarded as a standard work. J. C. Marshman published two abridged versions of Carey's "Dictionary", one in "Bengalee and English"¹⁴⁷ in 1827, and another in "English and Bengalee"¹⁴⁸ in 1828.

Carey inspired some of the Indian Pandits and Munshis of the Fort William College to write text books for his Bengali class. Ram Ram Basu who was for a long time Carey's personal Munshi, and now working at the Fort William College was inspired by him to write two original works in Bengali. Ram Ram Basu's "*Pratapaditya Charitra*" was the first original prose in Bengali published in 1801.¹⁴⁹ It is a historical narrative about Pratapaditya Roy, a local ruler of Jessore during the reign of Akbar. The narrative is based on both authentic history and tradition. His second book was *Lipimala* a collection of letters, published in 1802.¹⁵⁰ There are altogether 40 letters in two sections mainly on business matters or domestic subjects. The first section contains 15 letters of which 10 show how a King writes to another King, and 5 from a King to his officials. The second section contains 25 letters of a social character, how a father writes to his son, a superior person to inferior, an equal to equal, master to servant, servant to master and so on. The

¹⁴⁴Roebuck, T. *Annals of the College of Fort William* p. 29. Appendix 2.

¹⁴⁵Carey. *A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language* vol. 1, 1815. Bengali-English text.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid* vol. II Part I, Part II, 1825.

¹⁴⁷Marshman, J. C. *A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language* vol. 1. Abridged from Dr. Carey's quarto *Dictionary Bengalee and English* 1827.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid* vol. II. *English Bengalee* 1828.

¹⁴⁹Ram Ram Basu *Pratapaditya Charitra* 1801 Ben. text.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid* *Lipimala* 1802 Ben. text.

object of the book was to familiarise the civilians with the mode of Bengali letter writing.¹⁵¹

Golaknath Sarma translated into Bengali the four well known moral essays in Sanskrit *Hitopadesa* or "Salutary Instructions" which was published in 1801.¹⁵² His style is plain and simple. Although not connected with the College he translated the book at Carey's request for his class.¹⁵³

Chandi Charan Munshi of the Fort William College, translated in Bengali *Tota Itihas* or 34 "tales of a parrot" from Persian.¹⁵⁴ It was written in simple narrative prose and first published in 1805.

Rajiblochan Mukhopadhyaya, another Pandit of the College, wrote an original history entitled "*Sri Maharaj Krishna Chandra Rayasya Charitram*", which was first published in 1805. Krishna Chandra was a well known landlord of Nadia during the mid-eighteenth century. His narrative is full of fiction and gossip, with a simple style fit for story-telling.¹⁵⁵

Mritunjay Bidyalankar was the chief Pandit in the Bengali Department of the Fort William College. He was also inspired by Carey in his literary ventures. He was the most powerful writer in Bengali. His literary work consists mainly of four publications, of which two are originals and two translations from Sanskrit. His first work published in 1802 was called "*Batris-Simhasan*" which means thirty-two thrones. It was a plain translation in Bengali from a popular Sanskrit work.¹⁵⁶ He published in 1808, another Bengali translation of "*Hitopadesa*".¹⁵⁷ In the same year, Mritunjay's third book entitled *Rajabali* was published. It was his first original book. It was a "History of the Kings", who ruled India from the earliest

¹⁵¹*Ibid* p. 3-4 Preface. Ben. text.

¹⁵²Golaknath Sarma *Hecopadeshu* 1801. Ben. text.

¹⁵³Bandopadhyaya, B. N. *Sahitya Sadhak Charitmalā* vol. 1, p. 7. Ben. text. (Life of literary men).

¹⁵⁴Chandi Charan Munshi *Tota Itihas* 1806. Ben. text.

¹⁵⁵Rajiblochan Mukhopadhyaya. *Sri Maharaj Krishna Chandra Rayasya Charitram* 1811. Ben. text.

¹⁵⁶Mritunjay Bidyalankar. *Batris Simhasan* 1808 Ben. text. The hero of the tales is King Bikramaditya—a semi-legendary figure. The tales of his prowess and virtue are told by the thirty-two images of his throne to another King who discovered it.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid Hitopadesa* 1814. Ben. text.

times to the conquest of Bengal by the English. The book however is based more on tradition than on authentic history.¹⁵⁸ His second original work was compiled in 1813,¹⁵⁹ but first published in 1833 from the Serampore Press with a Preface by J. C. Marshman.¹⁶⁰ The title of the book is "*Prabodh Chandrika*" or "Moonlight of Intelligence". It is an elaborate treatise divided into four parts, each of which is again subdivided into chapters. The book starts with the praise of Language.¹⁶¹ A king entrusted the education of his son to his Pandit. In order to educate the young Prince the Pandit started lecturing on every conceivable subject, beginning with the philosophy of the alphabet, rules of grammar, rhetoric, law, logic, astronomy, politics and various other subjects. His lectures were illustrated by familiar examples.¹⁶² Written in a serious style, the book is a monument to Mritunjay's learning.

Carey also inspired Mohan Prasad Thakur, an assistant librarian of the College, to compile an English-Bengali vocabulary, which was published in 1810.¹⁶³

These were some of the Bengali books prepared at the Fort William College, by Carey and his colleagues. The most important contribution of the Fort William College was the cultivation of Oriental languages, which helped to diffuse Western ideas among the Indians. Carey's room at Fort William became a great centre of intense literary activity, where he gathered round him a number of scholars who were induced to take up literary work in Bengali. Carey was a man of vigorous intellect and capable of strenuous work. Fort William College became under his impetus, the most important institution for the cultivation and official patronisation of the Bengali language and literature. The greatest service of Carey to Bengali was to raise it "from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech".¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸*Ibid* Rajabali 1814. Ben. text.

¹⁵⁹De, S. K. *Bengali Literature etc.* p. 196.

¹⁶⁰Ranking, ed.: *A Catalogue in Oriental Languages in the Library of the Board of Examiners—Late College of Fort William. Catalogue of Bengali Books* p. 7.

¹⁶¹Mritunjay Bidyalankar. *Prabodh Chandrika* Ben. text. p. 1-2, 1845.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*

¹⁶³De, S. K. *Bengali Literature etc.* p. 119.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid* p. 141.

But Carey himself laid little emphasis on these works, which he always undertook from a sense of duty. He wrote to Fuller that "As there was no prose book in the language this step was quite necessary for the Bengalee class".¹⁶⁵ Probably he was not even happy with these time-consuming undertakings, as he apologetically wrote "I have it is true been obliged to publish several things, and I can say that nothing but necessity could have induced me to do it, my situation in the College absolutely demanded it of me".¹⁶⁶ Carey however held a high opinion about the Bengali language which he described as "very copious", "beautiful", and "extremely rich".¹⁶⁷ He believed that the Bengali language when properly cultivated would be "inferior to none, in elegance and perspicuity".¹⁶⁸

Urged by a sense of purpose Carey and Marshman undertook the work of translating the *Ramayana* in English prose from Sanskrit, which they believed would "throw light on mythology, history and manners and customs of the Hindoos".¹⁶⁹ The Fort William College and the Asiatic Society agreed to pay them Rs. 300 a month. The reason why Carey and Marshman undertook to translate this Hindu epic is well expressed by Carey in one of his letters. It was to expose those "mysterious sacred nothings" to the public view, "which have maintained their celebrity so long merely by being kept from the inspection of any but interested Brahmans".¹⁷⁰ Carey and Marshman further defended their undertaking of the translation of the *Ramayana* by arguing that the money gained thereby would help them to extend their missionary work. Marshman wrote that it "will furnish a certain portion of settled employment for the Press. It will be a source of income to the Mission. 300 Rupees monthly. (of which more than 200 will be gain)".¹⁷¹ He added further that "I should not have tho't [thought] it our

¹⁶⁵B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Fuller. Aug. 4, 1801.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid* Carey to Sutcliffe. Mar. 17, 1802.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid* Carey to B.M.S. Aug. 3, 1795 also *P.A.* vol. I, p. 92. Carey to Sutcliffe. Aug. 9, 1794.

¹⁶⁸Carey *Dialogues etc.* p. V, 1818. Preface.

¹⁶⁹B.M.S. MSS. Marshman's letters. March 30 to July 1, 1805 (Bound volume).

¹⁷⁰*Ibid* Carey to Sutcliffe. March 17, 1802.

¹⁷¹*Ibid* Marshman's letters. Mar. 30 to July 1, 1805 (Bound vol.).

duty to attempt anything of this nature, but viewing it as a means of supporting the Mission".¹⁷² He concluded "it makes me smile" to consider that the publication of "those vile and destructive fables to the world"¹⁷³ would supply them with money for the circulation of the Christian "truth".

Other missionaries who undertook literary work were also engaged mainly in writing text books. Among the Serampore missionaries three young members deserve mention. Of these three, most famous was J. C. Marshman. He was a versatile and voluminous writer both in English and Bengali. But most of his literary works were published after 1833. Only one, worthy of mention was published in 1831. It was the "*History of India*" in two volumes. The history covers the period from the settlement of the East India Company down to the conquest of the Pindaris by Hastings in 1819.¹⁷⁴ Marshman wrote the history both in English and Bengali. Another writer of some distinction was Felix Carey, elder son of W. Carey, a scholar in Sanskrit, Pali, Bengali and Burmese. With Ram Kamal Sen¹⁷⁵ he planned to bring out a Bengali Encyclopaedia, but his untimely death in 1823 prevented the full execution of that plan. He saw the first volume of the Encyclopaedia printed in 1820. It was a treatise on Anatomy called *Vidyaharabali*, the first book on a scientific subject in the Bengali language.¹⁷⁶ F. Carey translated into Bengali Goldsmith's *History of England* in 1820, which was published by the Calcutta School Book Society.¹⁷⁷ He also translated and published John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* in 1821.¹⁷⁸

Rev. John Mack¹⁷⁹ came to Serampore as a Professor of Classics, Mathematics and Natural Science. He delivered a series of lectures both in English and Bengali on Chemistry at

¹⁷²*Ibid.*

¹⁷³*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴Marshman, J. C. *History of India* 2 vols. 1831. Ben. text.

¹⁷⁵Sen, Ram Kamal (1783-1844), a Bengali scholar, and wealthy man, leader of the orthodox Hindus.

¹⁷⁶De, S. K. *Bengali literature etc.* p. 227-228.

¹⁷⁷Carey, F. *History of England* 1820 Ben. text.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid* *The Pilgrim's Progress* 1821. Ben. text.

¹⁷⁹Mack, J. (1797-1845) Prof. of Serampore College. He also shared the editorial management of the *Friend of India*.

the Asiatic Society, Calcutta in 1822.¹⁸⁰ He wrote a treatise on chemistry, the first of its kind in Bengali, which was published in 1834.¹⁸¹

Among B.M.S. missionaries at Calcutta, William Yates¹⁸² was a great scholar in Sanskrit and Bengali. He wrote many books in Bengali, but most of them were published after 1833. One book published earlier, was mainly for school children. He compiled "*Elements of Natural Philosophy and Natural History*" in 1825. It was in "Dialogue" form for the instruction of the Indian youth.¹⁸³ Another B.M.S. missionary John Lawson, wrote a series of six articles on animals in 1822 for a monthly magazine *The Pasyabali* of "The Calcutta School Book Society".¹⁸⁴

Most of the L.M.S. missionaries were writers of useful school books. R. May compiled in 1817 an arithmetical table on the Indian model which became very popular in his schools. It was known in Bengal for a long time as *May-Ganita*.¹⁸⁵ J. D. Pearson, who took charge of Chinsurah schools after May's death, was an industrious and prolific writer of school texts. Some of his books may be mentioned. He compiled about 260 letters to show the familiar form of Bengali letter writing on domestic, commercial and other subjects in 1819.¹⁸⁶ His *School-masters Manual* published in 1819 explains the Bell and Lancastrian system of education.¹⁸⁷ Among others *Bakyabolee* or "Idiomatrical exercises"¹⁸⁸ in 1820, '*Dialogues*' on Geography

¹⁸⁰*Samachar Darpan* Nov. 30, 1822. Advertisement Ben. text. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 22.

¹⁸¹Mack, J. *Essence of Chemistry* 1834. Ben. text.

¹⁸²Yates, W. (1792-1848) a great Linguist, Secretary of the Calcutta School Book Society. He translated the New Testament in Bengali.

¹⁸³Yates *Elements of Natural Philosophy and Natural History*. 1834. Ben. text.

¹⁸⁴Lawson, J. (1787-1825) wrote six articles on (1) The Lion (2) The Bear (3) The Elephant (4) The Rhinoceros (5) The Tiger (6) The Cat. After his death the Calcutta School Book Society published them in book form in 1827. Bandopadhyaya, B. N. *Bangla Samayika Patra* vol. 1, p. 28-9 Ben. text.

¹⁸⁵De, S. K. *History of Bengali Literature* etc. p. 239.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid* p. 240.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid*.

¹⁸⁸Pearson, J. D. (1790-1831) *Bakyabolee* Eng. and Ben. text. 1820.

and *Astronomy* in 1824,¹⁸⁹ are important. Most of Pearson's books were published by the Calcutta School Book Society. Another L.M.S. missionary, James Keith, compiled a grammar in Bengali which was published in 1825. He wrote his grammar in easy question and answer form.¹⁹⁰

MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS

Another important activity of the missionaries was in the field of journalism both English and Bengali. The Serampore missionaries were the pioneers in publishing the first monthly Bengali Magazine, the *Digdarshan* or "*Magazine for Indian Youth*" in April 1818. The object of the magazine was "to stimulate a spirit of inquiry and diffuse information",¹⁹¹ among the young men of Bengal. The first number contains scientific and historical essays of general interest, such as discoveries of America, geographical limits of Hindusthan, a view of the chief articles of trade in India, Sadlar's journey in a balloon from Dublin to Holyhead, and of Mount Vesuvius.¹⁹² It consists of 24 pages printed in bold types. The later numbers contain interesting accounts on various subjects, such as steam-boats, Newton's discovery of the Law of Gravitation, compasses, metals, botany of India, accounts of ancient and modern nations, travels, events in England and other countries, local events, essays on production and commerce of India, all written in easy and popular style.¹⁹³ The magazine became very popular, and the Calcutta School Book Society requested the Serampore missionaries to publish an English edition as well. The missionaries published separately an English translation of each number and some in both English and Bengali "so as to make the English agree page for page with the Bengali",¹⁹⁴ to facilitate the learning of English. The Calcutta School Book Society took a thou-

¹⁸⁹*Ibid* *Dialogues on Geography and Astronomy* Eng. Ben. text. 1827. 2nd ed.

¹⁹⁰Keith, J. (1784-1822) *A Grammar of the Bengalee Language* 1825. Ben. text. He was a writer of many Bengali tracts.

¹⁹¹Marshman. *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 161.

¹⁹²*Digdarshan* April 1818 to Mar. 1819, then Jan. to April 1820. 16 nov. bound in one vol, Eng. Ben. text.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴Bandopadhyaya, B. N. *Bangla Samayika Patra* vol. 1, p.4 quoted from the "*Friend of India*" Dec. 1818.

sand copies for using as school text books. The magazine lasted for three years (1818-1821). Altogether 26 numbers were published in Bengali, and 16 in English and Bengali.¹⁹⁵ J. C. Marshman was the editor of this magazine.

The Serampore missionaries were encouraged to start another weekly Bengali Journal. The first number of "*Samachar Darpan*" or "*Mirror of News*" was published in May, 1818. In the preface of the first number it was stated that the paper would generally contain "news of the appointment of judges, collectors and other officers, the laws and orders passed by the Governors General in Council, current news from England and Europe, and also from different parts of India, commercial news, birth, marriage and death reports of important persons, extracts from new books and magazines coming from England and Europe, news about ancient Indian History, culture and also about learned men and books".¹⁹⁶ J. C. Marshman was the editor of the paper, and it was published every Saturday from Serampore. One Sanskrit verse adorned the front page of the paper up to 1826. The Serampore missionaries started a Persian edition of the *Samachar Darpan* entitled "*Akbar-i-Serampore*" in 1826 which was discontinued soon after. From July 11, 1829 to 1837 the paper was bilingual, published both in English and Bengali in parallel columns. From January 1832 the paper became bi-weekly, published every Wednesday and Saturday. But the extra issue on Wednesday was discontinued in 1834. The original Saturday number continued up to 1841.¹⁹⁷

Correspondence and letters from various parts of the country were published in the paper. Besides geographical and historical topics it published interesting incidents both political and administrative. Educational news such as the examinations of the boys and girls, proceedings of the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society, accounts of the Hindu College, Serampore College, Bishop's College, occupied large

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶*Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. May 23, 1818. *S.P.S.K.* vol. 1, Preface.

¹⁹⁷Bandopadhyaya, B. N. *Bangla Samayika Patra* vol. 1, p. 5-11 Ben. text.

sections in the paper. Market reports, sensational news like dacoity, thefts, murders, natural calamities, bad drainage system of Calcutta, along with short moral tales and humorous sketches, all found space in the paper.¹⁹⁸ The missionaries avoided all political controversy in their paper, and so won the general approval of the Government. Lord Hastings permitted its circulation, at a quarter of the normal postal charge¹⁹⁹ in 1818. "Government manifested its confidence" wrote Marshman in 1827, "by directing a hundred copies of their Bengali News Paper to be sent at the public cost to the public officers in Bengal, and encouraged a Persian version of it by liberal subscription".²⁰⁰ In the beginning, the missionaries also avoided religious controversy in their paper. Reproduction of News and Comments from other local papers both English and Bengali was one of the most important features of the *Samachar Darpan*. It thus gave representative views on contemporary public issues, and thereby maintained a high standard even at the beginning of Bengali journalism.²⁰¹ Its novelty, J. C. Marshman claims "gave the *Durpan* great popularity among the natives of Calcutta and the subscription list was headed by Dwarkenath Tagore."²⁰²

Although J. C. Marshman was the editor, the main editorial work was probably done by the Indians. Pandit Jaygopal Tarkalankar, a Sanskrit scholar and a good writer of Bengali prose and verse, was connected with the editorial department of the paper from 1818 to 1823.²⁰³ He was appointed a lecturer in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta in 1824, and left Serampore. After him, another Sanskrit scholar Pandit Tarini Charan Siromoni, worked in the editorial department for four years until he died in 1828. *Samachar Darpan* paid a high tribute to his learning and style of writing specially Bengali.²⁰⁴ That the Indian hands were very important is proved by the fact that

¹⁹⁸ *Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, vol. 2.

¹⁹⁹ Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 164.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 357.

²⁰¹ *Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. S.P.S.K. vol. 1 and 2.

²⁰² Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 163.

²⁰³ Bhandopadhyaya, B. N. *Sahitya Sadhak Caritmalā* Ben. text. vol. 1, p. 49 Jaygopal Tarkalankar.

²⁰⁴ *Samachar Darpan* July 5, 1828. Ben. text. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 52.

when the Pandit was absent *Samachar Darpan* could not furnish the news.²⁰⁵

The first purely religious magazine in Bengali was published by the L.M.S. missionaries. It was called "*The Gospel Magazine*" containing 16 pages started in December 1819.²⁰⁶ It was a bilingual magazine, printed in Bengali and English in parallel columns. From January 1820 the missionaries published one edition in Bengali only.²⁰⁷ Each number contained five or six articles on religious subjects, written in plain language. The Magazine continued up to 1823.

The Serampore missionaries published the second religious monthly in Bengali, in May 1822. It was called "*Increase of the Kingdom of Christ*" and consisted of eight pages. It was intended mainly for the converts.²⁰⁸

The missionaries produced more periodicals in English than in Bengali. The Serampore missionaries started in 1808, their *Monthly Circular Letters* which gave information about the progress of their missionary work. It was replaced in April 1818 by their "*The Friend of India*".²⁰⁹ "*The Friend of India*", a monthly, was planned more broadly than *Circular Letters* therefore it included information of Indian problems, reports on missionary and educational Societies from both India and outside. Another "*Quarterly Friend of India*" was started in 1820. J. Marshman was the editor of both. From the beginning it maintained a high standard of journalism. The publication of "*The Friend of India*" was suspended in 1827 due to financial difficulties. J. C. Marshman revived it as a weekly paper in 1835.²¹⁰

In 1824, Adam reported to H. Ware "The Church Missionaries, the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries, the Independent Mis-

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Ibid vol. 1, Preface.

²⁰⁶ *The Gospel Magazine* Dec. 1819 to Nov. 1820. 12 numbers. Eng. Ben. text.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid* Jan., March, April, July, Sept. 1820 5 nos. in Ben. only.

²⁰⁸ Bandopadhyaya, B. N. *Bangla Samayika Patra* vol. 1, p. 25. Ben. text.

²⁰⁹ Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 164.

²¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 487-8.

sionaries,...publish each a small periodical work, the first Quarterly, the others Monthly, and all of them designed principally to communicate information respecting the different denominations to which the Editors respectively belong. They are called, *The Missionary Intelligence*, *The Missionary Herald*, *The Missionary Chronicle*."²¹¹ The existence of *The Missionary Herald* run by Calcutta Baptists is supported by an entry in *The Missionary Register*.²¹² It continued up to 1832.²¹³ As regards the other two, there is absolutely no information as to when they were started and how long they continued. It may be assumed that these journals had a very limited circulation.

The L.M.S., Baptist, and C.M.S. missionaries in Calcutta jointly started in 1823 a quarterly called "*The Asiatic Observer*". It embraced religious, literary and philosophical subjects.²¹⁴ The standard of this quarterly was high.

Alexander Duff, in association with missionaries of other denominations started *The Calcutta Christian observer*, a monthly, in 1832. The main emphasis was to be given to religious matters—Theoretic and Practical Theology, Biblical Criticism and Translation, and news of missionary operations.²¹⁵ The "*Observer*" did include articles of a miscellaneous nature, conveyed as much "local information as possible".²¹⁶ The first article of the first number in June 1832, was "*A Sketch of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Hindoo College*" which continued in the second and third numbers,²¹⁷ under the heading "*Literary, Scientific, and Miscellaneous Intelligence*". The paper used to report on the meetings of the Asiatic Society and other Societies, examination of boys and girls, and the establishment of new schools. Under "Domestic Occurrences" reports on

²¹¹Adam *Replies to H. Ware's queries etc.* p. 22.

²¹²*The Missionary Register* p. 42 1824.

²¹³*The Calcutta Christian Observer* p. 144, 1832, informs that the Calcutta Baptists had decided to close their paper in favour of *The Calcutta Christian Observer*.

²¹⁴*The Asiatic Observer* vol. 1, 1823. Title page "...Religious, Literary and Philosophical Miscellany..."

²¹⁵*The Calcutta Christian Observer* p. 2-8, 1832. objects.

²¹⁶*Ibid* p. 9-10.

²¹⁷*Ibid* June p. 14-17, July p. 68-76, Aug. p. 115-129. 1832 (Nos. 1, 2, 3).

marriages, deaths, and births, arrivals and departures of the Europeans were published. The paper also published useful information from England and other countries, and even new poems.²¹⁸ It continued for a long time at least up to 1844, without any break.²¹⁹

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE MISSIONARIES

Carey was interested in agriculture and horticulture from his early life. As soon as he settled in North Bengal, he wrote to the B.M. Society for some "instruments of husbandry" and for an "assortment of all garden and flower seeds...and seeds of fruit trees".²²⁰ When he came to Serampore he started a botanical garden, which grew into one of the best gardens of Bengal. He maintained an extensive correspondence with most of the eminent botanists in Europe and America. He made elaborate additions and comments in the margin of the official catalogue of plants in the Company's Botanical garden at Calcutta.²²¹ He edited W. Roxburgh's "Flora Indica" which was published from Serampore in 1820 and again in 1832.

Carey's attention was drawn to the problems of Indian agriculture, and he was thinking about the possibility of forming an Agricultural Society in India. In 1820, Carey had a conversation with Lady Hastings on the subject, who encouraged him to make an attempt. Carey then drew a prospectus and circulated it throughout India. He dwelt mainly on three objects of the proposed society. Firstly the Society should collect information about agricultural practices in different countries in order to discover and remove any errors in the existing management of Indian agriculture. Secondly the Society should try in every possible way to increase the production capacity of the land, by superior mode of cultivation, through improved implements of husbandry, by erecting good drainage system, by rotation of

²¹⁸*Ibid* 1832, 1833.

²¹⁹*The British Museum Catalogue*, Periodicals (P. No. 36-37. p. 202. 1-13 vols. 1832-1844, vol. 25, vol. 31 up to 1862).

²²⁰B.M.S. MSS. Carey to B.M.S. Aug. 5, 1794.

²²¹*Ibid* "Hortus Bengalensis or a Catalogue of the plants growing in the Honourable East India Company's Garden at Calcutta" by W. Roxburgh 1814. With MSS additions by W. Carey.

crops and applying manure. Thirdly the Society should introduce new and useful plants, and attempt to improve the stock by better breeding, and try to bring waste lands under cultivation.²²²

A few months after the "*prospectus*" had been in circulation, Carey convened a meeting on 14th September 1820, in Calcutta Town Hall, for the foundation of the "Agricultural Society of India". Lord Hastings agreed to become the Patron of the Society. Within two months the Society enlisted 50 members, and Carey wrote to Ryland "Several of the most opulent natives have joined it, and I hope it will ultimately be of great benefit to the country".²²³ At the second meeting a committee of management consisting of equal numbers of Europeans and Indians was formed.²²⁴ The Society thereafter developed rapidly to become one of the most vigorous and successful agencies of improvement.

During the period under survey medical work was not considered to be an essential part of the missionary work. However the missionaries could not but feel the utility of such work among the poorer Indians who suffered from various diseases apart from frequent epidemics of cholera, smallpox, and plague. The first convert to the Serampore Mission, as already noticed, was gained through the medical skill of Dr. Thomas. Carey though not a medical man, devoted some attention to the distribution of medicine among the poor at Serampore. The Serampore missionaries, wrote to their Society in 1802 that they believed it worthwhile to distribute some medicine among the people who came to them for relief. The missionaries wrote "the attention which we endeavour to pay to the sick, lame etc. by giving medicines, dressing their wounds, visiting them etc. are not without their effects among the natives".²²⁵ Mrs. Grant in a letter to her friend in 1803 described a scene, when about thirty-four persons, some of them blind, many suffering from leprosy, came for relief at Serampore. She wrote "Many of them receive two pence a week. Bro. [Brother] Carey gives

²²²B.M.S. A.R. p.44-9, 1821. Appendix No. 2. "*Prospectus of an Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India*" by Carey. April 15, 1820.

²²³B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Ryland. Oct. 23, 1820.

²²⁴Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p.228.

²²⁵B.M.S. MSS. Carey, Marshman, Ward and others to the B.M.S. Committee. July 16, 1802.

them medicine for their body".²²⁶ The *Samachar Darpan* in Carey's obituary claims that Carey did his best to bring about the establishment of a leper hospital in Calcutta.²²⁷ Earlier the *Samachar Darpan* had informed about the leper hospital in its three issues during 1818 and 1819.²²⁸ It was stated there, that a Society was formed on August 22, 1818, for a leper hospital in Calcutta, in which both Europeans and Indians co-operated. It published the names of the Directors of the Society. It highly praised Kali Sankar Ghosal, a wealthy man, for his donation of Rs. 5000 and 12 Bighas of land for the purpose.²²⁹ Within one year the Society collected about 22,000 Rupees and started building small houses for the hospital.²³⁰ Strangely enough, although *Samachar Darpan* reported elaborately about the leper hospital at Calcutta, it said nothing about Carey's connection with it. However from the claim in the obituary, it seems certain that Carey was connected with this project from the very beginning. William Carey(J) wrote to his father from Cutwa in 1811, about his experience that "giving away a little medicine and paying a little attention to them will draw a great number".²³¹ Felix Carey gained the confidence of the King of Burmah through his medical skill. Mrs. Reichardt and Mrs. Wilson, wives of C.M.S. missionaries were hailed as general benefactresses in the neighbourhood of Calcutta as they began to distribute a little cholera mixture. *The Missionary Register* reported—"Government has graciously given them order for medicines from their Dispensary, gratis, and a great blessing it has proved to many".²³² The medical relief proved so useful for missionary work that it became an essential part of missionary activities in the second half of the Nineteenth century.

Carey and his colleagues started a Savings Bank at Serampore in 1819.²³³ The object of the Bank was "to promote habits of frugality and industry, more especially in the rising com-

²²⁶*Ibid* Mrs. A. Grant to Miss F. Aug. 6 to Oct. 14, 1803.

²²⁷*Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. June 11, 1834 S.P.S.K. vol. 2, p. 111.

²²⁸*Ibid* Aug. 29, Sept. 5, 1818, Aug. 7, 1819. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 148-9.

²²⁹*Ibid* Sep. 5, 1818. *Ibid* vol. 1, p. 148.

²³⁰*Ibid* Aug. 7, 1819. *Ibid* p. 149.

²³¹B.M.S. MSS. Carey(J) to his father. April 7, 1811.

²³²*The Missionary Register* p. 598, 1827.

²³³*Samachar Darpan* April 3, 1819 Ben. text S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 164-166. Rules of the Serampore Savings Bank—and Directors.

munity of native Christians".²³⁴ The Bank was well received and its deposits amounted to £5000 within the first twelve months. The Bank operated for about four years when all the deposit money was returned, as "the labour of managing it was found to interfere with higher duties"²³⁵ of the missionaries. J. C. Marshman claims that their "plan was taken up by Lord William Bentinck"²³⁶ when he established the Government Savings Bank.

The Serampore missionaries established a Paper Mill in 1820 run by a steam engine. "This steam engine" claims J. C. Marshman "was the first ever erected in India".²³⁷ They made various successful experiments to improve the quality of paper.

²³⁴ Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 223.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid* p. 225.

CHAPTER V

THE RESULTS OF THE MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

How far were the missionary methods of preaching translation and education successful in gaining converts? What was the social background of the Indian converts? What was their behaviour after conversion? These are some of the important questions which may now be discussed in order to form an estimate of the actual results of the missionary activities in Bengal.

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THE NUMBER OF CONVERTS

There are, however, some difficulties involved in answering these questions. These difficulties arise from the very nature of the source material. Firstly the reports and accounts of different missionary Societies are vague about the number of their converts. Secondly, the missionaries made conversions from various racial groups—Europeans, Eurasians, Armenians, Portuguese, Indians and others—without distinguishing one from the other. It is therefore impossible to separate the Indians in such cases from the rest. Thirdly, some Societies, reported about their converts under a general heading “North India” which included areas outside Bengal. This makes it difficult to ascertain the number of converts from Bengal only. In view of these difficulties, which shall be further illustrated, it would be possible to gather only an approximate idea about the number of Indian converts in Bengal.

Carey came to Serampore from north Bengal without a single Indian convert to his credit. He and his friends made the first Indian convert at Serampore in 1800. The earlier *Periodical Accounts* of the B.M.S. gave a detailed description of their Indian converts. In a joint letter to the Committee in 1805, the Serampore missionaries claimed that “The number of native members.... is 75”.¹ They also claimed to have another

¹B.M.S. MSS. Carey, Marshman, Ward and others to the B.M.S. Committee. Dec. 25, 1806.

25 European members, the total thus amounted to 100 in 1806. Lord Minto doubted their claim of having 100 converts. He wrote "The Danish Mission says their flock is composed of about one hundred, some allowance must be made for the exaggeration of men partial to their own pursuits".² In the preface of the *Periodical Accounts* volumes 3 and 4, the B.M.S. published a list of persons converted up to 1808. The list gives some details about the converts, such as names, date of conversion, caste or relation, residence, and present situation or employment. This is the only detailed list of its kind given by any missionary Society during the whole period under survey. The list contains 147 names, but the missionaries could not furnish any details about 12 persons, and simply stated them as "Natives and Europeans".³ Of the remaining 135, 105 appear to be Indians. The list includes the converts who were under suspension and also those who went back to their original religion. The number of such persons was about 20. This leaves one with 85 who may be considered bona fide converts.

After 1808, the number of converts were stated in approximate figures. That inevitably led to a certain vagueness in the writings of the missionaries, as to be found in their occasional ambiguous, overlapping and even contradictory statements. In a letter to Fuller on the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary of the Serampore Church in 1813, Carey wrote "the number baptised is more than five hundred".⁴ Nothing was said as to how many of them were Indians. Rev. J. Hough calculated in 1845 the total number of B.M.S. converts up to the end of 1814 as "seven hundred and fifty six".⁵ He stated that 300 more converts were made in 1814-1816. This he considered as a fair aggregate based on the B.M.S. report of 1817 which gave the figure for the preceding two years as "somewhat between four hundred and ten and four hundred and forty".⁶ Thus Hough calculated a grand total of "between ten and eleven hundred"⁷ B.M.S. converts in 1817 after a period of 16 years of labour in

²Minto Papers (M.209) Lord Minto to E. Parry. Dec. 2, 1807.

³B.M.S. *Periodical Accounts* vol. IV Preface (Nos. 130-141).

⁴B.M.S. MSS. Carey to Fuller, May 5 to May 12, 1813.

⁵Hough, J. *The History of Christianity in India* vol. IV, p. 427.

⁶B.M.S. P.A. vol. VI, p. 334.

⁷Hough *The History etc.* p. 427.

Bengal. Hough tried to explain the reason for the vagueness in the statements of the B.M.S. missionaries, about the number of their converts. The missionaries, he argued, could not ascertain the exact number due to great distance between their outer stations. He curiously put the blame on the Indian teachers who, according to him "are not always very accurate or punctual in transmitting their reports".⁸ Hough maintained that the total figure never correctly indicated the progress of Christianity, because it included many persons who were already Christians. Conversion of Christians from one denomination to another, in his opinion, should not be taken into account in calculating the real progress of Christianity in India. For the purpose of ascertaining the real progress of Christianity he tried to calculate the number of Indian converts and stated as those cannot be precisely ascertained "they may perhaps be reckoned at five hundred for the whole period".⁹ The B.M.S. in their review for the year 1817, stated that their total converts, including Indians and others, were "nearly one thousand and two hundred."¹⁰ In 1819 the B.M.S. reported about their total Indian converts that "they have the pleasure of baptizing about six hundred natives".¹¹ Carey in one of his letters to Ryland in 1820 used the terms "a good number", "several", "a great number", or only "additions"¹² to indicate the number of converts. These terms began to be used frequently to express the number of converts. Ward, in order to give a total picture of their progress in Bengal, wrote in a letter in 1821, that "six hundred Hindoos have renounced their gods".¹³ In the same letter he stated again that the converts amounted to "nearly seven hundred natives".¹⁴ The Serampore missionaries calculated their total number of converts up to December 1821, which "as nearly as they can ascertain... was one thousand four hundred and seven".¹⁵ The missionaries further added that "in ascertaining

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.* p. 428.

¹⁰B.M.S. *P.A.* vol. VI, p. 334.

¹¹*Ibid.* *A.R.* p. 51, 1819.

¹²*Ibid.* MSS. Carey to Ryland, April 25, 1820.

¹³Ward *Forewell Letters.* p. 150, April 6, 1821.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Reply of the Serampore Missionaries to the attack made on them.* p. 11. A pamphlet.

how many of these have been natives, they have been less successful, as the natives have not in every instance been distinguished from Europeans".¹⁶ They however calculated roughly that "nearly seven hundred, if not a greater number, have been native converts".¹⁷ They tried to be more specific and stated that they had about 469 Indian converts in all their stations, of whom about 29 were from outside Bengal. The total for Bengal thus amounted to about 440 in 1821.

Adam in his replies to H. Ware's queries about converts explained first the difficulties with the missionary reports. The reports he said, always used the words "nearly", "about", before the figures. He asked whether their numbers included only the adult baptized or included even the young and unbaptized descendants of the former, and whether it included those who had died or been excluded or gone back to their former faith, or only those who were then alive and in full communion with their churches. As it was found difficult to get any satisfactory answer to these questions, Adam made his own calculation from various sources in 1824 and stated "The result of my own observation... that the number of native converts properly so called, now living and in full communion with one or other of the Protestant Missionary Churches does not exceed three hundred".¹⁸ Adam's calculation was thus a great challenge to the missionary claims. Curiously enough the Serampore missionaries in an article in *The Friend of India* did not dispute the figure given by Adam, but defended it to be an achievement on their part, saying "In the conversion of three hundred immortal beings, from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, an object has been realised".¹⁹ There is no independent source to ascertain the number of Indian converts. The figures according to missionary sources vary from 300 at one end to nearly 600 at the other.

An article entitled "*Results of the Missionary Labour in India*" appeared in "*The Calcutta Review*" in 1851. Although the name of the writer was not given, the style of writing shows

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Adam *Replies to H. Ware's queries etc.* p. 41-42.

¹⁹*The Friend of India* p. 512, quarterly series. (vol. IV. 1826.)

that he was a missionary.²⁰ The writer states that "A Statistical Paper, laid before the Missionary Conference in Calcutta, a few years ago, shewed that in Lower Bengal, exclusive of Krishnaghur (Krishnagar), the accessions of native converts to the Christian church had been thus,

From 1793 to 1802 27

„ 1803 to 1812 161

„ 1813 to 1822 403

„ 1823 to 1832 675

„ 1833 to 1842 1045...."²¹ According to these

figures the total number of Indian converts in 1832 was 1266. During 1832-33 the reports of all the missionary Societies together show that the total Indian converts amounted roughly to 140, including 5 from Krishnagar.²² The mass conversion at Krishnagar started after 1833. The total number of Indian converts therefore, would be about 1406 in 1833 according to the available figures given by the missionaries. The number was very insignificant when compared to the vast mass of the Indian population. The missionaries themselves acknowledged this fact.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONVERTS

The first convert, named Krishna Pal, made by the Serampore missionaries in 1800, was a carpenter. Another person who rejected his caste with him was a distiller, another low caste. An analysis of the B.M.S. list would give a fairer idea of the social background of the Indian converts. As this is the only document which gives a somewhat detailed description only up to 1808, the analysis would necessarily seem to be sketchy.

²⁰The writer comments "Even in their fewness, we learnt a fact most encouraging in relation to the future". *The Calcutta Review* vol. XVI, p. 255.

²¹*The Calcutta Review* vol. XVI, p. 255. According to E. Storrow this table was prepared by B.M.S. missionary G. Pearce. Storrow, E. *India and Christian Missions* p. 74.

²²Total arrived at—calculating mainly from:—

S.M. P.A. (Supplement) 1833.

B.M.S. A.R. 1833, 1834.

C.M.S. Record 1833.

The Missionary Register 1833, 1834.

The list contained 9 Brahmins.²³ The missionaries mentioned the surname of only one of them. From the surname he appears to be a Kulin Brahmin, baptized in 1807. There is nothing in the missionary writings which can indicate that he was from a respectable family. They simply stated that he was an old man and "very poorly".²⁴ Of the remaining 8, one was reported to be "excluded", another as of a "doubtful character", the other as "gone back", and two employed as Bengali composers at the Serampore Press.²⁵ The missionaries claimed none of them to be coming from any respectable family. They mentioned about 12 of their converts as "Kaist" and two as "writer cast (sic)".²⁶ It is not known what was the distinction if any between these two, as the missionaries never stated the method of their classifications. The Kayastha class contained many sections, both high and low, so without any other descriptions, it is not possible to find out the social status of these converts. In many cases the missionaries simply mentioned the convert as a "Hindoo", "A Hindoo widow", "A Hindoo woman"²⁷ which indicates nothing as to their caste. Where the missionaries mentioned the caste, the majority of them belonged to the lowest class, such as "Carpenter", "Soore", "Dhobe", "Kaibarta", "Jogge", "Tili", and others.²⁸ By profession these people were respectively, distillers, washermen, fishermen, weavers and oilmen. A large number were mentioned as "Byraggees"²⁹ who lived on begging. Of seven Muslims mentioned in the list,³⁰ one was employed "as Persian compositor" in the Serampore Press. Of the remaining six one was "suspended", two "not heard of lately" another one described as "A Musselman having lost cast (sic) by marriage with a Feringu".³¹ The remaining

²³B.M.S. P.A. vol. III and IV. Preface. A list of converts.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹B.M.S. MSS. Marshman's Journal, Jan. 11, 1803. He described "A Byragge is a man who forsakes his family on pretence of great devotion and goes about begging. They are often joined in a kind of community and a Goroo, who generally furnishes them with a female companion in lieu of a wife. They generally exceed the Hindoos in imprudence and vice".

³⁰B.M.S. P.A. vol. III and IV. Preface. A list of converts.

³¹*Ibid.*

three were stated simply as "Musselman".³² The descriptions tend to confirm that most of the Muslim converts also did not belong to any respectable family. It appears that one of the Muslim converts was a personal servant of Ward.³³ Incidentally, there is no other description of the Muslim converts in the missionary writings of the whole period under review. The analysis thus confirms the view expressed by Lord Minto that the converts were mostly "those outcasts, who have taken refuge in the Society of Christians, from the scorn of their countrymen".³⁴

That this trend continued is well corroborated by the writings of both the missionaries and others. In a report on Indian stations dated 23rd June 1813, there is a statement about the rise of a new class of people in Bengal, which the writer believed to be favourable for the progress of Christianity. The report states "that large bodies of Hindoos have left the ancient forms of idolatry, and formed different sects among themselves, ranging themselves under some one leader, called their goroo".³⁵ The writer was telling about the synchomatic sect of the "Kartabhajas", composed mainly of Hindu and Muslim half-castes and out-castes, as mentioned earlier. The first convert of the Serampore Mission was a disciple of Ramdulal the "Guru" of this sect. Most of the "Byragi" converts belonged to this sect. The C.M.S. missionaries, made a large number of converts from this sect, at Krishnagar after 1833.

Ram Mohun Roy expressed his opinion in 1824, that the Indian converts were "generally of the most ignorant class".³⁶ In 1829 Pearson the L.M.S. missionary confessed that the Indian converts mostly belonged to "the lower and poorer class".³⁷ In 1832 the C.M.S. Record quoted a Journal of one of their missionaries from Bengal, stating that they had baptized

³²*Ibid.*

³³B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal, June 26, 1801. Conversation of Ward with his servant Buxoo (a Muslim) who was converted in 1804. B.M.S. P.A. vol. III, Preface.

³⁴Minto Papers (M.209) Lord Minto to E. Parry. Dec. 2, 1807.

³⁵B.M.S. MSS. "Report on Indian Station" June 23, 1813. p. 22-23. Probably written by Fuller.

³⁶Roy, R. M. *The English works* vol. 2, p. 89. Replies to H. Ware.

³⁷L.M.S. MSS. Pearson to the Secretary. May 16, 1829. Box. 2. Fol. 4, Jack. B.

some adults whose occupation was fish catching.³⁸ Pascoe in his history, mentioned that the majority of the S.P.G. converts at Howrah in 1832 were "of the peasant class",³⁹ and of Tollygunge in 1833, were "entirely of the poded and teore castes".⁴⁰

During 1832-33 Duff converted four brilliant young students of the Hindu College.⁴¹ They were Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, Gopinath Nandi, Krishna Mohan Bandopadhyaya, and Ananda Chandra Mazumder, all from most respectable families of Bengal. Krishnamohan was a Kulin Brahman of the highest order. Christianity for the first time made a penetration in the upper class society in Bengal. All other previous claims were without any foundation.

J. Richter, commenting on the achievement of Duff wrote "It was wholly new—no longer to see orphan children picked up anywhere, outcastes, beggars and cripples becoming members of the Christian Church".⁴² This was of course a great achievement for hitherto the candidates for baptism had been "poor down trodden individuals belonging to the lowest castes".⁴³ K. S. Latourette, commenting upon the missionary position in Bengal, at the time of Duff's arrival, stated "conversions had admittedly not been numerous and the larger proportion of them had been from members of the lower social strata".⁴⁴

THE MOTIVES OF CONVERSION

The missionaries in Bengal always considered the question of providing shelter and employment to their Indian converts, as an essential part of their duty. As already noticed, Carey was glad to be appointed as Superintendent of the indigo-factory at Madnabati, for it gave him enough opportunity to offer "employment" to anyone who "lose cast (sic) for the Gospel".⁴⁵ Ward wrote in his journal that they had purchased land on

³⁸C.M.S. *Record* p. 165, 1832.

³⁹Pascoe *Two hundred years of the S.P.G.* p. 477.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Smith *The life of A. Duff* vol. I, p. 158-163.

⁴²Richter *A History of the Missions in India* p. 184.

⁴³*Ibid.* p. 174.

⁴⁴Latourette, K. S. *A History of Expansion of Christianity*. vol. VI, p. 115-6.

⁴⁵B.M.S. MSS. Carey to B.M.S. Aug. 5, 1794.

which they were building a hut for two of their converts.⁴⁶ Enough concern was shown for the employment of the first convert Krishna.⁴⁷ When the number of converts grew it became difficult to find employment for all. Ward commented "We are exceedingly puzzled about the employment of the new converts",⁴⁸ who mostly lived on begging. In 1805 the Serampore missionaries decided to employ more Indian converts as preachers of the Gospel.⁴⁹ The gradual expansion of the missionary work, and the Serampore Press, created opportunities for the employment of the Indian converts.

The practice of giving employment to the converts produced a wide-spread belief among the common people that those who came forward for conversion would be given shelter and employment by the missionaries. There was also a wide-spread rumour that an Indian on conversion would be given Rs. 1000 and a wife or mistress. Ward recorded "This day a man came...having heard that we give 1000 Rupees & [and] a mistress to those who would lose cast (sic)".⁵⁰ A man at Hoogly asked a Serampore convert whether it was true that the Serampore missionaries gave money and mistresses" to each person who would lose cast?"⁵¹ The Serampore missionaries acknowledged that the idea was widely prevalent from the very beginning of their missionary activities in Bengal. In Jessore in 1806 a man was murdered and robbed immediately after his return from a visit to Serampore Mission for, the murderers "having heard that he had been at Serampore,...imagined he must have obtained a sum of money there, an idea which has been circulated from the beginning".⁵² The idea was current throughout the whole period under present survey. Ram Mohun Roy testified that such a rumour prevailed.⁵³ The L.M.S. missionary Hill, wrote in 1833, that while on tour in the neighbourhood of Berhampore he was frequently told by the villagers, "that a missionary has

⁴⁶*Ibid* Ward's journal. Aug. 25, 1801.

⁴⁷*Ibid* Carey to Fuller. Aug. 4, 1801.

⁴⁸*Ibid* Ward's journal. Feb. 26, 1802.

⁴⁹Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 229.

⁵⁰B.M.S. MSS. Ward's journal Dec. 6, 1902.

⁵¹*Ibid* Sept. 25, 1803.

⁵²*Ibid* Carey. Marshman and others to the B.M.S. Committee. Dec. 25, 1806.

⁵³Roy, Ram Mohun *The English works* vol. 1, p. 256.

promised to any who would become Xn [Christian] 1000 Rupees and an English wife".⁵⁴

Those who were poor and in debt seem to have been tempted by the material gains of conversion. Ward recorded in his journal that an Indian came to Serampore Mission for conversion but went away soon after when he found that his hope of paying off his debts by becoming Christian might not be fulfilled.⁵⁵ Ward feared that the Indian converts might have been primarily influenced by worldly expectations.⁵⁶ That such material rewards were sometimes offered by the missionaries is shown by a letter of Forsyth to Carey in which the writer charges the Serampore missionaries with having used "underhand means" to convert people.⁵⁷ Ward acknowledged that "Having lent some money to three of our friends....several others of the newly baptized have been asking to have money lent them".⁵⁸ Ward explained that many converts were "incensed at us for excluding them & [and] refusing to employ them".⁵⁹ According to Lord Minto, the majority of the converts were "attracted by little gains and in their employment at the Printing Press".⁶⁰

Mardon, a B.M.S. missionary from his station at Goamalty in north Bengal, reported that he had taken 30 bighas of land, so that "I can find employment for my brethren or for enquirers who may want employment".⁶¹ Some converts of the Serampore Mission, in a joint petition to the Bishop of Calcutta, Middleton, complained that they were "seduced....by hope of support and protection",⁶² the promise which they alleged, the Serampore missionaries were neglecting to fulfil. Ram Mohun Roy commenting on the above petition wrote, "the greater number have been allured to change their faith by other attractions than by a conviction of truth and reasonableness of those

⁵⁴L.M.S. MSS. M. Hill's Journal. Dec. 23, 1833.

⁵⁵B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal. April 12, 1802.

⁵⁶*Ibid* Sept. 17, 1802.

⁵⁷*Ibid* March 2, 1805.

⁵⁸*Ibid* Dec. 7, 1805.

⁵⁹*Ibid* Sept. 6, 1806.

⁶⁰Minto Papers (M.209) Lord Minto to E. Parry. Dec. 2, 1807.

⁶¹B.M.S. *P.A.* vol. IV, p. 143-4. Mardon to Serampore. June 11, 1810.

⁶²Bowen *Missionary incitement and Hindoo Demoralisation* p. 70 quoted the Petition, June 17, 1817.

dogmas, as we find nearly all of them are employed or fed by their spiritual teachers....and in case of neglect are apt to manifest a rebellious spirit".⁶³ Adam also expressed similar opinion that the converts were "employed as domestic servants, ...as compositors....in printing office, and....as itinerant preachers, at a rate of salary not more than a domestic servant or compositor receive".⁶⁴ He emphatically expressed his conviction that "a considerable proportion of them have not been influenced by love of truth".⁶⁵

The missionaries themselves expressed great doubts about the sincerity of their own converts. The L.M.S. reported in 1830, "That some persons have applied from an unworthy motive, few acquainted with the subject will be disposed to deny".⁶⁶ When Ramhari the first convert of the L.M.S. went over to the Baptists, E. Roy a L.M.S. Missionary commented "I fear his main object was to better his worldly circumstances".⁶⁷ The same missionary admitted that all other missionary societies gave each adult and their children a set of new clothes after conversion, and shelter and food to all who come as candidates for baptism or enquirers of Christianity. The money which each of these people received, according to E. Roy, was equal to a labourer's daily wage. Thus many, in his opinion, simply came for food and shelter, spent a few days or even months and then went away without becoming Christians.⁶⁸

The Serampore Account commenting on the motives of their converts at Baruiopore Station states "that the motives of some of them in professing to believe the Gospel were wholly of a worldly character".⁶⁹ The Account further admits that these persons were engaged in an old dispute with their landlord, and that they expected to obtain victory at the court by associating themselves with the Europeans and also pecuniary support in conducting their litigation.⁷⁰

⁶³Roy, Ram Mohun *The English works* vol. 2, p. 90.

⁶⁴Adam *Replies to H. Ware's queries* p. 46.

⁶⁵*Ibid* p. 54.

⁶⁶L.M.S. *Report* p. 33, 1830.

⁶⁷*Ibid* MSS. E. Roy's letter. Jan., 1830. Box. 3, Fol. 1, Jack. C.

⁶⁸*Ibid*.

⁶⁹S.M. *P.A.* (Supplement) p. 4, 1830.

⁷⁰*Ibid*.

In 1832, Lacroix and Piffard, L.M.S. missionaries, commented "We have likewise reason to fear that some hasty baptism that had taken place, especially at Gangree, of characters whom events proved not to have been sincere, have much contributed to retard the progress of the work. Persons of this description, it would seem by their own subsequent confession, had an infinite idea that they would be benefitted in a temporal point of view by making a profession of Christianity".⁷¹ He also explained that some of these converts went over from one Society of missionaries to another with the expectation of gaining better pecuniary return. Some people came to the Baptists in 1833, and stated that they had lost their crop by saline water, and wanted to become Christians in order to borrow a considerable sum of money. They made it absolutely clear that if they did not get enough money from the Baptists, then they would go to another Society.⁷²

The C.M.S. missionary J. J. Weitbrecht wrote in 1833 about some enquirers that "they know the civilians...are my friends, so there is a general opinion that if they get my favour, they will succeed in obtaining good employment".⁷³ More often the C.M.S. missionaries found the real object of the enquirers and the converts "was the hope, by such a change of religious profession, to improve their temporal circumstances".⁷⁴

From these comments on the motives of the converts made by both the individuals and the missionaries it may be inferred that those Indians who embraced Christianity did so primarily for material gains rather than for spiritual regeneration. The missionaries on their part were fully aware of "the evil arising from baptizing individuals of whose conversion there is not the most satisfactory evidence".⁷⁵

THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE CONVERTS

The most important aspect of conversion however, was not the number of the converts, their social background, or even

⁷¹L.M.S. MSS. Lacroix and Piffard to the Society. Aug. 9, 1852. Box. 3, Fol. 3, Jack. C.

⁷²S.M. P.A. (Supplement) p. 8, 1833.

⁷³C.M.S. Record p. 175, 1833. Weitbrecht's Journal April 14, 1833.

⁷⁴Ibid p. 4, 1834.

⁷⁵L.M.S. Report p. 28-29, 1833.

their motives, but their behaviour after conversion to Christianity. The desire of the missionaries to remedy all the "miseries" of the Indian people through Christianity, was only possible if conversion could (as the missionaries firmly believed) bring a revolutionary change in the character, attitude and behaviour of their converts.

The letters and journals of the Serampore missionaries described everything in detail about their Mission. From these accounts which cover roughly the first ten years of the Serampore Mission (1800-1810), a vivid picture about the behaviour of the converts may be gathered. The missionary writings after 1810, hardly mentioned anything in detail about the behaviour of the converts. The official reports of all the Missionary Societies, were marked with caution and the true accounts of the behaviour of the converts were either suppressed or produced in modified form. Under these limitations the subject can possibly be best discussed by first examining the reliable materials: which in this case happen to be the private accounts of the missionaries in Bengal; and then to compare these accounts with the official report to find out the pattern followed by the latter in censoring the private accounts.

Krishna Pal, the first convert and his family, occupy a large part in the early writings of the Serampore missionaries. Ward recorded in his journal that "we have been unhappy this week" because of a quarrel between Krishna's family and Unna, a converted widow "who lived with them [Krishna's family] as servant".⁷⁶ After conversion, Unna "got it into her head that as she was a holy sister, it was not right to be Creshnoo's [Krishna's] servant".⁷⁷ After the quarrel she left Krishna's house and started living in the house of Gokul—another convert. One evening Gokul came to Ward and asked him "whether it was right that he should always have his mind on Xt's [Christ's] death. He said by always keeping his thoughts on that, his mind got dried & [and] exhausted".⁷⁸ In connection with Unna, there was a continuous quarrel between the families of Krishna and Gokul. The quarrel reached a climax when "Gokul

⁷⁶B.M.S. MSS. Ward's journal. Aug. 29, 1801.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸*Ibid* Aug. 30, 1801.

(Gokul)....behaved in the most irregular & [and] imprudent manner. His conduct is like that of a person insane. He and his wife & [and] Unna are full of passion against us & [and] Creshnoo's (Krishna's) family. We are very uneasy".⁷⁹ They were excluded from the Church, but did not leave the two huts, which the missionaries had built for them. Another day Gokul came with a stick and "stamped upon the testament".⁸⁰ The same evening he abused some converts. Ward commented "We fear he makes hemp which has an intoxicating effect. You will conceive how much these circumstances affect us".⁸¹

Marshman wrote that the missionaries had a serious conversation with Krishna "relative to some work he had done for us, in which we apprehend he had charged us 15 or 20 percent above the Calcutta price".⁸² He also described in the same letter, a serious quarrel between Krishna and Petumber another convert. Petumber had lived at Krishna's house for about three months. Krishna sent his servant to demand money for lodging from Petumber. Petumber was offended because Krishna had not told him about the charges before, and the result was a quarrel. During this quarrel Krishna used against Petumber "reproachful language in presence of many people.... I leave you to guess the state of our minds. The aggressor our first convert".⁸³ The missionaries specially advised their women converts "to cultivate love and harmony and avoid particularly all back-biting, tale-bearing and enlarging on other's faults".⁸⁴ Women converts manifested more often "a looseness of speaking and coldness in attending upon divine things".⁸⁵

The relationship between the converts was tinged with jealousy. When Petumber was appointed as a preacher, Krishna became disgusted with the missionaries and started preaching separately in his house. Most of the Indian converts joined him. Marshman commented "The schism of Krishno (Krishna)

⁷⁹*Ibid* Feb. 6, 1802.

⁸⁰*Ibid* April 5, 1802.

⁸¹*Ibid*.

⁸²B.M.S. MSS. Marshman's letter in the form of a journal. April 29 1802.

⁸³*Ibid* May 19, 1802.

⁸⁴*Ibid* May 21, 1802.

⁸⁵*Ibid* Ward's Journal May 21, 1802.

has filled us with a sensation of grief and fear, which I can hardly describe".⁸⁶ Ward's comment on Krishna's action was "We have this day had a more dreadful schism amongst us than at any former time".⁸⁷ After about three months Ward wrote again "Creshno (Krishna) has been dissatisfied with our allowance to him & [and] seems to think we have used him hardly. He has said some hardish words to Bro. [Brother] M. [Marshman] on this subject".⁸⁸ The missionaries decided then to appoint Krishna as an itinerant preacher with a fixed salary.

The values and morals of the Indians hardly changed after conversion. Haladhar who after his conversion had been forcibly taken away by his father was one day brought back to the Serampore Mission by some Indians who demanded money for their service. It was later found that these men were acting on the instructions of Krishna's wife. Krishna's family was found guilty of encouraging an illicit relationship between Haladhar and Goloke, Krishna's married daughter.⁸⁹ Apart from being a heavy gambler, Bhyrub, a Brahman convert who married Krishna's third daughter, turned out to be a professional forgerer. Ward wrote "This day I caught Bhyrub in a fraud. He had been trying to get money from the Sirkar (Sarkar) by presenting a forged bill in our name. This led to a discovery of more than a dozen other forgeries whereby he had got from the Sirkar at different times more than 60 rupees".⁹⁰ He was excluded from the Church. After restoration he was again found "forging a receipt to get money from us. He lately stole from our house a silver spoon".⁹¹ The missionaries carried the matter to the Magistrate who gave Bhyrub "a thorough flogging". On hearing this "Krishnoo (Krishna) has been in a dreadful passion with us.... He declared that he would sell his all & [and] wander about the country to warn people against becoming Xns. [Christians]".⁹² Another convert Mohan (husband of

⁸⁶*Ibid* Marshman's letter Jan. 4, 1803.

⁸⁷*Ibid* Ward's Journal Jan. 2, 1803.

⁸⁸*Ibid* May 5, 1803.

⁸⁹*Ibid* June 25, 1803.

also Marshman's letters June 25 and Aug. 30, 1803.

⁹⁰B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal Aug. 6, 1804.

⁹¹*Ibid* Nov. 24, 1806.

⁹²*Ibid* Dec. 6, 1806.

Krishna's first daughter Goloke) was suspended for indulging in gambling and prostitution.⁹³ Ward brought to the notice of the missionaries "a practice too much followed by Creshnoo (Krishna) & [and] a few more of our native brethren, viz, the smoking of an intoxicating herb called Ganja".⁹⁴

Chamberlain in 1804 wrote to Ryland "Kreeshnoo (Krishna) and his family have behaved in a most unlovely manner....acted in opposition,...have quarrelled and disgraced themselves and others in the open world".⁹⁵ He wrote elaborately about Krishna that "his self-conceit and indolence are his misery and ruin. From the former proceeds uncommon anger & [and] stubbornness and the latter produces extravagance and poverty. He was so idle....so little attentive to truth in his engagements, so unjust in his charges, that nobody gave him work, and Brethren find that a heathen does better by far than he did".⁹⁶

But the editor who presented Krishna's memoir written by Ward to the British people, declared him in 1823 "a Hindoo Christian, who for upwards of twenty years, 'adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour', by denying ungodliness and wordly lusts, and living soberly, righteously, and godly, in the midst of the corrupt native population of idolatrous India".⁹⁷

Stealing and falsehood were the common vices of the convert community, "I fear our native friends are far from having renounced falsehood. Oh! how discouraged am I sometimes by accusations, differences & [and] apparent falsehoods".⁹⁸ Likewise Carey commented "The state of things among us is in some respects painful....I fear that there is a (very) great decline in the vital power of religion among some of our Hindoo friends".⁹⁹

The missionary writings are full of frequent references to cases of adultery and co-habitation. Once the missionaries

⁹³*Ibid* May 31, 1805 and Sept. 1, 1806.

⁹⁴*Ibid* Dec. 8, 1804.

⁹⁵*Ibid* Chamberlain to Ryland. Oct. 3, 1804.

⁹⁶*Ibid*.

⁹⁷Ward. *Brief Memoir of Krishna Pal* p. IV Advertisement to the second edition. 1823.

⁹⁸B.M.S. MSS. Ward's journal. Aug. 16, 1803.

⁹⁹*Ibid* Carey to Fuller. Feb. 27, 1804.

rescued a girl from a prostitute house and converted her. She was then allowed to marry a person of her choice among the converts. Soon after her marriage she was found "in a state of adultery".¹⁰⁰ The missionaries wanted to regularise the cases of long co-habitation by marriage, but not always with success. Some were ashamed of marriage because of advanced age, "tho' [I thought] not too old to be co-habited with".¹⁰¹ The question of marriage arose only when one was living with a particular woman for a long time. The missionaries frequently suspended those converts who lived with different women at different times or visited "bad women's house". One of their woman converts, Ward reported "has been ill of the foul disease".¹⁰² One of the converts when suspended became a Muslim. Ward said "This is the first instance of any of our excluded becoming Mussalman".¹⁰³

The official reports of the missionaries mentioned the cases of suspension or exclusion without giving the precise reasons. Instead vague terms such as "improper conduct", "un-Christian conduct", "irregular conduct", and "conduct unbecoming the Gospel", were used. For example, the official report on the exclusion of three converts—John, Golamee and Ananda (Krishna's second daughter) mentions "for conduct unbecoming the Gospel" as the reason for their exclusion.¹⁰⁴ It is, however, from the journal of Ward, one finds that John and Golamee were excluded for prostitution, and Ananda, the wife of Krishna Prasad the first Brahman convert of the Serampore Mission, for committing adultery.¹⁰⁵

With the increase in the irregularities of the conduct of the converts the missionary reports stopped even disclosing the names of the sinners. It appears that most of those who were excluded went back to their old faith.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰*Ibid* Ward's journal. Feb. 7, 1808.

¹⁰¹*Ibid* Jan. 22, 1805.

¹⁰²*Ibid* Jan. 15, 1805.

¹⁰³*Ibid* Oct. 9, 1806.

¹⁰⁴B.M.S. P.A. vol. III, p. 246. Carey Marshman, Ward and others to the Society. June 24, 1806.

¹⁰⁵B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal. May 2 and 26, 1806.

¹⁰⁶S.M. P.A. (Supplement) p. 4, 1832 also B.M.S. A.R. p. 13, 1833.

Since conversion to Christianity was held out by the missionaries as a sure guarantee for good conduct the Bengali Newspaper hardly failed to seize on a case of misconduct and ridicule the missionary pretensions. Thus when a convert beat his wife so severely that she had to report to the police station covered with blood, the Bengali "*Sambad Timira Nashak*" commented, "If this be the manner in which Christians subdued their evil passions, then what is preached on the highways that people having overcome them should become Christians, is all mere pretence".¹⁰⁷

The other Societies reported very briefly on the misconduct of their converts. The C.M.S. records give two cases where the converts "were dismissed for misconduct".¹⁰⁸ J. J. Weitbrecht wrote from Burdwan, that "The Hindoo has a natural apathy and indolent manner which are in some degree to be observed in all converts".¹⁰⁹ Two Christian families at Bankura quarrelled for a long time, and peace was restored only when "I had excommunicated a woman".¹¹⁰ The journal of Weitbrecht gave a detailed account of cheating by one of their converts who had "more than common talents and particular gifts".¹¹¹ He lamented that it was "painful to discover such a wretched individual among those who have lately been added to the visible Church and confess the name of Christ".¹¹² Another C.M.S. missionary from Calcutta wrote to the Secretary that "there is not one convert...in whom the missionaries have any confidence,...many of them idle, quarrelsome & [and] proud to a degree".¹¹³

A. F. Lacroix reported in 1830 from his station that the year before he had to suspend two of his converts "on account of immoral conduct".¹¹⁴ In 1832 two more were excluded "on

¹⁰⁷*Selections from Calcutta Gazette* vol. VI, p. 230 Sept. 24, 1827, ed. A. C. Das Gupta, from "*Sambad Timira Nashak*".

¹⁰⁸C.M.S. *Record* p. 36, 1830.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid* p. 11, 1832.

¹¹⁰*Ibid* p. 25, 1833.

¹¹¹*Ibid* MSS. Weitbrecht's journal. Jan. 20, 1833.

¹¹²*Ibid*.

¹¹³C.M.S. MSS. Latham to the Secretary. Mar. 29, 1828.

¹¹⁴L.M.S. MSS. Lacroix to the Secretary. May 1, 1830. Box. 3, Fol. 1. Jack. C.

account of improper conduct".¹¹⁵ The W.M.M.S. missionary Hodson commented in a letter that "The Gospel has affected the hearts of a few....the alert missionaries find difficulty in laying their hands on a real convert".¹¹⁶ The S.P.G. informed that two of their converts "have been subjected to temporary exclusion in consequence of misconduct".¹¹⁷

The missionaries always wanted their real achievement to be judged from the conduct and character of their converts. Ward claimed that a "striking" change "in the views and character"¹¹⁸ of a man takes place, when he is converted to Christianity. It is for this reason that the missionaries felt frustrated and grieved at the misconduct of their converts and obliged either to suppress the news or to report in a modified form. Realising the failure of Christianity in curing these human beings from their vices the missionaries often put the blame on the country and religion of the Indians. Thus Marshman in his journal, while discussing the vices of the converts commented that "this nation is peculiarly addicted"¹¹⁹ to those vices. On another occasion while discussing "stealing" he commented that this was "disrespectful" but not "wonderful in such a country as this".¹²⁰ Ward, reporting a quarrel between their converts commented "Heat & [and] passion are here national sins".¹²¹

These sins were by no means typically Indian. Reference has already been made to the state of Christian Society in England and to the manners and morals of Europeans in India. It may, however, be repeated here that most of the Indian converts came from the lowest strata or from the fringes of the Indian Society and they were by no means representative of the whole Indian Society. It is unfortunate that the missionaries came in closest contact with this section of the Indian community, for these limited acquaintances influenced their opinion about the Indians as a whole.

¹¹⁵*Ibid Report* p. 26-27, 1833.

¹¹⁶W.M.M.S. MSS. Hodson to the Secretary. Nov. 3, 1830.

¹¹⁷S.P.G. *Report* p. 52, 1833.

¹¹⁸Ward *Farewell letters* p. 311 "on the striking nature of the changes wrought in the views and character of a converted Hindoo".

¹¹⁹B.M.S. MSS. Marshman's Journal. May 21, 1802.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

¹²¹*Ibid* Ward's Journal. May 19, 1802.

PEOPLE'S REACTION TO CONVERSION AND CONVERTS

In the early years of their activities the Serampore missionaries recorded vividly the reactions of the people to their converts and their families. Carey wrote on Dec. 22, 1800 that "Gokool (Gokul) and Krishna have this day thrown away their cast (sic)...and ate with us in the presence of all".¹²² He wrote about the reaction next day (Dec. 23, 1800) that "This day the whole town and country has been full of confusion".¹²³ Ward described the incident in detail. He wrote "The whole neighbourhood, as soon as it was noticed that these people had lost cast (sic) was in an uproar. It is said that two thousand people were assembled, pouring their anathemas on the new converts".¹²⁴ The people dragged Krishna and Gokul to the Danish Magistrate who ordered them to disperse. They brought Krishna again to the court on the charge that he "refused to deliver up his daughter to a man contracted in marriage to her".¹²⁵ The Magistrate again rejected the petition. Because of the great commotion, the Governor of Serampore "sent a sepoy to watch Kreeshnoo's (Krishna's) house last night".¹²⁶ Krishna Pal was insulted publicly "on account of his renouncing Hindooism".¹²⁷ Someone composed a taunting "rhyme at Creeshnoo's (Krishna's) expense" in Bengali, which people sang whenever they saw him. The rhyme in English as given by Ward was "Creeshnoo! (Krishna) who are you? The devil's own & [and] in hell is your thrones".¹²⁸ When Krishna was publicly baptized in the river on 28th December, 1800, the Governor of Serampore posted police "to protect the missionaries from all interruption".¹²⁹ After Krishna's baptism Ward wrote "There seems to be a great fermentation in the minds of the

¹²²*Ibid* Carey to Sutcliffe. Nov. 27 to Dec. 29, 1800.

¹²³*Ibid*.

¹²⁴*Ibid* Ward's Journal. Dec. 23, 1800. Krishna was converted on 28 Dec. 1800, Gokul although not converted then, lost caste.

¹²⁵*Ibid*.

¹²⁶*Ibid* Dec. 24, 1800.

¹²⁷*Ibid* Dec. 27, 1800.

¹²⁸*Ibid*.

¹²⁹Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 139.

people. Gokol (Gokul) says a thousand people clapped their hands & [and] hissed at him".¹³⁰

As a consequence of baptism a Hindu lost all connection with his friends and relatives. The caste rules were observed and eating, drinking, or associating in any other way with a converted person was prohibited. Marshman wrote that they had a meeting to "consider how we shall procure wives for our native brethren Contracts made before they were baptized are esteemed as invalid. The parents will not give them their daughters".¹³¹ Ward recorded that "nobody would let them [converts] an inch of ground on earth, if they [people] could help it".¹³² When their first preacher, old Petumber was reported ill at his station, he was immediately brought to Serampore, as Ward stated "that if he died there, nobody would bury him".¹³³

Not only the convert but his whole family was excommunicated. This may partly explain why the other members of a convert's family gradually embraced Christianity. Krishna's family lost caste with him, and most of them were gradually converted. But the man with whom Krishna had contracted his daughter's marriage, though Hindu demanded that Krishna should deliver his daughter up to him. During 1801, the missionaries reported that "Krishna's daughter was seized at a little distance....and carried off".¹³⁴ Ward wrote "Krishnoo (Krishna) came and told us he had heard that....his daughter was nearly murdered on her way to Calcutta".¹³⁵ Krishna was sent to Calcutta and on his return Ward wrote that "His daughter had been beaten but not killed".¹³⁶ The Calcutta authorities handed the girl over to the man to whom she was betrothed and they were married immediately.¹³⁷ Ward reported again that "her husband's family are taking the means to

¹³⁰B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal Dec. 29, 1800.

¹³¹*Ibid* Marshman's Journal Sep. 4, 1804.

¹³²*Ibid* Ward's Journal Aug. 11, 1804.

¹³³*Ibid* Aug. 19, 1804.

¹³⁴B.M.S. P.A. vol. II, p. 175. April 10, 1801.

¹³⁵*Ibid* MSS. Ward's Journal. April 11, 1801.

¹³⁶*Ibid* April 22, 1801.

¹³⁷The girl named Goloke and her husband Mohan were both converted afterwards by the Serampore missionaries as already noticed.

retain her cast (sic)".¹³⁸ There are several other instances when force was applied by relatives of the convert to bring him back to the family and the faith. As already noticed Haladhar's father carried away his son by force. One day in 1806, Ward was informed that one of their converts was carried away by force in a boat. At the immediate intervention of the missionaries the boy was rescued. Ward wrote "his mother was in the boat, and when she saw her son carrying (sic) back, she struck her head against the floor".¹³⁹ In 1810, a nephew of a wealthy man of Calcutta, lost caste. After this was known, writes J. C. Marshman "an attempt was made by his relatives to seize him in the streets of Calcutta, but Mr. Ward conveyed him safely to Serampore".¹⁴⁰ When it was known at Serampore, a mob gathered before the Magistrate's court and demanded his release. But the people afterwards dispersed when the Magistrate rejected their demand.¹⁴¹

Ward recorded another case, when the father of a convert came from his village to Serampore, and begged the missionaries to allow his son to go with him. He said "that the young man's mother was dying of grief".¹⁴² Ward commented "How difficult in such a case "to love Christ better than father and mother".¹⁴³ Indeed it was difficult, for conversion to Christianity meant not only separation from the village community but also from one's near and dear ones if the latter chose to stick to their faith.

Towards the close of 1806, the Serampore missionaries decided to lay down a precedent for the future when the wife of a convert refused to join him. The missionaries directed one of their Hindu converts named Bhagabat to draw up a document. Bhagabat draw up the document stating that although he had embraced Christianity, he still considered himself to be the lawful husband of the woman whom he had married while he was a Hindu, and was still willing to discharge the duties of

¹³⁸B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal Feb. 26, 1802.

¹³⁹*Ibid* Aug. 22, 1806.

¹⁴⁰Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 427.

¹⁴¹*Ibid* p. 428.

¹⁴²B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal, Aug. 22, 1804.

¹⁴³*Ibid*.

a husband; but that he should consider the connection dissolved if she persisted in refusing to live with him. The document was formally registered in the Serampore court, and then Bhagabat went with it to his own village. He was not allowed to enter in his house. He therefore read aloud the document, in the presence of several witnesses, standing at the outer door of the house. He then sent the document to his wife. His wife, writes J. C. Marshman, "tore the paper in pieces, and declared that from the day of his baptism she had renounced him for ever, and assumed the condition and dress of a widow".¹⁴⁴ When Bhagabat returned to Serampore, the missionaries decided that in such a case "the convert was no longer debarred from contracting a second marriage".¹⁴⁵

The Serampore missionaries after 1803, allowed their Brahman converts to preach with the poita (Brahmanical thread) across their shoulder. "This practice" writes Marshman "gave great umbrage. . . , and on one occasion, the wealthy natives of Serampore lodged a complaint on this ground in the magistrate's court, and demanded that he should restrain those who had renounced Hindooism from appearing in the poita; but he rejected their petition".¹⁴⁶ During 1809, the Serampore missionaries informed "Now the alarm has subsided".¹⁴⁷

When the converts tried to preach in a new place for the first time, they faced hostile public reaction. Ward wrote in 1806 that "The curiosity & [and] surprise of the people of Calcutta is amazingly excited. Mobs follow our brethren through the streets & [and] give them every kind of abuse & [and] clapping their hands etc. Some abused them as Feringees—others for losing cast (sic)".¹⁴⁸ In Jessore the people "cried out Hurubol (Haribol), some clapped their hands"¹⁴⁹ when a man and his family were baptized in 1812. For the fear of losing connection with the relatives, the converts sometimes

¹⁴⁴Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 284-5.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶*Ibid* p. 176-177.

¹⁴⁷B.M.S. P.A. vol. IV p. 40 Carey, Marshman, Ward and others to the Society. Sept. 1809.

¹⁴⁸B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal June 29, 1806.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid* P.A. vol. IV, p. 109. Petrusse to Ward June 30, 1812.

even concealed that they were ever baptized. Ward wrote about their Jessore station in 1807 that "A husbandman, named Lochon, one of our baptized, lately died...at his father-in-law's, where, it is to be feared he did not make known that he had been baptized".¹⁵⁰ Marshman reported another case also from Jessore where one of their converts named Nilu, on arriving home, in the presence of his relatives had "sprinkled himself with Toolsey (sic) water (the Tulsi is a sacred tree). This sprinkling was equivalent to a bathing in Gonga (sic) as a proof that he did not reject idols".¹⁵¹

When caste rules were vigorously applied it created great difficulties for the converted persons and their families. The converted people became in reality socially ostracised. No professional class would render them any service, landlords refused to recognise them as tenants. The life of the converts under these conditions became intolerable. The Serampore missionaries tried to solve this problem by establishing a new village in Jessore. They reported in 1824 that "In order to avoid many acts of injustice and oppression to which the native Christians are exposed from the heathen landlords and magistrates, a new village has been formed about five miles from Sahebgunge—called Christianpore, and nearly half of the members of the Church have taken up their residence there".¹⁵² But the problem remained in almost similar form throughout the whole period. G. Pearce, inspected one of their village stations at Kharee, in the Sunderbans, and reported in 1830 from this village about 50 miles from Calcutta that "Thro' [through] the influence we conceive of the landlords there, the Barbers and midwives refused to serve them [the converts]...while the washermen threatened that they would soon desist from washing their clothes".¹⁵³ He further reported that "I am happy to say that the magistrate of the district on the matters being represented to him, immediately put a stop to it".¹⁵⁴

Lacroix had a similar experience in one of their stations near Calcutta. He reported "The persecution they [the con-

¹⁵⁰B.M.S. MSS, Ward's Journal Feb. 9, 1806.

¹⁵¹*Ibid* Marshman to Ryland Feb. 18, 1807. Bound volume

¹⁵²B.M.S. A.R. p. 10, 1824.

¹⁵³*Ibid* MSS. Pearce to Dyer. April 10, 1830.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid*.

verts] have to suffer consists rather in being annoyed in every possible manner by the landlord".¹⁵⁵ The possible ways in which the converts were harassed, Lacroix explained, were by bringing false charges of debt against them, with the intention to deprive them of their lands, or by refusing them to allow any further to continue as tenants. The barbers and midwives, he said, also refused to serve the converts. Lacroix gave the converts razors and advised them to become independent. He assured them that he would take the matter in his hands and if necessary send a petition to the Magistrate. He added that "I am happy however to say, that no instance of refusal has... occurred, the midwives at any station having hitherto continued to act as usual".¹⁵⁶

Two converts, belonging to the Scrampore Mission, were murdered during the whole period under survey. Ward wrote in 1802, "This day we have received the most afflictive intelligence, no less than that of the murder of Samdass (Shyamdas) at a place near Chinsurah, about 14 miles from hence".¹⁵⁷ Shyamdas was a bricklayer by profession who lost his caste before conversion because of co-habiting with a Portuguese woman.¹⁵⁸ Another convert was murdered at Howrah in 1830. In Lacroix's opinion, the convert was murdered "at the instigation of the Zaminders".¹⁵⁹ The missionaries never said that they were murdered on account of their conversion. They were, in all probability, murdered because of some private quarrels.

The immediate reaction to the first conversions was thus a violent commotion, which gradually subsided. There was, however, no violence committed against the person of a convert. When the first outburst of anger and excitement subsided, the people adopted subtler and more permanent means to deal with the converts. The Hindus had at least two great weapons in their hands which they could use against the converts. Firstly the enforcement of caste laws against all converts and their

¹⁵⁵L.M.S. MSS. Lacroix to the Society. May 20, 1830 Box. 3, Fol. 1, Jack. C.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷B.M.S. MSS. Ward's Journal. Sept. 15, 1802.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid* P.A. vol. III Preface. A list of converts.

¹⁵⁹L.M.S. MSS. Lacroix to the Society. May 20, 1830. Box. 3, Fol. 1, Jack. C.

families, made them completely isolated from the rest of the Society, in which they used to live. Secondly, the enforcement of the Hindu law of Inheritance, which denied any right to paternal property to a Hindu who had rejected his paternal religion (although not applicable in the majority of the cases of the converts during this period).

The Serampore missionaries, from the beginning of their work "resolved to exterminate every vestige....of caste from the Christian community they were rearing up".¹⁶⁰ They accordingly encouraged and celebrated the marriage between Ananda and Krishna Prasad (he was a Brahman and she the daughter of Krishna Pal, a carpenter) as "a glorious triumph over caste".¹⁶¹ But the missionaries were helpless to do anything outside their own "Christian Community".

The attention of the Serampore missionaries had long been drawn to the Hindu Law of Inheritance. In 1826 Carey made an attempt to do something to amend the Law "but the movement was without result".¹⁶² Duff, along with other missionaries, made another attempt in 1830-31. Carey wrote to his friends in England, requesting them to exert their influence to bring the subject forward, during the coming renewal of the Charter. Bentinck's Regulation of 1831 abolished distinctions of creed, which removed some legal disabilities of the Indian converts and opened before them equal opportunities of employment like other Indians.¹⁶³ In 1832 another Regulation was passed which "was intended and calculated to protect the rights of the Christian converts".¹⁶⁴ Nothing however was done to amend the Hindu Law of Inheritance in the Charter Act of 1833.

THE FAILURE AND FRUSTRATIONS OF THE MISSIONARIES

The number of Indian converts, as already noticed, was very insignificant compared to the vast population. The majority of them were from the lowest strata of the Indian Society,

¹⁶⁰ Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. I, p. 177.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid* p. 181.

¹⁶² *Ibid* vol. 2, p. 457.

¹⁶³ *Ibid* p. 455.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid* p. 457.

outcastes, half-castes and even beggars. Their behaviour after conversion scarcely reflected any change in their character or way of life. Thus the missionaries failed to achieve their main object. The missionaries of different societies working in Bengal, were very conscious of this, and frequently acknowledged their failure.

W. Carey (J) of the B.M.S. wrote from Cutwa in 1822 that "It is more I think, than 12 years that I have been labouring here, but alas not one brought to the truth through my instrumentality".¹⁶⁵ The Secretary of the B.M.S. had complained that their missionaries in India, were backward in correspondence. Pearce explained that "when the success of missionary labours in the East and West Indies is compared, our tardiness may easily be accounted for. It is no pleasing thing to be always telling you of our discouragements. I have hitherto met with little to cheer me from the success of my labours".¹⁶⁶ The Serampore missionaries confessed in 1833, that "We do not disguise the fact that there are stations in our Mission, where not a soul...have been turned to God, that there are converts in whom we have no joy, and that there are Churches sunk almost to nothing".¹⁶⁷

The L.M.S. missionaries at Calcutta "seriously and painfully impressed with little success which has hitherto attended their labours",¹⁶⁸ decided in 1820 to set apart "the first Monday of this month as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer".¹⁶⁹ Mundy from Chinsurah wrote in 1826, "We have to lament the want of success amongst the heathen".¹⁷⁰ The L.M.S. missionaries from Calcutta wrote in 1829 again that "For 12 years the Missionaries of this Society laboured in Calcutta without reaping any fruit".¹⁷¹ Hill from Berhampore wrote to the Society in 1831 "My greatest reason yet remains viz. want of

¹⁶⁵B.M.S. MSS. W. Carey (J) to his father. Sept. 23, 1822.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid* Pearce to Dyer. Oct. 12, 1829.

¹⁶⁷S.M. P.A. (Supplement) Introduction. 1833.

¹⁶⁸L.M.S. Reports p. 49-51, 1823.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid* MSS. Townley—General Report. May 31, 1820. Box. 1, Fol. 3, Jack. C.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid* Mundy to the Secretary. April 11, 1826. Box. 2, Fol. 2, Jack D.

¹⁷¹*Ibid* Gogerly and Adam to Rev. Omre June 9, 1829, Box. 2, Fol. 4, Jack. D.

success among the Heathen. In this I am confident of your sympathy for though success belongs to God, I am the subject of most painful feelings, [for] the object dearest to my heart is so long deferred. Were I to pen my feelings for your information every day.... you would monthly have an octavo volume of disappointments, regrets & [and] unavailing lamentations. This my dear Sirs, has been the greatest impediment to my regular correspondence".¹⁷² Lacroix came to the conclusion in 1833 that "the number of individual connections made hitherto, when compared with the immense population may appear small".¹⁷³

Jetter reported to the C.M.S. Secretary in 1821 that "with regard to the effect...., I am not able to give you such cheering and encouraging accounts, as you are frequently favoured with from your missionaries in other parts of the globe".¹⁷⁴ The C.M.S. "Record" after giving a general view of their mission in Bengal, commented in 1830 that although their missionaries had been labouring for the last eleven years, "the effects may appear insignificant".¹⁷⁵ J. J. Weitbrecht, a C.M.S. missionary after long work in Bengal, commented that a European after travelling through the length and breadth of Bengal "would very probably receive the impression that Christianity has exercised little or no effect".¹⁷⁶

The W.M.M.S. missionary Hodson, in a letter to the Society in 1833, acknowledged that "India has not yielded to us fruit in proportion to the money and men bestowed upon it".¹⁷⁷ Percival of the same Society also admitted that "Calcutta does not allow high coloured statements respecting the progress of Xianity [Christianity]".¹⁷⁸

Rev. James Byrce, the Scottish Chaplain in Calcutta, in a sermon in 1820 said. "Zeal....and diligence....have not been spared by the Christian missionary in his pious attempt to convert the natives of India. But alas! it may be doubted, if at this

¹⁷²*Ibid* Hill to the Society Aug. 18, 1831. Box. 3, Fol. 1, Jack. D.

¹⁷³*Ibid* Lacroix to the Society Oct. 19, 1833. Box. 3, Fol. 4, Jack. D.

¹⁷⁴C.M.S. MSS. Jetter to the Secretary, May 1, 1821.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid* Record p. 222, 1830.

¹⁷⁶Weitbrecht: J. J. *Protestant Missions in Bengal* p. 297-8, 1844.

¹⁷⁷W.M.M.S. MSS. Hodson to the Secretary. March 26, 1833.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid* Percival to the Society. July 24, 1832.

day he boasts a single proselyte to his creed over whom he is warranted to rejoice".¹⁷⁹

Abbe Dubois, the Roman Catholic missionary, after 32 years of work in South India expressed his opinion that there "is no human possibility of converting the Hindoos to any sect of Christianity".¹⁸⁰ His opinion roused a storm of protest from the Protestant missionaries.

Ram Mohun Roy in reply to H. Ware's questions wrote in 1824 that "no denomination of Christians has had any real success in bringing natives of India over to the Christian faith".¹⁸¹

Charles Lushington, who was for a long time Government Chief Secretary, while giving evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1832, was questioned whether there was any progress made in Bengal in the conversion to Christianity? He replied "I am afraid very little".¹⁸²

Writers of later periods also pronounced similar judgements. G. Smith, a B.M.S. missionary during the last part of the nineteenth century commented that "The first fact forced on Duff was, that, as against the Brahmanized Hindoos, the prevailing missionary methods had failed".¹⁸³ K. S. Latourette, wrote "when Duff landed in India, [1830] Christian missions, particularly Protestant missions, were still being sharply questioned. In the years immediately preceding and succeeding his arrival, severe criticisms were circulated in Europe by those having first hand knowledge of the country. Protestant missions were declared a failure".¹⁸⁴

All these writings pronounce without any reserve, the failure of the missionaries in Bengal, in their main task of converting the people to Christianity, during the period under present survey.

¹⁷⁹B.M.S. A.R. p. 33, 1820. Appendix No. 1—Sermon preached at Calcutta on March 18, 1820.

¹⁸⁰Dubois, J. A. *Letters on the state of Christianity in India* p. 2, 1823.

¹⁸¹Roy, Ram Mohun *The English works* vol. 1, p. 256.

¹⁸²*Parliamentary Reports* vol. IX, p. 100. 1831-2.

¹⁸³Smith *The life of A. Duff* vol. 1, p. 107.

¹⁸⁴Latourette, K. S. *A History of Propagation of Christianity* vol. VI, p. 115-6.

CHAPTER VI

THE IMPACT OF THE MISSIONARIES

THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORMS

Although the missionaries failed in their main object of conversion, their activities made an impact both direct and indirect on the Bengali Society.

Their vigorous attack on the age old social customs and religious ceremonies of the people was consequential. Their criticism was mainly directed against Hindu idol-worship and the rite of Sati. The attack on 'Popular Hinduism', particularly idol-worship and superstitions, caused mainly two kinds of Hindu reaction—the reformative and the Conservative, both trying to defend Hinduism against Christianity, the former by reforming it and the latter by preserving it in all its forms. The reformers reacted against the missionaries and the conservatives against both the reformers and the missionaries.

In 1803 the Serampore missionaries deputed some Indians to collect information about Sati from the vicinity of Calcutta. According to the information gathered, the number of Satis exceeded four hundred in one year.¹ In 1804 the Serampore missionaries again stationed ten agents at different places in the same area for six months in order to obtain more accurate information. The number of Satis was found to be about three hundred. During the same time Carey collected from the Pandits of the Fort William College, the various texts of the Hindu Shastras on which Sati practice was based. All these materials were placed at the disposal of G. Udny who was then a member of the Governor-General's Council.² The statistics collected by the Serampore missionaries were used frequently in subsequent missionary writings against Sati both in India and England.

In attacking Satis the missionaries were the first to show that the cruel rite was not sanctioned even by the Hindu

¹Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 1, p. 221.

²*Ibid.* p. 222.

Shastras. Ward put forward this line of argument in his book "*A view of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos*" published in 1817. He used all the information and materials on Sati collected earlier by the Serampore missionaries and concluded that according to the Shastras the practice was not compulsory. The same arguments were also advanced by some Hindus against Sati. In 1817, Mritunjay Vidyalankar published an article in Sanskrit in which he quoted Shastras to show that they did not sanction Sati. In 1818-20 Ram Mohun Roy published two tracts to show that nowhere in the Shastras was the custom enjoined as a compulsory religious duty.³

Having shown that Sati was not sanctioned by the Hindu Shastras, and having secured the full co-operation on the issue of some of the leading Indians of the time, the missionaries continued to demand its total abolition through their Periodicals.⁴

When Sati was abolished on December 4th 1829, "the orthodox Hindoos comprising the great majority of the upper classes, ...were astounded and enraged".⁵ They presented to the Governor-General, on the 14th January 1830, a petition signed by 800 people accompanied by a paper of authority drawn by 120 Pandits, demanding the restoration of the rite, on the ground that it was a religious duty.⁶ Lord Bentinck, however, paid no attention to their representation.

A meeting of the Conservatives was held at Sanskrit College on 17th January 1830, and a Society called *Dharma Sabha* was formed with Bhabani Charan Bandopadhyaya as its Secretary.⁷ The main objects of the Society were (I) to restore the rite of Sati and (II) to protect the general interest of the Hindus.⁸

Ram Mohun Roy presented a paper on 16th January 1830, to Bentinck, signed by 300 'liberal friends' congratulating the

³Roy, R. M. *The English works* p. 321-363.

⁴S.M. P.A. p. 364, 1829. From *The Friend of India* 1822.

⁵Marstman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 413.

⁶Mazumder, J. K. ed. *Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India* p. 156-163. From *The Asiatic Journal* July 1830.

⁷Bandopadhyaya, Bhabani Charan (1787-1848) was a powerful writer in Bengali and editor of *Samachar Chandrika*—the most powerful organ of the Conservatives.

⁸*Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. Jan. 23, 1830. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 290 from *Samachar Chandrika*.

Governor-General on the abolition of Sati.⁹ He also published a tract to refute the arguments put forward by 120 Pandits that Sati was a compulsory religious duty.¹⁰

The missionaries were highly delighted at the abolition of Sati. Carey received the Regulation which prohibited Sati on Saturday evening and was so delighted that he "instead of going into the pulpit, completed the translation before night".¹¹ Lacroix, the L.M.S. missionary, wrote confidently that "none of the evil effects which some apprehended would follow" the prohibition of Sati "have been experienced".¹² The Serampore paper *Samachar Darpan* week after week published articles vigorously defending the abolition".¹³

The Conservatives furiously assailed both Ram Mohun Roy, his followers and the missionaries, because of their support of the abolition of Sati. In one of the meetings of the *Dharma Sabha* a resolution was passed, excommunicating everyone who subscribed to, or was found to read, any newspaper or book justifying the abolition of Sati.¹⁴ The question was kept alive by the Conservatives, and the struggle for and against the Regulation continued till the Sati appeal was rejected in 1832.

Ram Mohun was the first to set in motion a chain of movements to reform "popular Hinduism". He was possibly the second great Hindu reformer and philosopher after Sankara-Charya to revive or stress the monotheistic traits of Hinduism. In 1804 Ram Mohun published his first work, a treatise in Persian with an Arabic preface entitled "Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhin" or "A Gift to Deists". In the introduction he clearly stated that "it has been known to me that turning generally towards one Eternal Being, is like a natural tendency in human beings and is common to all individuals of mankind equally".¹⁵ Regarding popular religious belief he said "In the present age in India,

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Roy, R. M. *The English works* vol. I, p. 347.

¹¹Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 417.

¹²L.M.S. MSS. Lacroix to the Secretary. Box. 2, Fol. 4, Jack. D.

¹³Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 417.

¹⁴*Samachar Darpan* Nov. 10, 1832.

S.P.S.K. vol. 2, p. 576.

¹⁵Roy, R. M. *The English works* p. 943.

belief in supernatural and miraculous things has grown".¹⁶ The main argument in his treatise was that people attached greater importance to particular forms of religion and believed that the sayings of the teachers in their own religion alone were true. Ram Mohun considered however, that teachers of every religion were liable to commit mistakes, and therefore men should make an impartial enquiry into the nature of different religions in order to distinguish between 'truth' and 'untruth'. He was confident that after an impartial enquiry men would surely "turn to one Being who is the fountain of the harmonious organisation of the Universe".¹⁷ Although in his *Tuhfat-ul* there was no direct reference to Christianity, it is quite clear that Ram Mohun was well aware of the main criticisms of the Christians against Hinduism. In the beginning there was an apparent similarity in the approaches of Ram Mohun and the missionaries towards popular Hinduism. At the same time there was a fundamental difference in their objectives.

The idea of one God was developed systematically by Ram Mohun, when he came to settle permanently in Calcutta in 1815. He decided to attack the abuses of Hinduism and purify it by referring to the main Hindu Scriptures, "which were of unquestionable authority in matters of Hindu theology",¹⁸ and translate them into Bengali and English.¹⁹ This he considered to be the most effective means to rouse his countrymen to appreciate the original beauty and monotheistic creed in the Hindu Scriptures.

Explaining the objective he stated "My constant reflections on the inconvenient, or rather injurious rites, introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindoo idolatry, which, more than any other pagan worship, destroys the texture of society, together with compassion for my countrymen, have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error; and by making them acquainted with their scriptures, enable them to

¹⁶*Ibid* p. 945.

¹⁷*Ibid* p. 947.

¹⁸Collect, S. D. *The life and letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy* p. 62.

¹⁹He published in 1815 a translation of the *Vedanta* in Bengali, and in 1816 a brief summary of this in Bengali, Hindustani and English. In 1816 also translated in Bengali, *Kena* and *Isha Upanishads*, and in 1817 *Mundaka Upanishads*.

contemplate with true devotion the unity and omnipresence of Nature's God".²⁰

Again "I have never ceased to contemplate with the strongest feelings of regret, the obstinate adherence of my countrymen in the fatal system of idolatry, inducing, for the sake of propitiating their supposed Deities, the violation of every human and social feeling. I have never ceased....to view in them the moral debasement of a race who, I cannot help thinking, are capable of better things; whose susceptibility, patience, and mildness of character, render them worthy of a better destiny. Under these impressions, therefore, I have been impelled to lay before them the genuine translations of parts of their scripture, which inculcates not only the enlightened worship of one God, but the purest principles of morality".²¹

Ram Mohun gathered round him a small circle of intelligent friends and in 1815 started a Society called the *Atmiya Sabha*. This was an association for the dissemination of religious truth and the promotion of free discussion of theological subjects.²² The Society used to meet every week when passages from Hindu Scriptures were recited and hymns were sung. Although started mainly for religious discussion, in one of its meetings in 1819 the Sabha criticised the practices of polygamy and Sati and caste and food restrictions in Hindu Society.²³

Ram Mohun's crusade against superstitions and popular beliefs was gaining ground among his followers. In 1820, one of his followers, while giving evidence in the court refused to take the oath on the waters of the Ganges, as he refused to attach any sanctity to the river. He offered to be sworn by the Vedas.²⁴ Another follower of Ram Mohun, Braja Mohan Mazumder published a tract in 1820 in Bengali against idolatry showing from the Shastras, the absurdity of worshipping the idols.²⁵

²⁰Roy, R. M. *The English works* vol. 1, p. 5. Introduction to *The Vedanta*.

²¹*Ibid* p. 86-87, Introduction to the *Isha Upanishad*.

²²Home, A. ed. *Ram Mohun Roy* p. 11-12.

²³*Samachar Darpan* Ben. text. May 22, 1819. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 30.

²⁴Mazumder *Raja Ram Mohun Roy etc.* p. 22. From *The Asiatic Journal* July, 1820.

²⁵C.M.S. MSS. Jetter's Journal July 23, 1820.

Because of this similarity of approach towards popular Hinduism the missionaries in both India and England in the beginning approved of the activities of Ram Mohun and his followers. His first tract on "Sati" was praised as an able pamphlet.²⁶ *The Friend of India* wrote in 1820 "The attacks of Ram Mohun Roy on the polytheism of India, and the system of burning widow have produced rejoinders and explanations. The meritorious exertions of this enlightened Native, are, we trust, only the commencement of an uninterrupted series of discussions, which will issue the final establishment of truth, and the confusion of error".²⁷ Speaking about Braja Mohan, J. C. Marshman commented that he "was well versed in the Shasters (sic), and quoted them with great efficacy against the popular superstition. Seldom has the system of Hindoo idolatry been subject to so severe and irritating exposure".²⁸

But the mutual appreciation soon stopped when the differences in their objectives became underlined. The missionaries, who had pinned their hopes on the ultimate conversion of the Raja to Christianity,²⁹ found to their utter disappointment that the Raja rejected the Divinity and Atonement of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of the Trinity, the miracles and the divine authority of the Holy Scripture. The Serampore missionaries in their *The Friend of India* attacked the Raja's views on Christianity, and the Raja replied and counter-attacked the missionaries through his "Appeals". Ram Mohun's *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness*, in 1820, which excludes the miracles of Christ was criticised in *The Friend of India* as greatly injurious to "the cause of truth".³⁰ Ram Mohun in his *An Appeal to the Christian Public* in 1820, explained that his object was to introduce simple truths of Christianity to his countrymen in such a form that they could understand them. He writes "Besides, the compiler, residing in the same spot where

²⁶S.M. P.A. p. 364, 1820.

²⁷*Essays relative to habits, character and moral improvement of the Hindoos*. p. 159. Collected from *The Friend of India* Sept. 1820.

²⁸Marshman *The life and times etc.* vol. 2, p. 240.

²⁹*The Missionary Register* p. 371, 1816. "We pray to God to give him grace that he may, in penitence and faith, embrace with all his heart, the Saviour of the world".

³⁰Collet. *The life and letters etc.* p. 115.

European missionary Gentlemen and others for a period of upwards of twenty years have been, with a view to promote Christianity, distributing in vain amongst the natives numberless copies of the complete Bible, written in different languages, could not be altogether ignorant of the causes of their disappointment".³¹ He believed firmly, that the cause of the disappointment lay in the very nature of the missionary writings, full of "dogmas and mysteries", which addressed the Indians "in the same way, as if they were reasoning with persons brought up in a Christian country, with those dogmatical notions imbibed from their infancy".³² In reply to Marshman's further criticism, Ram Mohun published his "Second Appeal" in 1821. By this time the whole controversy had centred round two main points which Ram Mohun defines in an "Advertisement" to his "Second Appeal". He writes "1st—That the Precepts of Jesus, which teach that love of God is manifested in beneficence towards our fellow-creatures, are sufficient Guide to Peace and Happiness; and 2ndly, That Omnipresent God, who is the only proper object of religious veneration, is one and undivided in Person".³³ Ram Mohun's biographer comments, "Naturally the last named point soon became the main question at issue; and as unity of God was the main passion of Ram Mohun's life, he soon threw himself with his whole heart into the contest".³⁴ After elaborately discussing the Doctrine of Atonement and Deity, Ram Mohun concluded his *Second Appeal* saying "If Christianity inculcated a doctrine which represents God as consisting of three persons, as appearing sometimes in human form, at other times in a bodily shape like a dove, no Hindoo... who searches after truth, can conscientiously profess it in preference to Hindooism; for that which renders the modern Hindoo system of religion absurd and detestable.

I am, however, firmly convinced, that Christianity is entirely free from every trace of Polytheism, whether gross or refined".³⁵

³¹Roy, R. M. *The English works* vol. 2, p. 88-89.

³²*Ibid.*

³³*Ibid* p. 101.

³⁴Collet *The life and letters etc.* p. 121.

³⁵Roy, R. M. *The English works*. vol. 2, p. 247.

To the Christians, both missionaries and layman, it was an intolerable idea that Christianity should be placed on a par with Hinduism, which was implicit in Ram Mohun's rational criticisms of both religions. The Calcutta Baptist Mission press published Ram Mohun's "*Precepts*" and two "*Appeals*", but refused to publish any more writings on the controversy "because it was thought in some sort a sanction of error, for the missionaries to have allowed any of the printing for Ram Mohun Roy to be done at their Press".³⁶ So Ram Mohun had to publish his "Final Appeal" from his own newly established Press in 1823. Towards the close of the controversy 'A Christian' appealing to the 'Christian Readers' asked "are you so far degraded by Asiatic effeminacy as to behold with indifference your holy and immaculate Religion thus degraded by having it placed on equality with Hindooism—with rank idolatry—with disgraceful ignorance and shameful superstition?"³⁷ Ram Mohun replied "Before 'A Christian' indulged in a tirade about persons being 'degraded by Asiatic effeminacy' he should have recollected that almost all ancient Prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, nay even Jesus Christ himself...were ASIATICS, so that if a Christian thinks it degrading to be born or to reside in Asia, he directly reflects upon them".³⁸

During the same period in which Ram Mohun was involved in a theological controversy with the Christian missionaries, he was also defending the essentials of Hinduism against their attack. Thus when the six Hindu doctrines of Vedanta, Nyaya, Mimamsa, Sankhya, Puranas and Tantras, were attacked by the Serampore missionaries in one of the issues of *Samachar Darpan* in 1821,³⁹ Ram Mohun vindicated Hinduism in his *The Brahminical Magazine*. He denounced the attempt of the missionaries to introduce Christianity in Bengal "by means of abuse and insult, or by affording the hope of worldly gain", as totally "inconsistent with reason and justice".⁴⁰ He reasoned "If by the force of arguments they can prove the truth of their own

³⁶Hoby, J. *Memoir of William Yates* p. 167.

³⁷Roy, R. M. *The English works* vol. 1, p. 283.

³⁸*Ibid* p. 285.

³⁹*Samachar Darpan* July 14, 1821. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 324-6.

⁴⁰Roy, R. M. *The English works* vol. 1, p. 171.

religion and the falsity of that of the Hindoos, many would of course embrace their doctrines, and if in case they fail to prove this, they should not undergo such useless trouble, nor tease Hindoos any longer by their attempts at conversion".⁴¹ In defending Hinduism, he asserted "It is well known to the world, that no people on earth are more tolerant than the Hindoos, who believe all men to be equally within the reach of Divine beneficence, which embraces the good of every religious sect and denomination".⁴²

Ram Mohun's controversy with the Christian missionaries attracted public attention. In a letter to the Calcutta Journal, a correspondent, who signed as 'A Christian' said "I cannot conclude without expressing my approbation at the candour and excellent temper shewn by Ram Mohun Roy".⁴³ "A note of the Editor" added "We agree entirely with our correspondent in the high praise due to Ram Mohun Roy for his temper and moderation, and we highly esteem his zeal and intelligence".⁴⁴ In 1822, *The Bengal Harkaru*, endorsing Ram Mohun's views on the causes of the failure of Christianity in India, advised the missionaries to "teach only the simple truths of the Gospel [without mysteries which Ram Mohun showed the people could not understand] and their task will be much less hopeless".⁴⁵ The editor of the India Gazette, commenting on the whole controversy wrote "we entirely coincide in the...opinion respecting the attack on Ram Mohun, which really appears to us to have been about as injudicious and weak an effort of officious zeal as we ever heard of. The effect of that attack was to rouse up a most gigantic combatant in the Theological field—a combatant who, we are constrained to say, has not yet met with his match here".⁴⁶

During this controversy, Bishop Middleton tried to convert Ram Mohun Roy to Christianity with an assurance that after

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Ibid.* p. 169.

⁴³Mazumder Raja Ram Mohun Roy etc. p. 32. From *The Calcutta Journal* Aug. 2, 1821.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵*The Bengal Harkaru* Aug. 13, 1822. p. 388.

⁴⁶Mazumder Raja Ram Mohun Roy etc. p. 72. From *The India Gazette* May 17, 1824.

conversion he would "be honoured in life and lamented in death; honoured in England as well as in India, his name would descend to posterity as that of the modern Apostle of India".⁴⁷ This repelled and disgusted Ram Mohun.

It was in the year 1821 that Adam, a young Baptist missionary was deeply influenced by Ram Mohun's idea of one God, and openly declared his conversion to Unitarianism. The conversion of Adam by a "Hindoo Reformer" gave the Christians "great umbrage".⁴⁸ The Christians began to call him "the second fallen Adam".⁴⁹ Ram Mohun encouraged Adam in every possible way to carry on his Unitarian mission.

Ram Mohun's desire to reform Hinduism culminated in the establishment of a "Theistic Church" in 1828. In the beginning the Society was called the *Brahma Sabha*, but soon changed its name to *Brahma Samaj*.⁵⁰ The Society was declared open to "all people without distinction... for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under, or by any other name, designation, or title".⁵¹

Ram Mohun's attempt to reform Hinduism by attacking popular idol-worship, rituals and ceremonies—aroused the opposition of the orthodox section of the Hindu community. Ram Mohun himself admitted that "By taking the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahmun, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches, even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong".⁵² *The Missionary Register* reported that two attempts were made on his life by the Brahmans.⁵³ In 1823 an orthodox Pandit published *Pashanda Pidana* charging Ram Mohun with irreligious actions. The tract was full of abuse. Ram Mohun refuted those charges basing his arguments on the Shastras.⁵⁴

⁴⁷Collet *The life and letters etc.* p. 125.

⁴⁸Mazumder Raja Ram Mohun Roy etc. p. 43. From *The Calcutta Journal* Feb. 23, 1823.

⁴⁹Roy, R. M. *The English works* vol. 1. p. 21.

⁵⁰Collet *The life and letters etc.* p. 224.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²Roy, R. M. *The English works* vol. 1, p. 5.

⁵³*The Missionary Register* p. 371, 1816.

⁵⁴Collet *The life and letters etc.* p. 148.

In 1823, the Conservatives formed their *Gaudiya Samaj*. The first meeting of the Society was held at Hindu College in February.⁵⁵ Among the leading members of the Society were Radhakanta Deb, Ram Kamal Sen, and Bhabani Charan Bando-padhyaya. The Society was against both the missionaries and Ram Mohun Roy. The Society in its first meeting severely criticised the activities of the missionaries in Bengal. The missionaries were charged with utter ignorance about Hinduism and with deliberately abusing it through wayside preaching and other methods. The missionaries were also charged with gaining converts from the lower classes simply by offering them little material gains. The first meeting of the Society concluded with an appeal to the Hindus to unite against the missionaries.⁵⁶

The establishment of the *Brahma Samaj* in 1828, and the abolition of the Sati in 1829, further infuriated the Conservatives both against Ram Mohun and the missionaries. The Conservative paper in one article, refused even to recognise Ram Mohun as a Hindu.⁵⁷ The *Dharma Sabha* in a militant mood prohibited its patrons from reading any book or paper which criticised Hinduism.⁵⁸ The Conservatives vigorously launched a crusade against both the reformist *Brahma Samaj* and the Christian missionaries.

Thus Ram Mohun's rational approach to religion made him the centre of attack both by the Christian missionaries and the Conservatives. Ram Mohun's life long struggle against Christian dogmatism and Hindu orthodoxy had a tremendous impact on the educated people.

In spite of the great difference between the Reformists and the Conservatives in their approach towards Hinduism, they both condemned the missionary methods of conversion. As noted already, Ram Mohun in his *Brahmanical Magazine*, and the *Gaudiya Samaj* in its first report, used identical words to condemn the missionary methods. They both voiced the Indian

⁵⁵*Gaudiya Samaj* p. 1, Report of the 1st meeting. 1229 B.S. Ben. text.

⁵⁶*Ibid* p. 24-25.

⁵⁷*Samachar Darpan* Dec. 12, 1829. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 290. From *Samachar Chandrika*.

⁵⁸*Ibid* Nov. 10, 1832.

Ibid. vol. 2, p. 576.

opinion on the missionaries. H. H. Wilson⁵⁹ in a letter to a missionary in 1832, explained the Indian attitude towards the missionaries. He wrote, that the Indians regard the missionary preachings "to an idle and ignorant mob" and their "indiscriminate distribution of tracts" as a "violation of decorum".⁶⁰ The Indians similarly regard the "uninvited" presence of the missionaries in religious ceremonies "for the purpose of reviling the objects of their veneration,...as undignified and offensive intrusion".⁶¹ The Indians "ascribe the conversion of the 'low and indigent people' to some 'interested motives', and charge the missionaries with misrepresenting the number and respectability of these converts".⁶² The Indians also charge the missionaries "with uncharitableness in judging of the national character, and with exaggeration and untruth in the printed statements or the reported speeches addressed to the Christian public".⁶³ After further elaboration, Wilson concluded his letter saying "These are the practices which,...are imputed to the Missionaries generally,...which...have lowered the Missionary character in the opinion of the most respectable Natives of Bengal".⁶⁴

THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION

The general system of education initiated by the missionaries at Serampore and Chinsurah, attracted great attention from the people. The Calcutta School Society formed by the co-operation of the Indians and Europeans, sent six of their teachers for training at the missionary school at Burdwan.⁶⁵ The Society appreciated and recognised the usefulness of the missionary system of general education. The eagerness among the people and the "spirit of establishing and maintaining schools, especially charity schools" writes Carey in 1822, "is to me a matter of

⁵⁹Wilson, H. H. (1786-1860) great orientalist, Secretary of the Asiatic Society, visitor to the Sanskrit and Hindu College, held chair in Sanskrit at Oxford, Director Royal Asiatic Society. Translator of Sanskrit books and compiler of Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

⁶⁰*The Calcutta Christian Observer* p.234-5, 1832. Wilson to Gogerly. Aug. 10, 1832.

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵*Samachar Darpan* May 29 & June 5, 1819. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p.4-5. Ben. text,

great encouragement".⁶⁶ The most important of these institutions, that helped to spread education in Bengal, and played an outstanding part in the regeneration of ideas was the Hindu College, established in 1817. The "leading Hindoos" who met at Sir Edward Hyde East's⁶⁷ house in 1816, with the object of establishing a college "for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans" were "composed of various castes" and of "most distinguished Pundits".⁶⁸ Most of the Hindus who had assembled were against Ram Mohun's connection with the College. When East asked the reason, one replied "Because he has chosen to separate himself from us and to attack our religion"⁶⁹ The question of missionary participation does not arise under the circumstances. But the name of one European was intimately connected with this project. He was David Hare,⁷⁰ the "virtual"⁷¹ founder of the College, who was neither a Government official nor a missionary, but a great philanthropist who was intimately connected with many other similar projects in early Nineteenth Century Bengal, aiming at the diffusion of Western Knowledge.

The establishment of the Hindu College attracted great attention from the missionaries from the very beginning. R. May, the L.M.S. missionary wrote about it just after its establishment, "when I was last at Calcutta, I visited the Hindoo College, in which there are now more than fifty youths, . . . who are making considerable progress in the English language. . . . I consider it as a very grand and important Institution, which. . .

⁶⁶B.M.S. (typed) Carey to Ryland. July 4, 1822.

⁶⁷East, E. H. (1764-1847) Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta from 1813-1822. Promoter of Hindu College.

⁶⁸Fulham Paper (vol. 1) S/P.G. MSS. E. Hyde East to Buckinghamshire. May 17, 1816.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰Hare, D. (1775-1841) a retired watch-maker, a great philanthropist, organiser of the Calcutta School Book Society and the Calcutta School Society, and connected with many other institutions.

⁷¹There is great controversy regarding the identity of the originator of the plan which resulted in the establishment of the Hindu College. A proposal was brought to Hyde East by a "Brahman" but who he was is not known. Some are of the opinion that it was Ram Mohun Roy, others say it was Ram Mohun's friend. According to some again, it was David Hare, who first proposed for an English institution in one of the meetings of the *Atmiya Sabha*. *The Calcutta Christian Observer* in an article in June 1832 definitely said that the first plan was given by D. Hare. (p. 17, 1832).

may be the means of diffusing much useful knowledge among the Hindoos".⁷² *Samachar Darpan* commenting on the annual examinations of the Hindu College, writes in 1828 that "Formerly the English believed that the Indians pick up a smattering of English here and there just enough for serving as a clerk. But it now transpires that they are learning English like their own language".⁷³ Commenting on the progress made by the students of the Hindu College, of the Anglo-Hindu school⁷⁴ and of the Bowanipore School,⁷⁵ *Samachar Darpan* writes again in 1829, "We now find with surprise that Indian boys venture to study the most advanced texts and the most abstruse subjects in English, and have mastered even the most difficult branches of English learning".⁷⁶

The interest of the missionaries in the growth of English education was underlined with a great expectation. After a full account of the Hindu College, the L.M.S. expressed a firm belief that the diffusion of Western learning would surely "prepare the way for... future reception of Christianity".⁷⁷ The C.M.S. also hailed the College saying that "this very diffusion of knowledge increases the obligation of diffusing Christian principles".⁷⁸

The appointment of H.V.L. Derozio⁷⁹ as an assistant master in the Senior department of the College in 1826 (or 1827) brought "a new era in the annals of the College".⁸⁰ According to his biographer "neither before nor since his day has any teacher, within the walls of any educational establishment in India, ever exercised such an influence over his pupils".⁸¹

⁷²L.M.S. *Transactions* vol. IV, p. 406. May's letter to Society, 1817.

⁷³*Samachar Darpan* Jan. 26, 1828. Ben. text. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 33.

⁷⁴Anglo-Hindu School established 1817-18 by Ram Mohun Roy.

⁷⁵Bowanipore School established 1799-1800 by Jagamohan Basu as a Bengali school, later developed into an English school.

⁷⁶*Samachar Darpan* Mar. 7, 1829. S.P.S.K. vol. 1, p. 42.

⁷⁷L.M.S. *Report* p. 61-62. 1819.

⁷⁸C.M.S. *Proceedings* p. 78, 1817-1818.

⁷⁹Derozio, H. V. L. (1809-1831) a great Eurasian Scholar, poet, patriot, and gifted writer, above all a radical thinker and a successful teacher.

⁸⁰Mittra, K. C. *The Hindoo College and its Founder etc* p. XXVII. This book forms the Appendix B of P. C. Mittra's book. *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*.

⁸¹Sarkar, S. *Derozio and Young Bengal* p. 18—an article in Gupta A. ed. *Studies in Bengal Renaissance* Prof. Sarkar quotes from Thomas Edwards' *Henry Derozio etc*.

Derozio was a gifted and powerful writer, scholar, poet and patriot, and above all a radical thinkers. He encouraged free thinking among his students, who gathered round him even after the College hours, for discussing social, moral and religious subjects. "He sought not to cram the mind" of his students "but to inoculate it with large and liberal ideas".⁸²

Derozio and his students started the first debating club ever conducted by Indians, in 1828, called *The Academic Association*. With the utmost freedom students discussed topics like "Free will, fore-ordination, fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, and the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the arguments for and against the existence of deity".⁸³ The debating talents of the young students attracted the notice of many important persons in Calcutta and some of them attended the exciting debates. Under Derozio's guidance, his students started the first English Paper conducted by Indians, called *Parthenon*, in 1830.

The effect of this 'search for knowledge' under Derozio, was tremendous among the students. A great revolution took place in their world of ideas, particularly in their ideas of religion. "From implicit faith in the religion of their forefathers they rushed into blank scepticism. They began to reason, to question, to doubt. The Hindu mind....had suddenly become not only liberal but ultra radical".⁸⁴ The condition of the Hindus and Hinduism formed the main topic of many of their debates. "The Hindu religion was denounced as vile and corrupt and unworthy of regard of rational beings".⁸⁵ Thus writes Rev. L. V. De "The young lions of the Academy roared out, week after week! Down with Hinduism! Down with orthodoxy!"⁸⁶ The spirit of this revolt was not confined to the debates only, it began to be manifested in the behaviour of some of the students also. Some of them freely indulged in the forbidden food and drink "The Junior students caught from the Senior students the infec-

⁸²Mittra, K. C. *The Hindoo College etc.* p. XXVII.

⁸³Bagal, J. C. *Bangalar Nayya Sanskriti* p. 11. Ben. text from T. Edwards' *Henry Derosio etc.*

⁸⁴De, L. V. *Recollections of A. Duff* p. 28-9.

⁸⁵Shastri, S. *Ramtanu Lahiri o Tathalin Banga Samaj* Ben. text. p. 107. From T. Edwards' *Henry Derosio etc.*

⁸⁶De, *Recollections of A. Duff* p. 29.

tion of ridiculing the Hindu religion, and where they were required to utter Mantras or prayers, they repeated lines from the *Iliad*. There were some who flung the Brahmanical thread instead of putting it".⁸⁷ One student when asked to pay homage before the goddess Kali, greeted her with "good morning madam".⁸⁸ Some in their youthful exhuberance, offended the susceptibilities of their neighbours by their words or actions, others taunted the orthodox Brahmins on the roads. In *Parthenon* one student wrote, "If there is anything that we hate from the bottom of our heart it is Hinduism".⁸⁹ Another student wrote a drama in English called *The Persecuted* in which he severely exposed the practical heterodoxy of the orthodox Hindus.⁹⁰ He started an English paper called *Inquirer* to enquire and show the absurdities of Hinduism.⁹¹

Thus the orthodox Hindu Society being scandalised beyond measure, tried to put down the "heresy" in every possible way. The students' organ *Parthenon* was stopped by the Visitor of College after two issues.⁹² Under the pressure of the managers, the committee of the College was thinking of passing a resolution "to check as far as possible all disquisitions tending to unsettle the belief of the boys in the great principles of national religion".⁹³ The committee prohibited the students from attending "societies at which political and religious discussions are held".⁹⁴ When these failed to produce the desired effect the committee took the drastic step of dismissing Derozio who was considered "the root of all evil".⁹⁵ Derozio continued to attract his students even after his dismissal. But he shortly died of cholera in December 1831.

The search for "truth" among the Derozians even alarmed the missionaries. The students ridiculed Christianity in terms similar to the ones used against Hinduism. Hodson, reported in

⁸⁷Mitra, P. C. *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare* p. 16.

⁸⁸*Samachar Darpan* May 14, 1831. S.P.S.K. vol. 2, p. 237.

⁸⁹Shastri, S. *Ramtunus Lahiri etc.* p. 91.

⁹⁰*Samachar Darpan* Dec. 3, 1831. S.P.S.K. vol. 2, p. 154.

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²*Ibid* March 6. 1830. *Ibid* p. 102.

⁹³Mitra, P. C. *A Biographical Sketch etc.* p. 16.

⁹⁴*Ibid* p. 17.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

1831, that the young boys in a theatrical performance "acted the parts of a Missionary and his native assistant"⁹⁶ in which they taunted the missionaries. Duff wrote to Dr. Inglis that "The young men, having their eyes opened to...infinite absurdities and profanities of their own religion, very readily concluded that all religions were alike".⁹⁷ He traced the origin of this attitude to Derozio; "Such conclusion was strengthened by the mischievous influence of an evil adviser, one of the Principal teachers in the Hindoo College,...an Atheist, and universal Sceptic".⁹⁸ Under such an influence, says Duff, the students "appeared merely a reflection of their master. :...Everything that was bad in the original became much worse in the copy. So that with such a teacher,...the young men became perfectly outrageous in principle and practice".⁹⁹ "The Bengalee young men" wrote Hodson again in 1832, had started "more openly to attack Christianity".¹⁰⁰ The L.M.S. missionaries regarded the Hindu College as "likely to prove the instrument of raising up the strongest enemies of the Gospel. The students of the Hindoo College are every day becoming more advanced in a knowledge of general literature and science, and in proportion as they rise in these respects they become the more powerful in argument and are altogether too subtle as antagonists for the uneducated native assistants hitherto employed by the different missionaries".¹⁰¹

There was a great demand for the *Age of Reason* by Thomas Paine among the students. A missionary writes that "the demand has been so great that now a copy can scarcely be had, six or seven weeks ago one...,bookseller had about 100 copies which was selling at a rupee each, one week afterwards he would not sell one for less than five rupees".¹⁰²

The missionaries discovered the source of this state of mind among the educated young men in the system of education itself.

⁹⁶W.M.M.S. MSS. Hodson to the Society. Oct. 31, 1831.

⁹⁷E.C.S. MSS. Duff to Inglis. Dec. 31, 1831.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰W.M.M.S. MSS. Hodson to the Society. Jan. 2, 1832.

¹⁰¹L.M.S. MSS. Missionaries to the Director. Nov. 23, 1832. Box. 3, Fol. 2, Jack. B.

¹⁰²W.M.M.S. MSS. Hodson to the Society. Jan. 2, 1832.

They believed that the "exclusion of Christianity" was the reason why the students of the Hindu College had "exchanged polytheism for Atheism or at least Deism".¹⁰³

As a remedy Duff decided to establish his higher Christian institute at Calcutta and not in the interior as originally intended by his society.¹⁰⁴ Duff also arranged for a series of four lectures on the evidences of Christianity near the Hindu College to attract the students.¹⁰⁵ The first lecture was delivered in the month of August 1830. It created such a commotion in the Indian community that the College authorities had to prohibit its students from attending any more lectures outside their classes.¹⁰⁶ Duff had to postpone further lectures.

The Hindus also with the intention of remedying the "evils" started establishing new educational institutes both in and outside Calcutta. Among these institutes established during 1830-32 were "*Hindu Free School*", *Hindu Benevolent Institution*, *Oriental Seminary* and *Hindu Liberal Academy*.¹⁰⁷ The growth of education thus became a cause as well as a consequence of great popular agitation.

THE GROWTH OF BENGALI LITERATURE

The works of Carey and their publication by the Serampore Press, gave birth to what may be called modern Bengali literature. The Serampore Press published for the first time, many of the Bengali classics, edited by learned Pandits. The list of Serampore publications for the year 1822 shows about 22 works in Bengali of different kinds.¹⁰⁸ The missionaries announced in their paper, that owing to errors made by the

¹⁰³*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴Smith, G. *The life of A. Duff* vol. 1, p. 106. Ram Mohun Roy was a co-initiator with Br. Bryce of a petition which resulted in Duff's Mission to Calcutta. Ram Mohun secured not only a place but also students for Duff's School. He was present on the opening day and advised the students to study religion without fear. Smith *The life of Duff* vol. 1, p. 122.

¹⁰⁵Mitra, P. C. *A Biographical Sketch etc.* p. 17. Duff *India and Indian Missions* p. 609-610.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷*Samachar Darpan Reports*-1831: June 18, Sept. 10, Oct. 18, Dec. 10, 1832; Feb. 22, Feb. 25, Apr. 14. *S.P.S.K.* vol. 2, p. 50-53, 54, 57, 58.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid* Feb. 2, 1822. *S.P.S.K.* vol. 1, p. 73.

copyist and others, they intended to publish the Bengali *Ramayana* in verse, duly corrected by a learned Pandit.¹⁰⁹ When published, it remained for a long time a standard edition. Soon the people inspired by the Serampore example, started to establish Presses, and turn out printed books. Commenting on the operation of the Indian Press, *The Friend of India* wrote in 1820, that "within the last ten years, native works have been printed by Natives themselves and sold among the Hindoo population with astonishing rapidity".¹¹⁰ Most of the books were religious books printed from old manuscripts.

Bhabani Charan Bandhopadhyaya was not only a powerful journalist but also a forceful original writer. He published four satirical works, called *Kalikata Kamalalaya*, in 1823, *Naba Babu Bilas* in 1823, *Naba Bibi Bilas* in 1831, and *Duti Bilas* in 1825.¹¹¹ These satirical writings, specially *Duti Bilas* with its humorous sketches, give a vivid picture of contemporary social life in Calcutta.¹¹²

With the increase of publications there arose some societies whose main object was to cultivate the Bengali language and literature. Thus *Gaudiya Samaj* decided to enrich the Bengali language by translating books from other languages.¹¹³ For the discussion of literary subjects in Bengali, the student of the Anglo-Hindu School, along with other school boys started in 1830 an association called *Anglo-Indian Hindu Association*.¹¹⁴ With a similar purpose another Society was formed in 1830 called *Jnan Sandwipan Sabha*.¹¹⁵ *Banga Ranjini Sabha* was formed in 1830 exclusively for the cultivation of Bengali. This Society decided to exclude people who were known to be anti-Hindu, or Atheist, and also those who were unwilling to express their opinions in Bengali only.¹¹⁶ In 1833 *Sarba Tattva Dipika* was formed. It resolved that "no language must be used in the

¹⁰⁹*Ibid* May 30, 1829.

¹¹⁰*Essays* etc. p. 119 from *The Friend of India* Sept. 1820 "The Native Press".

¹¹¹De, S. K. *Bengali Literature* etc. p. 557-565.

¹¹²Bandopadhyaya, B. C. *Duti Bilas* 1825. Ben. text.

¹¹³*Gaudiya Samaj* 1st report, p. 19, 1823.

¹¹⁴*Samachar Darpan* Sept. 18, 1830 S.P.S.K. vol. 2, p. 121.

¹¹⁵*Ibid* Oct. 23, 1830 *Ibid*.

¹¹⁶*Ibid* Dec. 18, 1830 *Ibid*.

Sabha but Bengali".¹¹⁷ The Society also decided to discuss religious subjects.

Although all these served the cause of the growth of the Bengali language and literature, their rapid development was made possible only by the publication of the Bengali periodicals. Here also *Dig Darshan* and *Samachar Darpan* of the Serampore Mission showed the way. There were altogether about 27 Bengali Periodicals of different types between 1818 and 1833. Of these, as noticed earlier, 4 were conducted by the missionaries, another one, although conducted by the Calcutta School Book Society, was written entirely by a B.M.S. missionary. Among the remaining 22 periodicals, 7 were published between 1818 and 1829, and 15 between 1830 and 1833. Most of these periodicals were very short-lived. The majority followed a conservative policy.¹¹⁸

The *Bengal Gazeti*, the first Bengali periodical conducted by an Indian was published in 1818. It was a very short-lived paper. The editor of the paper worked for sometime as a compositor at the Serampore Press.¹¹⁹

Ram Mohun Roy during the second stage of controversy with the Serampore Missionaries started a Bengali periodical called *Brahman Sebadhi* in 1821. It was the Bengali version of his English *Brahmonical Magazine* and only three numbers were published.¹²⁰

Under Ram Mohun's direction a weekly paper was started in 1821, called *Sambad Kaumudi*. Bhabani Charan Bando-padhyaya was associated with the paper during its first thirteen issues. But when it started criticising the practice of Sati, Bhabani Charan unwilling to support that policy, left the paper. Shortly afterwards, Bhabani Charan started a paper called *Samachar Chandrika* in 1822. This paper became the organ of the conservatives on the question of Sati, and there was bitter literary warfare for a long time, between *Sambad Kaumudi* and *Sama-*

¹¹⁷*Ibid* Jan. 19, 1833 *Ibid* p. 124-5.

¹¹⁸Bandopadhyaya, B. N. *Bangla Samayika Patra* vol. 1, p. 1-50. Ben. text.

¹¹⁹*Ibid* p. 11.

¹²⁰*Ibid* p. 15-16.

char Chandrika.¹²¹ After the formation of the *Brahma Samaj*, *Sambad Kaumudi* became its chief organ. Bhabani Charan, as Secretary of the *Dharma Sabha*, made his *Samachar Chandrika* the instrument of vigorous attacks on the *Brahma Samaj*, the *Young Derozians*, and above all on the missionaries.

Other important conservative papers were *Sambad Timira Nashak* (established in 1823), *Sambad Pravakar* (established in 1831), *Sambad Ratnakar* (established in 1831), and *Sambad Ratnabali* (established in 1832).¹²²

There were only three other Bengali periodicals conducted by Ram Mohun's followers. They were *Bangadut* (established in 1829), *Sambad Sudhakar* (established in 1831), and *Anubadika* (established in 1831).¹²³ The last one was a literal translation of the English paper *Reformer* conducted by the same group.¹²⁴

The *Young Bengal* as the Derozians were called later, started their Bengali organ *Jnanmesban* in 1831. It became a famous periodical of the time. Its attacks on Hinduism, and on the Brahmans in particular, were, in the opinion of Duff, "bold inspiring and destructive. Its ridicule is in general well pointed, its sarcasm most cutting, its arguments aptly chosen".¹²⁵

Such was the controversy among these different groups that one man was inspired to start a weekly paper in 1832 simply to present before the public the accounts of the different parties, called *Dal Britanta*.¹²⁶

The birth of so many periodicals, within such a short time, clearly indicates a thirst for knowledge, and a taste for reading among the public. Greater attention was paid to the refinement of the language. By developing a natural style, Ram Mohun was successful for the first time in communicating higher ideas in Bengali. The Bengali periodicals became the main organs to carry on the great religious agitation of the period.

¹²¹The *Calcutta Christian Observer* p. 210-211. 1832.

¹²²Bandopadhyaya, B. N. *Bangla Samayika Patra* vol. 1, p. 29, 33, 41, 47. Ben. text.

¹²³*Ibid.*

¹²⁴*Samachar Darpan* July 16, 1831. Ben. text. S.P.S.K. vol. 2, p. 180.

¹²⁵The *Calcutta Christian Observer* p. 214. 1832.

¹²⁶Bandopadhyaya, B. N. *Bangla Samayika Patra* vol. 1, p. 45-47.

The missionaries observed a slow change among the people under the western impact. The S.P.C.K., reported in 1819 "A new era of things appears to be rising in the Eastern world, light is emerging out of darkness, long rooted prejudices seem by a slow, yet perceptible progress, to be wearing away".¹²⁷ Thomas Robertson, a C.M.S. Committee member, in a report about their Burdwan schools wrote in 1819, "an era seems to be dawning upon India, similar to that which prepared the way for the Reformation in Europe".¹²⁸

Commenting on the development of the Indian press, the Serampore missionaries expressed their opinion in 1820 that, "The era of improvement and of civilization has already dawned on this country. . . . We may fairly expect a similar regeneration in India [as in Europe]".¹²⁹

From all these observations *The Religious Tract Society* concluded confidently in 1832 "That Christianity is advancing in India, appears to be generally admitted by all".¹³⁰ Other missionaries pronounced that "The temple of God has not yet been erected in this part of the world, but the mighty fabric of Hindooism is tottering, and many...anticipate its fall".¹³¹ Lacroix, the L.M.S. missionary, wrote in October 1833 that "There are signs beginning to be established which would lead one to hope, that the time is not very distant when the Gospel shall triumph over idolatry".¹³²

The missionaries were right in their observations, but entirely wrong in their prediction. The impact of the old and new ideas gave birth to an awakening among the people, which paved the way for a Renaissance in Bengal. "It was truly a Renaissance, wider, deeper, and more revolutionary than that of Europe".¹³³ The missionaries in Bengal played a significant role in preparing the background of this Renaissance and were deeply connected with it in the beginning.

¹²⁷S.P.C.K. *Reports* p. 138, 1819.

¹²⁸C.M.S. *Proceedings* p. 264, 1818-1819, Appendix IX.

¹²⁹*Essays etc.* p. 142-148. From *The Friend of India* Sept. 1820.

¹³⁰R.T.S. *Reports* p. 12, 1832.

¹³¹L.M.S. *Reports* p. 38, 1832.

¹³²*Ibid* MSS. Lacroix to Elis. Oct. 19, 1833. Box. 3, Fol. 4, Jack. D.

¹³³Sarkar, J. N. ed. *History of Bengal* vol. II, p. 498.

CONCLUSION

The first missionaries to arrive in Bengal were from the B.M.S., S.P.C.K., and L.M.S. during the last decade of the Eighteenth Century. After the passing of the Charter Act of 1813, the missionaries of other Societies—C.M.S., S.P.G., N.M.S., E.C.S., and W.M.M.S.—also started coming to Bengal. The period under survey is, however, distinguished by the pioneering work of Carey, Marshman and Ward. The history of the missionaries in Bengal between 1793 and 1833 is predominantly the history of the 'Serampore Mission'. Although other missionaries carried on their work with zeal and energy, they were not so prominent as to leave behind any permanent impression.

The Missionary Societies in Bengal never worked in harmony with each other. Far from being cordial, the relations between missionaries of different denominations were actually bitter and hostile. The converts of one society were often persuaded to join another. Even within the same denomination relations were extremely hostile, especially between the 'Seniors' and 'Juniors' among the Baptists. This prevented the Christian missionaries in Bengal from working as a united force.

Disunited though they were, the missionaries of all denominations had one common object—the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. The methods they adopted to achieve this end were mainly three—Preaching, Translation and Education.

Their preaching of the high mysteries of Christianity—the theory of sin, crucifixion of Christ and salvation, could hardly make any impression on the minds of people who lived in a different world of ideas. But their ruthless and continuous attack on popular religions had a tremendous impact. Their attack on Hinduism came at a time when it had lost its link with the true Hinduism and had degenerated into meaningless customs, practices and rites. People could hardly think of any change, because of their ignorance and blind faith in tradition. The government was more interested in the preservation of the Empire than in religious reforms. The missionaries used these

evil practices as weapons of attack against Hinduism and to show its worthlessness. This attack caused two kinds of reaction—the reformatory, and the conservative, both trying to preserve Hinduism from the onslaught of Christianity, the former by reforming it and the latter by preserving it in all forms. In attacking ‘Sati’ the missionaries were the first to show that the cruel rite was not even sanctioned by the Hindu Shastras. This tendency to go back to the original Hindu Shastras, either for supporting or condemning evil practices led to the revival of true Hinduism. The Reformists under Ram Mohun Roy condemned the socio-religious practices in much the same terms as the missionaries did. Much of the initiative in attacking Hinduism was thus transferred from the missionaries to the Reformists. The Conservatives under Radha Kanta Dev defended the old practices with vigour and determination. The attack of the missionaries thus indirectly led to a great socio-religious movement in Bengal.

Dr. Ingham in his study, completely ignores this socio-religious movement. He refuses to acknowledge Ram Mohun Roy’s role in bringing about the abolition of ‘Sati’. He mentions him only because “Bentinck himself acknowledged” his role. Bentinck, however, was not alone in acknowledging this fact. The Editor of the *Bengal Harkaru* affirmed that Lord Bentinck would not “have ventured on so desirable a measure if the minds of the natives had not been prepared by the unwearyed labours of their distinguished countryman”.¹

The missionaries in their condemnation through preaching showed great ignorance of and lack of sympathy for the country and the people. When a European missionary at Cutwa ill-treated an Indian convert, Ward commented in his journal “You will never think again that zeal without love will make a Missionary to the Hindoos”.² The missionaries in Bengal showed this “zeal without love” in their evangelical activities. In addition to this they were unable to rise above their own dogmatic narrowness. Their zeal, fanaticism and intolerance made them blind to the realities they faced in Bengal.

¹Mazumder, J. K. *Raja Ram Mohun Roy* p. 152. From *The Bengal Harkaru* Nov. 28, 1829.

²B.M.S. MSS. Ward’s Journal Aug. 5, 1805.

The translation of the Bible and tracts was undertaken by the missionaries with the object of making it a "mighty engine" to destroy Indian religions. Although the Bengali translation failed to produce the desired results, it served a great purpose. Carey's translation of the Bible was the earliest attempt at Bengali prose. This Bengali translation of Carey secured him the post of Professor of Bengali at the Fort William College. Carey's outstanding contribution to Bengali literature was due to his association with this institution. Carey accepted this secular post after much hesitation. He always lamented that he had to devote most of his time to the College, which prevented him from giving enough time to his missionary work. Carey's connection with Fort William College proved beneficial to the Serampore Mission in more ways than one. The translation of the Bible in many languages at Serampore for instance, was possible because Carey could get help from the Pandits of the College. The works of Carey and their publication by the Serampore Press, for the Fort William College, gave birth to what may be called modern Bengali prose. Carey, Fort William College, and Serampore, thus became immortal names in the annals of the Bengali language and literature. Carey, for example, occupies a most respected position among the whole of the Bengali speaking people, and is venerated as a fatherlike figure in the history of Bengali prose. Carey's contribution to Bengali literature wrote Marshman "was gratefully acknowledged after his death by the native literati, though they were opposed to his plans of evangelisation".³ In the middle of the Nineteenth Century the people of Bengal, composed a Sanskrit verse in which they praised, together with three other Europeans, Carey and Marshman for their great services.⁴

The Serampore missionaries were the pioneers in Bengali Journalism and contributed immensely to its growth and development. Missionaries, Reformists and Conservatives all expressed their religious views through their respective journals, which encouraged the rapid development of Bengali journalism.

³Marshman, J. C. *The life and times* vol. 2, p. 415.

⁴Basu, R. N. *Sekai O Ekal* p. 415 (Ben. text).

At a time when the government had no policy for mass education, and the indigenous system in Bengal lacked efficiency and organic unity, the missionaries were the pioneers in providing mass education for both boys and girls. It is shown already, that the missionaries undertook educational works from a firm belief that it would surely convince the students of the superiority of Christianity to their own religions. To the missionaries, education was always a "promising means" by which the religions of the people could be destroyed. The missionaries never contemplated anything like secular education, to them education always meant Christian education. Therefore it is untenable to maintain, as Ingham does, that the object of missionary education was "to make the Indians themselves desire reform".⁵

The missionary initiatives in the field of education aroused public interest in the subject of education in Bengal. This public interest manifested itself in the establishment of Hindu College. The Hindu College was thus an embodiment of the people's own concern to educate their children properly in western sciences and literature. Within a short time it became the most important institution for diffusing new ideas among the Indians. It was the best educational institute of the time in Bengal. Although they had no part in the establishment of the College, the missionaries were nonetheless interested in its development. A. Duff on his arrival in Bengal was convinced of the superior talents and attainments of the Hindu College students, and immediately decided to exploit the situation to his own advantage.

Ingham in his eagerness to show the role of the missionaries in bringing about social reforms in India, omits to examine the significant part played by Hindu College in bringing about a revolutionary change in the outlook of the people.

So far as the main object of the missionaries is concerned, they gained through their three methods a total number of about 1406 converts between 1793 and 1833. This figure, gathered solely from the missionary sources, is not beyond doubt. The

⁵Ingham *Reformers in India* p. 55.

private records of the missionaries contain "exaggeration and untruth" on this question.

Apart from the fact that the number shown is insignificant, most of these converts were low class Hindus and a few Muslims, and their behaviour after conversion was scandalous. The missionaries in Bengal thus not only failed to gain enough converts, but also to reform them—a total failure, acknowledged privately by the missionaries themselves without reserve.

The disunity among the missionaries, their ignorance and narrowness, above all their "zeal without love", may account for their failure. The neutral policy of the Christian government and the determined resistance of the Hindu leaders made missionary success in Bengal even more difficult.

In spite of the failure of the missionaries to gain their main object, they made a lasting contribution towards the social progress of Bengal. The socio-religious reforms were the last thing that the missionaries wanted but they were what followed from their activities in Bengal.

APPENDIX A

List of Christian Missionaries at work in Bengal 1793-1833

This list of missionaries is compiled from the following sources:—

- (1) Chronological list of B.M.S. missionaries in India. (MSS).
- (2) Myers, J. B. ed. *The Centenary volume of the B.M.S.* 1892 Table 1, Page 313-314.
- (3) *The Centenary volume of the C.M.S.* 1902. List of Missionaries Page 618-622, 650
- (4) List of L.M.S. Missionaries (MSS. No. date. Box 3, Fol. 4, Jack. C.).
- (5) Pascoe, C. F. *Two hundred years of the S.P.G.* Missionary Roll. Part I, p.913-915.
- (6) *The Missionary Register* 1813-1834.
- (7) Ingham, K. *Reformers in India*, 1956. Appendix B. p. 125-132.

The list is arranged chronologically according to the commencement of individual work in Bengal. It includes the missionaries recruited locally, mostly from the Portuguese and Armanian races. The missionaries were frequently transferred from one station to another not always within Bengal. The cases in which the missionaries worked mostly outside Bengal are indicated.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Started work</i>	<i>Departed (De) Died (D) Resigned (R) Continuing after 1833 (—)</i>
B.M.S.		
Carey, W.	1793	
Thomas, J.	1793	1801 (D)
Fountain, J.	1796	1800 (D)

Brunsdon, D.	1799		1801 (D)
Grant, W.	"		1799 (D)
Marshman, J.	"		
Ward, W.	"		1823 (D)
Carey, F.	1802	(outside)	1823 (D)
Biss, J.	1803		1807 (D)
Chamberlain, J.	"	(After 1810	
Mardon, R.	"	outside)	1821 (D)
Moore, W.	"	(O)	
Rowe, J.	"	(O)	1823 (D)
Fernandez, I.	1804		1830 (D)
Charter, J.	1806	(After 1812	
		outside)	
Robinson, W.	1806	(O)	
Carey, W. (J)	1808		
Aratoon, C. C.	1809	(After 1816	
		outside)	
Peter, J.	"		1820 (R)
Carey, J.	1810		1833 (R)
Cornish, J.	"		1913 (R)
Leonard, O.	"		
Peacock, H.	"		1820 (D)
Petruse,	1811		1820 (R)
Bruyn, De	1812		1817 (D)
Cruz, D. Da	"		1827 (D)
Johns, W.	"		1813 (De-
			ported by the
			Govt.)
Lawson, G.	"		1825 (D)
Mackintosh, L.	"		
Thompson, J. T.	"	(O)	
Marshman, J. C.	1813		1833 (R)
Thomas, W.	"		
Carey, E.	1814		1824 (De)
Smith, W.	"		
Yates, W.	1815		
Adam, W.	1817		1821 (R)
Pearce, W. H.	"		
Penny, J.	"		

Ricketts, J. T.	1817	1818 (R)
Sutton, H.	1818	1821 (De)
Colman, J.	1820	1822 (D)
Johannes, J.	"	_____
Statham, J.	"	1827 (De)
Harley, J.	1821	1822 (D)
Mack, J.	"	_____
Richards, R.	"	1828 (R)
Fuik, J. C.	1822	_____
Hampton, W.	1823	1824 (R)
Williampson, J.	"	_____
Albrecht, J. C.	1824	1825 (D)
Kirkpatrick, W.	"	1829 (R)
Leslie, A.	"	_____
Burton, R.	1825	1828 (D)
Fenwick,	"	1830 (R)
Swan, T.	"	1827 (R)
Pearce, G.	1826	_____
Thomas, J.	"	_____
Buckingham, W.	1827	1831 (D)
Copper,	"	1829 (D)
Domingo, J.	"	1828 (R)
Rae, J.	1829	_____
Rabeholm, C. C.	"	_____
Smith, J.	"	_____
Smylie, H.	"	_____
Bareiro, S.	1830	_____
Beddy, H.	1831	_____
Ellis, J. D.	"	_____
Lawrence, J.	"	_____
Parry, J.	"	_____
Paul, P.	"	1833 (R)
Leechman, J.	1832	_____
Lish, A.	1832	_____
Monte, F. De	1833	_____

S.P.C.K.

Ringeltaube, W. T.	1797	1799 (De)
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L.M.S.

Forsyth, N.	1798	1816 (D)
May, R.	1812	1818 (D)
Keith, J.	1816	1822 (D)
Townley, H.	"	1822 (De)
Hurley, J.	1817	1821 (Re- signed and joined the B.M.S.)
Pearson, J. D.	"	1831 (D)
Gogerly, G.	1819	_____
Hampton, J.	"	1820 (D)
Trawin, S.	"	1827 (D)
Adam, M. T.	1820	1830 (De)
Mundy, G.	"	_____
Ray, E.	"	1831 (De)
Bankhead, W. H.	1821	1822 (D)
Brown, T.	1822	1822 (D)
Hill, J.	"	1833 (De)
Hill, M.	"	_____
Warden, J. B.	"	1826 (D)
Edmonds, J.	1824	1826 (De)
Piffard, C.	1825	_____
Robertson,	1826	1833 (D)
Lacroix, A. F.	1827	_____

(From
N.M.S.)

Adam, J.	1828	1831 (D)
Christie, G.	1830	1832 (De)
Higgs, T. K.	"	1832 (D)
Buyers, W.	1831	_____
Dobbin, O. T.	1832	1832 (De)
Peterson, J.	"	_____
Cambell, J.	1833	_____
Mather, R. C.	"	_____
Shurman, J. A.	"	_____

C.M.S.

Greenwood, W.	1816	(O)	1828 (De)
Schroeter, C. G.	"		1820 (D)
Schmid, D.	1817		1820 (De)
Deerr, W. J.	1819		_____
Jetter, J. A.	"		1830 (De)
Perowne, J.	1820		1827 (De)
Cooke, Miss M. A.	1822		_____
Reichardt, T.	"		1828 (De)
Wilson, I.	1823		1828 (De)
Latham, J.	1827		1830 (De)
Steward, J.	"		1828 (De)
Sandys, T.	1830		_____
Thompson, J. C.	"		_____
Weitbrecht, J.	"		_____
Kruckeberg, H. C. L.	1831		_____
Haberlin, J.	1832		_____
Lincke, J.	"		_____
Reynolds, R. V.	1833		_____

S.P.G.

Mill, W. H.	1821		_____
Christian, T.	1823		1827 (D)
Morton, W.	"		_____
Tweddle, W.	1824		1832 (D)
De Mello, M. R.	1825		_____
Sarjant, M. G.	"		1825 (De)
Birrell, W.	1826		1828 (De)
Craven, C.	"		1827 (De)
Holmes, F.	"		_____
Haughton, G. D.	1830		1831 (De)
Bowyer, J.	1833		_____
Jones, D.	"		_____

N.M.S.

Lacroix, A. F.	1821		1827 (Re- signed and joined the L.M.S.)
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E.C.S.

Duff, A. 1830

W.M.M.S.

Hodson, T.	1830	{ 1833 (with- drawn and station closed) 1833
Percival, P.	„	

The Bishops of Calcutta (connected with the Bishop's College)

1. Middleton, F. T.	1815	1822 (D)
2. Heber, R.	1823	1826 (D)
3. James, J. T.	1827	1828 (D)
4. Turner, J. M.	1829	1831 (D)
5. Wilson, D.	1832	

The Evangelical Chaplains (Actively interested in the C.M.S. work)

1. Brown, D.	1787	1812 (D)
2. Buchanan, C.	1797	1808 (De)
3. Martyn, H.	1806	(O) 1812 (D)
4. Corrie, D.	1806	
5. Thomason, T. T.	1808	1829 (D)
6. Dealtry, T.	1829	

APPENDIX B

List of Bengali Tracts

This list of Tracts is compiled from the following sources:—

- (1) Available Bengali Tracts in libraries and Missionary Archives.
- (2) L.M.S. *Annual Report* for 1819 (25th Report).
- (3) C.M.S. *Proceedings* for 1829-30 (Vol. 12).
- (4) R.T.S. 29th *Report* for 1828 Appendix.
 30th *Report* for 1829.
 31st *Report* for 1830.
 33rd *Report* for 1832.
 34th *Report* for 1833.
- (5) Long, J. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali works* 1855, Part III, p. 85-94.
- (6) Murdoch, J. *Catalogue of the Christian vernacular Literature of India* 1870, Part I, p. 1-31.
- (7) Pascoe, C. F. *Two hundred years of the S.P.G.* 1901, p. 805-6.

• The compilers found it difficult to give an exact account of the early missionary tracts in Bengali. They gave a list as far as they were "able to ascertain". The list here will give an idea probably of all missionary Tracts current in Bengal during the period under present survey.

Tracts published by the Serampore Mission

<i>Name of the Tracts</i>	<i>Year of publication</i>	<i>Author</i>
<i>The Gospel Messenger</i>	1800	Basu, Ram Ram (verse)
<i>Innodaya or The Rise of Wisdom</i>	1801	"
<i>Sishu Ganer Pustak</i>	1801	No name
<i>Sermon on the Mount</i>	1801	No name

*The Missionaries' address
to the Hindoos*

No date Ward, W. (in English)
translated into Bengali
by Carey.

The Sure Refuge

1801 Singh Pitamber (verse)

*A Short Summary of the
Gospel*

1802 Carey, W.

Address to the Hindoos

1802 Marshman, J. (verse)

Vedaved or The Difference

1807 " "

*Watt's Historical Cate-
chism*

No date No name

Good Advice

" Singh Pitamber

The Enlightener

" " "

Watt's Catechism

" Chamberlain, J.
Translated from
English (verse)

Mental Reflections

" " "

The Ten Commandments

" " "

Both these were embodied in the Calcutta Christian Tract Book Society's publication "The Way of Salvation".

The Penitent's Prayer

No date Chamberlain, J.

Alphabetical lines and

...verses—four series

1810 No name

Glad Tidings

No date No name (verse)

Creation of the World

" " "

Jagannath

" Marshman, J.

The Essence of Scriptures

1812 No name

On the Stopping of Jagai-

nath's Car at Serampore

No date Ward, W.

Memoir of Pitamber Singh

" "

Memoir of Krishna Prasad

" "

Memoir of Krishna Pal

" "

Account of the Death of

' Jesus Christ

" No name

Hymns

1818 Bengali

The Instructor

1824 Williamson, J.

The Best Gift

1828 Carey, W. Translated
from English.

<i>Memoir of Fatih Chand</i>	No date	Lawson, J
<i>The True Refuge</i>	1828	Pearce, W H
<i>True Advice</i>	"	No name
<i>A Letter Discovering error</i>	"	Rev Buckingham
<i>The Evidence of Christianity</i>	No date	No name
<i>The Testimony of the Prophets respecting our Lord Jesus Christ</i>	"	No name
<i>On Repentance</i>	"	Carey, W Translated from English
<i>The Way of Life</i>	1829	No name
<i>The Works of God</i>	1820	"
<i>Faith and Hope</i>	1831	"
<i>An Account of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World</i>	1832	"
<i>The Destroyer of Darkness</i>	1832	Carey, W (J)
<i>The Gods, Idols & Idolatry</i>	1833	No name
<i>The Praises of the Self-existent Lord God</i>	1833	"

Tracts published by the Calcutta B M S.

<i>Select Hymns (No 1)</i>	1818	No name
<i>The Satya Darsan (Part 1)</i>	"	Carey, L
<i>The Dying Words of Jesus</i>	"	Yates, W
<i>Select Hymns (No 2)</i>	"	No name
<i>Poor Joseph</i>	"	Lawson, J Translated from English.
<i>A Dialogue between a Priest and an Officer</i>	1819	By a Bengalee itinerant at Cutwa.
<i>The Sermon on the Mount</i>	1820	No name
<i>Harmony of the Gospels in six parts</i>	No date	No name
<i>Parable of our Lord</i>	1822	Pearson, J. D. (L.M.S. Missionary).

Tracts published by the L.M.S

<i>The Ten Commandments</i>	1818	No name
<i>A Dialogue between a Padre and a Brahman</i>	"	"
<i>A Dialogue between a Pandit and a Sarkar</i>	No date	Townley, H.
<i>A Dialogue between a Durwan and a Mah</i>	1818	Keith, J
<i>History of the Saviour of the World—Divided in 13 Chapters—each a separate Tract</i>	1818	No name
<i>Good Counsel</i>	"	Keith, J.
<i>What Shastra should be obeyed</i>	"	Townley, H.
<i>A Dialogue between Ram hari and a Sadhu</i>	"	Keith, J
<i>School Lessons—Part I</i>	"	No name
<i>A Dialogue between a Euro- pean and a Native—In three Parts (later called The Scotchman and the Babu)</i>	1819	"
<i>On the Nature of God</i>	"	"
<i>School Lessons—Part II</i>	"	"
<i>A Selection of Hymns</i>	1820	"
<i>A Catechism</i>	1821	"
<i>Bearing Witness</i>	1822	"
<i>Miracles of Christ</i>	"	"
<i>Parables of Christ</i>	"	"
<i>Christ's Public Discourse</i>	"	"
<i>First and Second Catechism</i>	"	"
<i>Life of William Kelly</i>	"	"
<i>Picture Room</i>	"	"

Tracts published by the C M S

*Scripture Dialogue—Nine
of these were prepared
by Ellerton an indigo
planter in Goamalty*

1817-22

Ellerton (not a mis-
sionary)*Divine Sayings*

1820

Schmid, D

*A Summary of the Holy
Scriptures—Part I*

"

"

..

History of a Brahman

1821-22

Extracted from Elleiton's
Dialogues

*A Dialogue between a
Mother and a Daughter*

1823

Pearson, J D (L M S
Missionary)

*The Gospel of St Mathew
and the Acts*

No date

No name

Bible History

"

Burdwan Youths—
Trans from English

*Tracts published by the Calcutta Christian
Tract and Book Society*

Some of the already mentioned Tracts were printed by this
Society several times (specially the L M S Dialogues) They
are excluded here from the list

The Miracles of our Lord

1823

No name

First Catechism

"

Pearson, J D

Second Catechism

"

Keith, J

*The two Great Command-
ments*

1824

No name

*Conversion of the Earl of
Rochester*

1827

Pearson, J D Trans
from English*Jesus the Saviour*

"

"

"

Lady Jane Grey

"

Pearce, G

The Last Judgement

No date

Pearson, J D

Essence of the Bible

"

No name (verse)

*The Mine of Salvation based
on "The Gospel Messenger"*

by Basu, R R	No date	No name (verse)
<i>The Ten Commandments</i>	1830	Lacroix, A. F.
<i>The Sermon on the Mount</i>	"	"
<i>The Holy Incarnation</i>	No date	Gogerly, G.
<i>An Epitome of True Religion</i>	"	Reichardt, T. (verse)
<i>God is Spirit—Twelve Discourses</i>	"	Pearson, J. D.
<i>The Life of Christ</i>	"	"
<i>An Address to Hindu and Muhummadan Youth</i>	1832	No name
<i>Select Christian Hymns</i>	1833	Pearce, G.

Tracts published by the S.P.G.

<i>Book of Common Prayers</i>	1822	Schmid, D.
<i>Catechetical Body of Divinity</i>	1825	Reichardt,
<i>An Epitome of Dr. Magee's work on Atonement with additions</i>	1830	Morton, W.

APPENDIX C

Missionary Stations in Bengal

The following map will give an idea of the extensive missionary activity in Bengal. In this map, the word 'Station' is not however used in any rigid sense, since it shows many places which were only sub-stations or even outposts. It includes those areas which were occupied by the Missionaries or their agents for at least a few years. Many of these 'Stations' were abandoned either wholly or partly before the end of the period under survey. As for example, the following stations, which were wholly given up—Barisal, Goamalty, Madnabati, Mahipaldighi, Malda, Midnapore, Saddamahal, Sylhet, Tamruk, Titalyah. It shows the tendency of the missionaries to confine their attention to Calcutta and its neighbourhood.

MISSIONARY STATIONS IN BENGAL

NAME OF THE SOCIETY

- B.M.S.
- ⊗ C.M.S.
- E.C.S.
- ⦿ L.M.S.
- ⊛ N.M.S.
- ◎ S.P.G.
- ⊗ W.M.M.S.

NEPAL

BIHAR

ORISSA

Sylhet

TITALYAH

SADDAMAHAL

MAHIPALDIGHI

DINAJPORE

MADNABATI

MALDA

GOAMALTY

'BERHAMPORE

SURI

CUTWA

NADIA

KRISHNAGAR

BANKURA, BURTWAN

CHINSURAH

JESSORE

SERAMPORE

DUM DUM

CALCUTTA

RAMNHALCHOKE

MIDNAPORE

HOWRAH

KIDDERPORE

BARUIT

GANGREE

TANLUK

PORE

LAKSHMIKANTAPORE

KHAREE

BARISAL

DACCA

CUTTACK

20 0 20 80

Miles

Miles

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Sources

1. *Baptist Missionary Society Archives*

93, Gloucester Place, London, W.1

The Catalogue of the B.M.S. manuscripts was destroyed during the war. A new catalogue has been compiled recently. The incoming letters, Journals and Reports are catalogued under the name of individuals, and names are arranged alphabetically. These manuscript materials are placed in Boxes under Folders. Committee books and bound volumes are listed at the end of the Catalogue.

A. Incoming Letters, Journals and Reports :

Adam, W.	Letters	1817-1821
Aratoon, C. C.	Journal	1810
Bareiro, S.	Letters	1830-33
Basu, R. R.	Letters and texts of his "The Rise of Wisdom" (in Bengali)	1800-1801
Biss, J.	Letters	1803-7
Brunsdon, D.	Letters and extracts of his Journal	1798-1800
Brunsdon, Mrs.	Letters	
Bruyn, De	Letters and Journals	1817
Buckingham, W.	Letters	1827-31
Carey, E.	Letters and extracts of his Journal	1814-29
Carey, F.	Letters	1812-1823
Carey, J.	Letters	1813-1833
Carey, Marshman and Ward	Letters	1800-1833

Joint letters written by or to all three of these founder missionaries at Serampore. Ward died in 1823, and so the letters after this date are from Carey, Marshman and Marshman (Junior). They are divided into three sections:—

Section I	Letters from Carey, Marshman and Ward and their various correspondence. Most of these are quarterly accounts sent to the B.M.S. Committee.	
Section II	Legal and financial documents	
Section III	Miscellaneous materials	
Carey, W.		
Section I	Journal (one volume pp. 166)	June 13, 1793 to June 14, 1795
Section II	Letters to Fuller, Ryland and Sutcliffe (Typed copies of 52 letters from Carey to Ryland. Most of the originals are in the possession of the Society).	1793-1825
Section III	Letters to Carey	1793-1833
Section IV	Letters between Carey and his relatives	1793-1833
Section V	Receipts paid by the B.M.S. on behalf of Carey	1793-1933
Carey, W. (Junior)	Letters to his father	1808-1833
" "	Journals of the Indian preachers at Cutwa, translated by Carey (Junior)	1812-1815
Carey, Mrs.	Letters to her mother-in-law	1808-1833
Chamberlain, J.	Letters	1803-1821
Chamberlain, Mrs.	"	1803-1806
Charter, J.	"	1806-1829
Das, Krishna	Extracts of Journal (in Bengali)	1805-1813
Fernandez, I.	Letters and Hymns	1806-1812

Fink, J. C.	Letters	1821-1833
Fountain, J.	Letters and Journals	1796-1799
Grant, W.	Testimony to Ryland	1799
Grant, Mrs.	Letters	1799-1805
Harle, J.	Letters copied in a book	1816
"	Journals	1821-1822
Johans, J.	Letters	1820-1833
Kirkpatrick, W.	"	1820-1829
Lawson, J.	"	1810-1825
Leechman, J.	"	1832-1833
Leonard, O.	Letters and Journals	1812-1833
Lish, A.	Letters	1832-1833
Mackintosh, L.	"	1812-1833
Mack, J.	"	1821-1833
Mardon, R.	Letters and Journals	1803 1812
Marshman, J. C	Letters	1813-1833
Marshman, J.		
Section I	Letters coming to the Society through normal missionary channels	1799-1833
Section II	Letters bound in one volume in the form of Journals and Reports	1799-1826
Section III	Personal letters given to the B M S. by his descendants in Nov. 1963. (It includes a memoir of Hannah Marshman by her daughter, mostly type-written Last one and half chapters only hand-written by J. C. Marshman, with additional comments by him. 185 pages).	
Marshman, Mrs.	Letters	1799-1833
Mohanta, K.	Letters (in Bengali)	1812
Moore, W.	Letters and Journals	1804-1827
Pal, K.	Letters (in Bengali)	1804

Perry, J.	Letters	1832-1833
Peacock, H.	Journal	1810-1820
Pearce, G.	Letters	1826-1833
Penny, J.	"	1816-1833
Peter, J.	Letters and Journals	1810-1816
Robinson, W	Letters	1806-1833
Rowe, J.	Letters and Journals	1804-1824
Singh, P.	Letters (in Bengali)	1803-1807
Smylie, H.	Letters and Journals	1821-1831
Thomas, J.	Letters	1826-1833
Thomas, J. (Dr)	Letters and Journals A volume of copies of his letters (date of copy- ing and name of copyist unknown).	1793-1801
Thomas, W.	Letters	1813-1833
Thompson, J. T.	"	1812-1833
Ward, W.		
Section I	Letters to Fuller, Ryland, Sutcliffe and others	1799-1823
Section II	Extracts from Ward's Journal sent to Fuller	1799-1810
Section	Journals—4 volumes in a box (A Note on the cover dated 1850 states that there should be 5 vols. and that vol. 3 is missing, but in fact the four volumes are conti- nuous. Entries are daily at first, but gradually get less until finally there are entries only on Sundays. Ward gives a vivid per- sonal picture of the daily life of the missionaries and of their characters). Letters	May 1799 to Oct. 1811 1814-1833
Yates, W.		

B. Miscellaneous manuscript materials.

- (a) One bound volume of copies of Fuller's letters to Serampore missionaries, transcribed by Carey's pandit who could not understand English. 1794-1815
- (b) Manuscript of Carey's Bengali Grammar. 1800-1801
- (c) Hortus Bengalensis or a catalogue of the plants growing in the Honourable East India Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta.
(Printed at Serampore 1814, with Carey's marginal notes).
- (d) The photostat copy of the Diploma of Charter of Serampore College granted by King Fedderik IV of Denmark, on 23rd February 1827.
- (e) Remarks on the answers of Adam to Henry Ware's queries on the state of Missions in India. 3 note books (authorship unknown). 1824-1825
- (f) Several manuscripts of Serampore booklets of notes, (authorship unknown). No date. Divided as follows:—
 - (i) Account of money subscribed for Oriental translation. 1798-1828
 - (ii) Statistics of the Near and Far East and list of works printed by Serampore press. „ „
 - (iii) Details of locations of stations in Bengal and areas where stations could be opened. „ „
- (g) One volume of copies of Indian letters up to 1801. (Probably by C. B. Lewis).
- (h) A collection of proverbs in Bengali and Sanskrit with their translations and applications in English. (One note book) 1832.
- (i) 'Early 19th century Serampore'. A note of accounts, description of places, list of Oriental translations of Bible and other miscellaneous materials. One volume. No date.

- (j) Reports on Indian Stations for January to November, 1812. 80 pages. (Probably written by Fuller). June, 23, 1813.

One volume of copies of Indian letters (Probably by Ryland).

- (k) Chronological list of all the non-Indian Missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society in India from 1793.

2. *London Missionary Society Archives*

11, Carteret Street, Livingstone House, London S.W.1

The incoming letters and Reports are catalogued and arranged in 'Boxes' under 'Folders' and 'Jackets'. The boxes are marked according to the area of activities. Papers of the Bengal missionaries are placed under 'India—Bengal Boxes'.

A. Letters and Reports:—

(North India) Bengal Box No. 1 1800-1823

" " " " 2 1824-1829

" " " " 3 1830-1833

B. Journals:— One box 1816-1833

Townley, H. Calcutta (in form of letters) July 1—Dec. 3 1816

Keith, J. Calcutta March 16—June 11, 1817

Trawin, S. Kidderpore Dec. 24, 1825

Hill, M. Berhampore Nov. 27—Dec. 27 1826 1827

Hill, M. and Berhampore March 23-30, 1827

Gogerly, G.

Hill, M. Berhampore March 11-30, 1830

" " Dec. 16, 1829—

" " Jan. 14, 1830

" " Dec. 8th 1831—

" " Jan. 31st. 1832

" " 1832—1834 (incomplete)

Roy, E. Kidderpore June 10—Aug. 18, 1828

Lacroix, A. F. and Gogerly, G. " Jan. 10—27th. 1831

- C. Board of Directors Minutes 1795—1801
3. *Church Missionary Society Archives*
6, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.
- North India Mission* (Later called Bengal Mission) 1813—1818
- A. Early correspondence—One large file 1815—1818
- B. Missionary Books—containing copies of
incoming letters and papers 1819—1833
- C. Original incoming letters; Journals & papers 1819—33
- (i) Minutes of the Calcutta corresponding
committee (C.C.C.) 1821—1833
 - (ii) Correspondence between the C.C.C.
and Missionaries and Secretaries
of the Mission 1820—1833
 - (iii) Correspondence between C.C.C.
and Bishops, Archdeacons and
Missionaries 1820—1833
 - (iv) Correspondence between C.C.C.
and Principal of Bishop's College 1823—1833
 - (v) Miscellaneous correspondence
of C.C.C. 1822—1833
 - (vi) C.C.C.'s circular letters, Reports
of Sub-committees 1820—1833
 - (vii) C.C.C.'s proceedings in respect
of various missionaries 1820—1833
 - (viii) Letters from Bishops of Calcutta
Middleton, Heber, James, Wilson 1814—1833
 - (ix) Miscellaneous letters to parent Society 1820—1833
 - (x) Papers on Education 1820—1833
 - (xi) Miscellaneous letters, journals
and papers of Indian Christians 1823—1833
 - (xii) Miscellaneous papers 1824—1833

D. *Papers of individual Missionaries, arranged alphabetically*

Corrie, D. (Arch-deacon)	Letters, papers	1820—1831
Deerr, W. J.	Letters, Journals, Reports	1820—1833
Haberly, J.	Letters	1833
Jetter, J.	Letters, Journals	1819—1825
Kruckeberg, H. C. L.	Letters, Journals	1831—1833
Latham, J.	Letters	1827—1828
Lincke, J. J.	"	1833
Perowne, J.	"	1821—1828
Reichardt, T.	Letters, Journals	1823—1828
Reynolds, R. V.	" "	1831—1833
Sandys, T.	Letters, Journals, Reports	1830—1833
Schroeder, C. J.	Letters	1820
Thompson, J. C.	"	1833
Weitbrecht, J.	"	1830—1833
Wilson, I.	Letters, Journals	1823—1827
Wilson, Mrs.	Letters	1824—1831

4. *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Archives*

Holy Trinity Church, Marylebone Road, London, N.W.1

1. Standing Committee	Vol. I	1825—1829
Minutes	Vol. III	1833—1936
2. Minutes of the S.P.C.K.	Volumes 33-40	1800—1834
3. East India Mission Committee Book	Vol. I	1798—1812
	Vol. II	1812—1824

(Mainly reports of monetary grants and requests for money and books.)

5. *Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Archives*

15, Tufton Street, London, S.W.1

A. Society's Journals	Vols. 28-33	1799—1833
B. Journal Appendix	I volume	1701—1810

C. India general series:—

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------|-----------|
| (i) Bishop's College | | |
| documents | 7 vols. | 1819—1833 |
| (ii) Miscellaneous | Box I | 1821—1833 |
| manuscripts | Box II | 1824—1826 |
- (These manuscripts are put in folios but not properly arranged or indexed. Some of them are in a fragile condition.)

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|--------------------|-------------|-----------|
| D. East India Com- | | |
| mittee Book | Vols. 48-51 | 1822—1832 |
| E. Fullham papers | Vol. 1 | 1813—1827 |

6. *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archives*
(Now Methodist Missionary Society)

25, Marylebone Road, N.W.1

The original letters and journals of two missionaries who worked in Calcutta (1830-1833), are placed in Boxes marked 'Madras'.

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|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| A. Letters, Journals | | |
| and Reports | Madras Box No. III | 1829—1831 |
| | Madras Box No. IV | 1832—1833 |

7. *India Office Library*

Bengal Despatches	Vols. 37, 46, 47,	
	48, 49, 90	1801—1821

Bengal Ecclesiastical		
Consultations	Range 173	
	Vols. 33-53	1815—1833

Bengal letters received	Vols. 44-53, 56, 61-64	
	67, 70, 72-5, 77, 85,	
	90, 94-6, 98, 99, 103,	
	104, 110-112	1804—1830

Bengal revenue consulta-		
tion	Range 59, Vol. 4.	1821

(Prospectus of an Agricultural and Horticultural Society in India.)

Boards Draft of Secret		
letters to India	Vol. 3	1804—1810

**Home Miscellaneous
Series**

	Vol. 59 Native Faith 1803—1813	
	Vol. 403 Official correspondence	1802—1805
	Vol. 487 Proposed Muslim College at Calcutta (1781)	1781—1803
	Hindu College at Benares (1791-3)	
	Correspondence re- garding Lord Welles- ley's College at Fort William (1800-1803)	
Vol. 488	College at Fort William	1798—1814
Vol. 489	" " " " "	1803—1812
Vol. 690	Papers relating to the action of certain missionaries at Serampore, and a memorial from Rev. C. Buchanan	1807

Index to Bengal Despatches—Vols. 4-13 1793—1833

Letters from Board to Court—Vol. 8 1830—1832

Minutes of Secret Committee—Vol. 5 1806—1824

(None of these materials listed above is entirely concerned with missionary work at Bengal, except H.M.S. Vol. 690. The perusal of these volumes which casually refer to the missionaries, help to form an idea of the official attitude towards the missionaries).

European Manuscripts.

Grant C. E 93

Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals and on the means of improving it (chiefly written in the year 1792)

8. *The British Museum*

Warren Hastings papers

General correspondence.

"	"	Vols. XLIX	Oct. 1804—
		Add. MSS. No. 29180	Dec. 1805
"	"	Vol. LI	
		Add. MSS. No. 29182	Jan-Oct. 1807
"	"	Vol. L II	Nov. 1807—
		Add. MSS. No. 29183	Aug. 1808

9. *Bodleian Library*—Oxford

Indian Institute

Correspondence on Missions in India 1807—1808

(7 letters written by Edward Parry, Chairman, Court of Directors; Charles Grant, Deputy Chairman to Robert Dundas, President of The Board of Control.

In these letters Parry and Grant strongly supported the missionary activities in India).

10. *Established Church of Scotland Archives*

121, George Street, Edinburgh.

(The early letters of Alexander Duff from Calcutta and other relating papers are now in the National Library of Scotland).

11. *National Library of Scotland*—Edinburgh.

A. East India Mission, Calcutta, Vol. I. 1829—1833
(Mostly, A. Duff to Dr. Englis).

B. Minto papers

M. 36 Lord Minto to Lady Minto July 1807—
Dec. 1808

M. 68 Lord Minto to Henry Dundas 1793—1809

M. 138 Miscellaneous letters and Reports 1802—1813

M. 139 Miscellaneous papers
Literary and Scientific 1804—1808

M. 165 6	Private letter book through private secretary	1807—1811
M. 172	Robert Dundus to Minto	1807—1810
M. 175	India Reports, memorandums and letters	1807—1809
M. 192	Letters from Chairman of E. India Co. to Minto	1807—1812
M. 193, 197 8	Copy, Letterbook to the Secret Committee of E. India Co.	1807—1812
M. 209	Lord Minto to the Chairman of the East India Company	1807—1813
M. 377	Robert Dundas to Lord Minto	1810—1813
12.	<i>Scottish Record Office</i> —Edinburgh	
	Buchanan' papers	Box 18
	(Dr. Francis Buchanan of Lavy	Letters to John Hamilton and others
		1807—1813

PUBLISHED SOURCES

I. OFFICIAL

General Statutes 53 George III Cap. 155

(Charter Act of 1813) 21st July

Public General Acts 3|4 William IV Cap. 85

(Charter Act of 1833) 28th August

The Regulations of the Government of Fort William

Ed. Clarke, R. Vol. 1 and 2. Lond. 1854

Parliamentary Papers

Papers on East India Affairs.

(i) Minute of evidences Vol. VII 1812—1813

(30th March—14th July
and 18th April—27th May)

(ii) Missionaries and Morai Vol. VIII " "

Character of Indian
natives (30th April)

- | | | |
|---|---------|-----------|
| (iii) Religion of the Hindoos
(3rd June) | Vol. IX | „ „ |
| (iv) Minute of Governor General,
relative to the 'College of
Fort William (12th June) | | |
| (v) Grant's 'observations'
(15th June) | Vol. X | „ „ |
| (vi) Minutes of evidence taken
before the Select Committee
(6th Dec.-16th Aug.) | Vol. IX | 1831—1832 |

Parliamentary Debates

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| 1st Series | Vol. XXV | 11 Mar.-10 May
1813 |
| East India Company Affairs | Vol. XXVI | 11 May-25 July
1813 |

2. NON-OFFICIAL

A. *Reports, Transactions and Proceedings of the Missionary Societies and other Public Organisations***B.M.S.**

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) <i>Periodical Accounts</i>
Afterwards continued as
<i>Annual Reports</i> | Vols. 1-6
12 vols. | 1792—1817
1819—1834 |
| (ii) <i>The Annual Reports of the
Calcutta B.M.S. (Auxiliary
to B.M.S. in India)</i> | Vol. 1-14 | 1819—1833 |
| (iii) <i>Serampore Mission Periodical Accounts</i>
New Series
3rd Series
Supplement | 2 vols.
2 vols.
Vols. 1-7 | 1820—1824
1827—1828
1828—1834 |

C.M.S.

- | | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| (i) <i>Proceedings</i> | Vol. 1-13 | 1801—1833 |
| (ii) <i>Church Missionary Records</i>
(Detailing the proceedings) | Vol. 1-4 | 1830—1833 |

L.M.S.

- | | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| (i) <i>Reports</i> | Vols. 1-6 | 1795—1834 |
| (ii) <i>Quarterly Chronicle</i> (continued afterwards as Transactions of the L.M.S.) | Vols. 1-4 | 1815—1832 |

R.T.S.

- | | | |
|---|---------|-----------|
| (i) <i>Reports</i> | 4 vols. | 1820—1834 |
| (ii) <i>Proceedings of the first 20 years</i> | | 1820 |

S.P.C.K.

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|--------------------|----------|-----------|
| (i) <i>Reports</i> | 11 vols. | 1798—1834 |
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S.P.G.

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| (i) <i>Reports</i> | 6 vols. | 1797—1833 |
|--------------------|---------|-----------|

W.M.M.S.

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| (i) <i>Reports</i> | Vols. 4-5 | 1828—1833 |
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Serampore College

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|---|--|-------------|
| (i) <i>College for the Instruction of Asiatic Christians and other youths in Eastern Literature and European Sciences</i> | | London 1819 |
| (Prospectus and constitution drawn by Carey, Marshman and Ward) | | |

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|--|------------|----------------|
| (ii) <i>Reports of the College</i> | 1st Report | Serampore 1819 |
| (iii) " " " " | 6th " | " 1826 |
| (iv) " " " " | 8th " | " 1829 |
| <i>Institute for Support and Encouragement of Native Schools</i> | 2nd Report | London 1819. |
| | 3rd " | Serampore 1820 |

Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| Proceedings | Serampore 1831 |
| Vol. I (1820-28) | |
| Ben. text. | |

Gaudiya Samaj

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|-----------------------|---------------|
| Report of 1st Meeting | Calcutta 1823 |
| Ben. text. | |

Female Department of the Bengal Christian School Society

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|------------|---------------|
| 5th Report | Calcutta 1826 |
|------------|---------------|

Serampore Native Female Schools

- | | |
|------------|----------------|
| 5th Report | Serampore 1830 |
|------------|----------------|

B. *Contemporary Works*(a) *Newspapers and Periodicals*(i) *Published in Bengal*

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------|
| <i>Monthly Circular Letters</i> | 12 vols. (1808-1819) | Serampore |
| <i>Dig Darshan</i> | English and Bengali text. April 1818 to March 1819, Jan.-April 1820, 16 numbers | Ser. 1820 |
| " " | Bengali only June 1818 | Ser. 1818 |
| <i>Samachar Darpan</i> (compiled by B. N. Bandopadhyaya under the title <i>Sambad Patre Sekaler Katha</i> in 2 vols. Pub. in 1356 B.S. at Calcutta) | Bengali text 1818-1833 | Ser. |
| <i>The Gospel Magazine</i> | Eng. and Ben. text. (Dec. 1819-Nov. 1820) 12 numbers | Cal. 1820 |
| " " " | Ben. only Jan. to Sept. 1820 | Cal. 1820 |
| <i>The Friend of India</i> (Monthly Series) | Nos. 1-12 | Ser. 1819 |
| <i>The Friend of India</i> (Quarterly Series) | 4 vols. (1820-26) | Ser. 1826 |
| <i>The Brahmanical Magazine</i> or <i>The Missionary and the Brahman.</i> Being a vindication of the Hindus, against the attacks of Christian Missionaries in <i>Samachar Darpan</i> by Shiba Prasad Sharma. (Ram Mohun Roy) | Eng., Ben. text. | Cal. 1821 and 1823 |
| <i>The Ghost of Asiatic Mirror</i> | | Cal. 1820-21 |
| <i>Calcutta Annual Register</i> | | Cal. 1821-22 |
| <i>Unitarian Repository and Christian Miscellany</i> | | Cal. 1823-24 |
| <i>Calcutta Monthly Journal</i> | | Cal. 1823-24 |
| <i>Bengal Harkaru</i> | | Cal. 1823 |
| <i>The Asiatic Observer</i> | | Cal. 1823-24 |

<i>Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Review and Register</i>	Cal.	1824—27
<i>The Kaleidoscope</i>	Cal.	1829—30
<i>The Calcutta Magazine and Monthly Register</i>	Cal.	1830
<i>Sannachar Chandrika</i>	Bengali	Cal. 1830—31
<i>The Bengal Annual</i>		Cal. 1830—31
<i>Sarba Tatwa Dipika</i>	Bengali	Cal. 1831
<i>Rigyan Sebadhi</i>	"	Cal. 1832
<i>The Calcutta Christian Observer</i>		Cal. 1832—33
<i>The Calcutta Courier</i>		Cal. 1832
<i>Selections from Calcutta Gazette</i> (Ed. by Setton, Carr Vol. II, III Sandeman, H. D. Vol. IV, V (1798-1822)		Cal. 1864—69
Das Gupta, A. C. Vol. VI (1823-1832)		Cal. 1959
(ii) <i>Published in London</i>		
<i>The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle</i> (L.M.S.)		1800—22
<i>The Christian Observer</i> (C.M.S.)		1802—13
<i>The Missionary Register</i> (C.M.S.)		1813—34
<i>The Asiatic Journal</i>		1816
<i>Missionary Sketches</i> (L.M.S.)	Vol. I	1841
	(1818-1841)	
(b) <i>Pamphlets, Polemical writings and Tracts</i>		
Adam, W.	<i>Queries and replies respecting the present state of Protestant Missions in Bengal Presidency</i>	Calcutta 1824
A Bengal Officer	<i>Vindication of the Hindoos (from the aspersions of the Rev. C Buchanan)</i>	London 1808
	<i>Brief view of the Translations and Printing of the Scriptures by the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore with specimen of some of the Eastern Languages</i>	London 1815
Buchanan, C.	<i>Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establish- ment for British India</i>	London 1805
" "	<i>The Star in the East</i>	" 1809
" "	<i>Christian Researches in Asia</i>	" 1811
" "	<i>An Apology for Promoting Christianity in India.</i>	" 1813

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|-----------------|--|----------------|
| Bowen, J. | <i>Missionary Incitement, and Hindoo Demoralization, including some observations on the political tendency of the means taken to evangelize Hindoostan</i> | „ 1821 |
| Carey, W. | <i>An Enquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathen</i> | Leicester 1792 |
| Dubois, J. A. | <i>Letters on the State of Christianity in India; in which the conversion of the Hindoos is considered impracticable. . . . To which is added a vindication of the Hindoos</i> | London 1823 |
| Hough, J. | <i>A Reply to the Letters of Abbe Dubois</i> | London 1874 |
| Marshman, J. C. | <i>Reply to the attack of Mr. Buckingham on the Serampore Missionaries</i> | „ 1826 |
| Marshman, J. | <i>Advantages of Christianity in promoting the establishment and prosperity of the British Government in India</i> | „ 1813 |
| „ „ | <i>A Defense of the Deity and Atonement of Jesus Christ, in reply to Ram Mohun Roy of Calcutta</i> | „ 1822 |
| „ „ | <i>A Reply to Abbe Dubois</i> | Ser. 1824 |
| „ „ | <i>Thoughts on propagating Christianity more effectively among the Heathen</i> | Edinburgh 1827 |
| Mundy, G. | <i>Christianity and Hindooism contrasted</i> | Calcutta 1827 |
| Peggs, J. - | <i>Pilgrim Tax in India</i> | London 1827 |
| „ „ | <i>India cries for British Humanity</i> | „ 1832 |

Roy, Ram Mohun	<i>Translation of a Conference between an Advocate and an Opponent of the practice of burning widows alive</i>	Calcutta 1818
<i>Serampore Pamphlets (1813-1836)</i>		Serampore
Smith, Sydney	<i>A Collection of Essays</i> (Reprinted from the <i>Edinburgh Review</i> 1802-1818)	London. No Date
Teighmouth, Lord John	<i>Considerations on Communicating the Knowledge of Christianity to India</i>	London 1808
<i>Tenth Memoir respecting the Translation of the Sacred Scriptures into Oriental Languages by the Serampore Brethren</i>		London 1834
Townley, H.	<i>Answer to Abbe Dubois</i>	London 1824
Ward, W.	<i>Farewell Letters to friends in Britain and America</i>	London 1821
" "	<i>Brief Memoir of Krishna Pal</i>	London 1823
Ware, H.	<i>Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting its reception in India</i>	Harvard 1824 London 1825
<i>The Gospel Messenger (Basu, R. B.)</i>		Bengali Serampore 1800, 1804
<i>Jnanodaya (Basu, R. R.)</i>	"	" " 1801
<i>Sâshu Ganer Pustak</i>	"	" " "
<i>The Sure Refuge (Singh, P.)</i>	"	" " "
<i>Vedaved (Marshman, J.)</i>	"	" " 1807
<i>The Essence of Scriptures</i>	"	" " 1812
<i>A Dialogue between a Padre and a Brahman</i>	"	Calcutta No date
<i>A Dialogue between a Pandit and a Sarkar</i> (Townley, H.)	"	Calcutta No date
<i>What Shashtra should be obeyed ? (Townley)</i>	"	" "

<i>A Dialogue between Ramhari and a Sadhu</i> (Keith, J.)	„	Calcutta No date
<i>An Account of the creation of the world</i> <i>in the form of a Dialogue between a Master</i> <i>and his Pupil</i> (Ellerton)	„	Calcutta 1820
<i>A Dialogue between a Darwan and a Mali</i> (Keith, J.)	„	Calcutta No date
<i>Tracts in India</i>	English. London	(1813)

(c) *General*

Bandopadhyaya, B. C.	<i>Duti Bilas</i> (An original humorous sketch) (Bengali)	Cal. 1825
Basu, R. R.	<i>Raja Pratapaditya Charitra</i> (Bengali)	Ser. 1801
„ „	<i>Lipimala</i> (Ben.)	„ 1802
Belnos, S. C.	<i>Twenty-four plates illustrative of the Hindoo and European manners in Bengal</i>	Lon. 1832
Buchanan, C.	<i>Fort William College in Bengal</i>	Cal. 1805
Carey, F.	<i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> (Ben.)	Ser. 1821-22
„ „	<i>History of England</i> (Ben.)	„ 1820
Carey, W.	<i>A Grammar of the Bengalee Language</i> (Eng.-Ben.)	„ 1801 1805, 1818
„ „	<i>Dialogues intended to Facilitate the Acquiring of the Bengalee Language</i> (Eng.-Ben.)	Ser. 1801 1806, 1818
„ „	<i>Dharma Pustaka</i> (Translation of the Bible in Bengali) 5 vols.	Ser. 1801-1805
„ „	<i>A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language</i> (Eng.-Ben.)	Vol. I „ 1815 Vol. 2 „ 1825
„ „	„ „ (Part I & II)	„
„ „	Abridged by Marshman, J. C.	Vol. I „ 1827 Vol. II „ 1828

Carey, W. and Marshman, J.	<i>The Ramayana</i> (Translated into English)	„ 1808
„ „	„ „ (In two volumes with original Sanskrit)	„ 1808- 1810
Duff, A.	<i>A brief statement relative to the General Assembly's India Mission</i>	Edinburgh 1835
„ „	<i>India and Indian Mission</i>	„ 1839
	<i>Essays Relative to the Habits, Character and Moral improvement of the Hindoos</i> (Published in <i>The Friend of India</i>)	Lon. 1823
Graham, M.	<i>Journals of a Residence in India</i>	Edn. 1813
Gogerly, G.	<i>The Pioneer</i>	Lon. 1871
Heber, R.	<i>Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India</i>	„ 1829
	3 vols.	„
„ „	<i>Sermons Preached in India</i>	„ 1827
Heber, Mrs.	<i>Life of Heber by his widow</i>	„ 1830
	2 vols.	
	<i>Journal of voyages and travels</i> (By Rev. D. Tyerman and G. Bennet Esq. deputed from the L.M.S. to visit their Stations between the years 1821 and 1829) com- piled by J. Montgomery—Vol. 2	Lon. 1831
Keith, J.	<i>A Grammar of Bengalee Language</i> (Ben.)	Cal. 1825
Lawson, J.	<i>Pasyabali</i> (Ben.)	„ 1827
Lushington, C.	<i>The History, Design and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent and Charitable Insti- tutes founded by the British in Calcutta and its vicinity</i>	„ 1824
Mack, J.	<i>Essence of Chemistry</i> (Ben.)	Ser. 1834
Marshman, J. C.	<i>History of India</i> (Ben.)	„ 1831
„ „ „	<i>The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, embracing the History of the Serampore Mission—2 vols.</i>	Lon. 1859

- | | | |
|----------------------|--|----------------|
| Marshman, J. | <i>Hints relative to Native Schools together with the outline of an Institute for their Extension and Management</i> | Ser. 1816 |
| Mill, J. | <i>History of India</i> —3 vols. | Lon. 1817 |
| Mukhopadhyaya, R. L. | <i>Sri Maharaj Krishna Chandra Rayasya Charitram</i> (Ben.) | „ 1811 |
| Munshi, C. C. | <i>Tota Itihas</i> (Ben.) | Ser. 1809 |
| Pearson, J. D. | <i>Bakyabole</i> (Eng.-Ben.) | Cal. 1826 |
| „ „ | <i>Dialogues on Geography and Astronomy</i> (Eng.-Ben.) | „ 1827 |
| „ „ | <i>The British System of Instruction</i> | „ 1830 |
| Roebuck, T. | <i>Annals of the College of Fort William</i> | „ 1819 |
| Roy, Ram Mohun | <i>The English Works</i> (ed. Ghosh, J. C.) 2 vols. | „ 1885-1887 |
| „ „ „ | „ „ 1 vol. | Allahabad 1906 |
| „ „ „ | <i>The Bengali works</i> (ed. Bandyopadhyaya B. N. and Das, S. K.) 6 vols. | Cal. 1943 1952 |
| Sarma, G. N. | <i>Hitopadesa</i> (Ben.) | Ser. 1851 |
| Sargent, H. | <i>The first Book of Virgil's Æneid</i> (Ben.) | „ 1810 |
| Simeon, C. | <i>Memorial Sketches of Rev. D. Brown</i> | Lon. 1816 |
| Stanhope, L. | <i>Sketch of the History and influence of the Press in British India</i> | Cal. 1823 |
| Statham, J. | <i>Indian Recollections</i> | Lon. 1832 |
| Valentia, G. V. | <i>Voyages and Travels into India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt</i> —Vol. 1 | „ 1809 |
| Vidyalankar, G. M. | <i>Stri Siksha Vidhayak</i> (Ben.) | Cal. 1822 |
| „ „ „ | <i>„ „ „</i> | „ 1824 |
| „ „ „ | <i>Butris Simhasan</i> (Ben.) | Ser. 1808 |

"	" "	<i>Rajabali</i> (Ben.)	"	1808
"	" "	<i>Hitopadesa</i> (Ben.)	"	1814
"	" "	<i>Probodh Chandrika</i> (Ben.)	"	1814
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