A STUDY
OF
MISSIONARY POLICY AND METHODS IN BENGAL
FROM 1799 TO 1905

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FOREWORD</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP OF BENGAL</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIRST PERIOD</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Serampore Trio</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECOND PERIOD</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Missionary Societies</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD PERIOD</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Period of Alexander Duff</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOURTH PERIOD</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Period of Expansion</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPENDIX</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twentieth Century Policy</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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PROVINCE OF BENGAL

SHOWING

PRINCIPAL MISSION STATIONS
PROVINCE OF BENGAL

SHOWING

PRINCIPAL MISSION STATIONS
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to trace the development of missionary policy and methods through the various periods of missionary history in Bengal.

Bengal is a province of British India, bounded on the east by Assam and Burma; on the south by the Bay of Bengal; on the west by Behar and Orissa; and on the north by Nepal and Bhutan. It has an area of 82,277 square miles and a population (1921) of 47,592,462. Mohammedans represent 54% of the population.

The Buddhist religion prevailed in Bengal until the tenth century when a conflict arose between Buddhists and Hindus. The latter triumphed, and the Hindu religion became established. Bengal was, however, invaded by Mohammedans in the 13th century, and remained under their rule until the 16th century. From 1576 to 1765, Bengal was incorporated in the Mogul Empire, and administered by governors appointed by the Delhi Emperor. The treaties of 1765 placed Bengal under the administration of the East India Company.

As a field for the study of missionary policy and methods, Bengal possesses several distinctive features.

1. In this province was the beginning of what is now known as the "Modern Missionary Movement".

"Modern missionary work in India dates from November 11, 1793, the day upon which William Carey landed in Calcutta." 1

"William Carey has been justly called 'the rather of modern missions'."

There had been missionary work in Bengal and in other parts of India before Carey's time; but his arrival constituted the beginning of a systematic, continuous, and expanding movement on the part of the Protestant churches for the evangelising of India.

2. In intelligence, Bengalis perhaps rank highest among the races of India, and are in many respects the leaders of thought for the rest of the country. It is interesting to observe what policy and methods have been adopted by missionaries working among this highly intelligent people.

3. In 1773 an Act of Parliament was passed which provided that the presidency of Bengal should exercise control over the other possessions of the East India Company. From that year, Calcutta was the administrative centre of India, first under the East India Company until 1858, and then under the Crown until 1912. We have therefore the opportunity of studying the relation of missionaries and Government at the administrative centre from the commencement of modern missions in India.

4. Bengal has examples of every method of missionary work from simple street-preaching among low-caste people to the more refined and subtle educational work among the high castes.

5. In Bengal all the major British denominational Societies and

1. Glover, The Progress of World-Wide Missions, p.92
Missions have carried on work. The distinctive contributions they have made to policy and methods will be noted.

6. Bengal has been the scene of the labours of two of the world's greatest modern missionaries, — William Carey and Alexander Luff. Their influence on missionary policy and methods is of vital interest.

As regards the scope of this study:—

(1). It covers the years 1793 to 1905: In the Appendix, however, we have indicated the general trend of missionary policy from 1905 to the present time.

(2). It deals mainly with Protestant denominational Missions of British origin: reference to the Roman Catholic Missions is made in the subject of the comity of missions only.

(3). It is concerned with missionary work among Bengalis only: work among the aborigines and hill-peoples of Bengal is not included in this thesis.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

E.F.B.S., - British and Foreign Bible Society
B.M.S., - Baptist Missionary Society
C.M.S., - Church Missionary Society
C.E.Z.M.S., - Church of England Zenana Missionary Society
C.S.M., - Church of Scotland Mission
F.C.S.M., - Free Church of Scotland Mission
L.M.S., - London Missionary Society
O.M.C., - Oxford Mission to Calcutta
P.C.E.M., - Presbyterian Church of England Mission
S.P.C.K., - Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
S.P.G., - Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
U.F.C.S.M., - United Free Church of Scotland Mission
W.M.M.S., - Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

GLOSSARY

anna, the sixteenth part of a rupee
bazaar, a market place
lac, lakh, one hundred thousand
pie, the twelfth part of an anna
rupee, a coin nominally worth two shillings
zenana, part of a dwelling appropriated to women
FIRST PERIOD
The history of Missions in Bengal during this period deals almost exclusively with the Serampore Trio, William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward of the Baptist Missionary Society. 1 Representatives of two other Missionary Societies, the Christian Knowledge Society 2 and the London Missionary Society 3 were also engaged in work at this time. The influence of the Christian Knowledge Society, however, never very strong in Bengal, 4 was, now that Kiernander had retired, definitely waning, and the efforts of the Society were largely confined to the Portuguese of Calcutta. Except for the last year of the period under consideration, the London Missionary Society's work was carried on by one Missionary, Nathaniel Forsyth, of whom little is known, and whose career did not distinguish itself by any notable contribution to the cause of Missions.

The outstanding missionaries of this period were undoubtedly the Serampore Trio, and it is therefore, in the main their policy and methods which will present themselves for our consideration.

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3. ibid., p. 275, "the least satisfactory of all the Society's missions was that at Calcutta under Kiernander."
The relationship of missionaries to government

The period 1793-1810 has been called the Dark Period in the history of Christianity in India, because during these twenty years, according to Stock, the historian of the C.M.S., "all possible discouragement was given by the East India Company to every effort to spread the Gospel." This statement may be true of the company's official attitude, but it should be kept in mind that many of the company's representatives in Bengal were sympathetic towards missionary work, and several of them openly encouraged it.

To appreciate this fully, it is necessary to trace the course of events preceding the arrival of William Carey in Bengal on the eleventh of November, 1793. The first Protestant missionary to labour in Bengal, J.L. Hiemander of the Danish Mission, but supported by the Christian Knowledge Society, arrived in Calcutta on September 29, 1793. He was cordially received by the acting Governor, Colonel Clive. He received warm support from a later governor, Mr. Vansittart, who in 1766 placed a government building at his disposal. In 1786 when J.C. Hiemander of a new mission from England sailed to join Hiemander, he was granted a free passage by the East India Company. Hiemander's two daughters who sailed at the same time also received free passages. Later, in 1798, when the Rev. A.T. Clarke of the S.C.M. arrived in Calcutta to take over the mission which Hiemander had directed for many years, he found the—

3. Holley, "Early History of the C.M.S.," p. 8
4. Trough, "History of Christianity in India," vol. IV, p. 75
governor-General well disposed to him, and to the work. In addition to the S.P.C.K. there were two other missionary efforts in Bengal: the one, known as the Coomalty Mission, was directed by John Thomas, a Baptist, from 1786-1792; the other was a small Moravian Mission at Serampore from 1777-1792. Government does not appear to have interfered with either of these efforts.

The opposition of Government to Missions seems first to have been aroused by a scheme known as the Calcutta project of Missions, 1787. The originators of this scheme were Mr. Charles Grant, a godly East India Company official, and the Rev. David Brown, a chaplain. They proposed that eight young clergymen of the Church of England should come to India, each one to reside in one of the eight grand divisions of Bengal, and to set up schools and churches. It was hoped that the Government and the Company would finance the scheme.

"To the success of any such plan, Mr. (Grant) considered the support of Government indispensable." 5

The governor-general, Lord Cornwallis was approached for his approval of the project. He stated, however, that he had no faith in it. Copies of the scheme were then sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and to leaders of the evangelical section of the Church of England, including Simon. Mr. Ball’s help for the plan was enlisted. Mr. Grant himself tried in England to arouse interest, and had high hopes that at the renewal of the East India Company Charter, provision would be

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1. Rough, History of Christianity in India, vol. IV, p. 27
3. Smith, Life of William Carey, p. 76
5. Marshall, Carey, Serampore, etc., etc., vol. 1, p. 19
6. Ibid., p. 83
7. Ibid., p. 85
made for the spiritual improvement of India. But the India Bill, as introduced in 1793 contained nothing on the subject. Wilberforce accordingly proposed a resolution for insertion in the bill that:

"It is the opinion of this House that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the British dominions in the East, and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." 2

This resolution was passed by the Committee, and entered in the Journals after its acceptance by the House. Later, Wilberforce proposed a clause empowering the East India Company Court of Directors to send out schoolmasters and missionaries approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London for the religious and moral improvement of the inhabitants of India. The concrete proposals of this clause caused great controversy in the House, and in spite of Wilberforce's eloquence, the House of Commons struck out all his proposed clauses at the third reading of the bill.

It will be noted that the Calcutta project of 1767 and the resolutions of Wilberforce were alike in principle, in that they both contemplated a mission initiated, financed, and directed by Parliament and the Company. It is evident, therefore, that while the East India Company had, up to this time, shown no objections to unofficial missionary efforts in Bengal, it most strenuously protested in 1793 against any proposal that the Company be officially associated with missionary work.

It was in this very year 1793, that William Carey was born...

[Notes and references]

2. Ibid. Dr. H. History of the C...E., 6.
Thomas sailed for India, and landed there on November 11. Before leaving England, they had tried to obtain the Company's license required by all persons proceeding to the Company's territories, but had failed. They determined to go without licenses, and they found an East India Company's ship whose captain, knowing their predicament, agreed to take them as passengers to India, but who, just before sailing, ordered them off the ship, as he had received an anonymous letter informing him that he would be reported for having unlicensed passengers on his ship. Nothing daunted, the two missionaries found the captain of a Danish East Indianman who expressed his willingness to have them as passengers to Calcutta, and on his ship they reached India.

Here we raise the question, as did some of Thomas and Carey's supporters at the time, of the legality of the action of the missionaries in going to India without licenses.

(1) The missionaries knew that a license was necessary. The East India Company Court of Directors were at this time invested with absolute power to exclude or to banish from their territories anyone who contravened their wishes. Knowing this, the missionaries tried to obtain a license.

(2) In deciding to go without licenses, the missionaries had precedents for their action, as there were already hundreds of unlicensed Europeans in India. It seems clear that the letter of

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1. Beavill, Oliver, William Carey, p. 120
2. Pearce, Carey, William Carey, p. 123
4. Ibid, p. 87
5. Ibid, p. 74
the licensing law had never been strictly enforced, but the practice had been to allow unlicensed persons to settle in India.

(3) As unlicensed persons in India, they were not guilty of a high crime, as Harman supposes them to have been. He states that a law was passed in 1783 enacting that any person, not lawfully licensed, who was found in the East Indies, was guilty of a high crime. An examination of the statutes at Large, 1783, however, reveals that no such statute was enacted. Further, the words of the statute which Harman quotes are similar to a statute in the charter act of June 17, 1793, namely 33 Geo. III c. 59, s. 111:

"Any unlicensed persons going to these parts (East Indies) or found therein, liable to fine and imprisonment.

s. 110. Such persons may be arrested and sent to England for trial and may be committed.

Words of the statute:

s. 111. Be it further enacted, that if any subject or subjecti
of His Majesty, etc., not being lawfully licensed or author-
ised, sail at any times or times etc., directly or indirectly,
and be convicted thereof, shall be liable to such fine or imprisonment, or both fine and imprisonment, as the court in which each person or persons shall be convicted, shall think fit."

This statute did not come into force in India until Feb. 1, 1793.

... that same year the East India Company Court of Directors sent a dispatch dated May 25 in which they stated that unlicensed residents, instead of being summarily deported, could remain, providing some responsible person stood surety for them, and that they entered into a covenant to reside from Feb. 1, 1793, and

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2. Statutes at Large, India p. 160
Charter Act came into force. In 1793, Carey and Thomas who had meantime become indigo planters in north Bengal entered into covenants with the Company. This gave them a recognised position, and protected them from expulsion.

(4) The attitude of the missionaries on this whole question was well stated by the Secretary of the Baptist missionary society, Andrew Fuller, who pointed out:

"The apostles and primitive ministers were commanded to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; nor were they to stay for the permission of any power upon earth, but to go, and bear the consequences. If a man of God conscious of having nothing in his heart unrighteous to any civil government whatever, but determined in all civil matters to obey, and teach obedience to the powers that are, put his life in his hand saying, 'Will go, and if I am persecuted in one city, I will flee to another.' Whatever the vicissitudes of this world may decide upon his conduct, he will assuredly be acquitted, and more than acquitted, at a higher tribunal." 1

No trouble seems to have arisen between the missionaries and the government in Bengal until 1799. In the meantime, three new missionaries had arrived, and been permitted to settle in Bengal: in 1798, John Fountain 2 of the B.M.S.; in 1797, John Pettrick 3 of the B.P.S.; and in 1799, Forrester of the B.M.S. 4 Fountain was a man with decided political views, which we express in the following strain:

"If you are so intoxicated with political folly, as not to be able to write a letter to England without bearing some words against government, certain, I must observe, the noise of revolution now going on, I must say, sa. In this, in any judgment upon the society, which is to be established in other respects, will be under the necessity of publicly disowning you." 5

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1. D. B., "Early History of the B.M.S.," 166
2. Ibid., Carey, introduction, and index, vol. 1, p. 75
3. Ibid., Life of Pettrick, 181
4. Ibid., Forrester, introduction, and index, vol. 1, pp. 104-106
5. Ibid., Early History of the B.M.S., p. 160
6. Ibid., Report 1798
On Oct. 10, 1799, the American ship Criterion arrived at Calcutta with passengers, among whom were four Baptist missionaries. Two of them, Joshua Kersten and William Ward, became famous as members with Carey, of the Serampore trio. Carey had advised the new missionaries by letter to declare themselves as assistant indigo planters. Mr. Charles Grant had advised them to proceed directly to the Danish settlement of Serampore, there to await an opportunity of going, unobserved, to Bengal to join Carey. However, the captain of the Criterion received the forms on which he was required to state the names and vocation of each of his passengers, he was requested by the four to state that they were Christian missionaries proceeding to Serampore.

"They had refused to give any other than a thoroughly honest account of themselves. Not only were they resolved to tell the truth, but to declare the whole truth. To have registered themselves as assistants to Mr. Carey, indigo factor at Hidderpore, in Calcutta, would, under the prevailing notion of a self-supporting mission upon the orient, have been no actual untruth, but there would, having been a suppressive very, one so clever upon colonial and Indian proper, they decided themselves as missionaries."
that all persons of a strong political bias were suspect. Furthermore, Lord Harrington knew that in England many dissenters had a leaning to the French principles, so that the arrival of four dissenters on an American vessel seemed very suspicious. He decreed that the four missionaries were to be deported. While the expulsion orders were being drawn up, the missionaries had gone to Serampore. Here they were under the protection of the Danish governor, Colonel Anker, who not only welcomed them, but promised to support their missionary work. Now that they were no longer in the East India Company's territories, the missionaries were not subject to the jurisdiction of the governor-general. He, however, still had the power of refusing them permission to settle on British territory, and this power he exercised. Realising that there were now no prospects of his colleagues joining him in Serampore, Carey decided to remove from British to Danish India.

On May 8, 1781 an event took place which might well have proved disastrous to the Baptist mission. For having broken out in Europe between France and Britain, the governor-general took possession of Serampore. The missionaries there were and were no longer under the protection of the Danish governor, so if the governor-general had chosen, he could have arrested them. This he did not choose to do. Dougherty portrays the scene—

"The missionaries were desired to appear at court by written order, where the English commissioners desired to treat with great civility, apologized for the trouble, etc., etc."
then, and assured them that they were at perfect liberty to follow their calling as usual."

There were two reasons for this kindly treatment. (1) The missionaries at Serampore had given proof that politics was not part of their scheme, and that their chief aim was the promotion of the spiritual welfare of the people. (2) Carey had found favour with the governor-general who had just appointed him as teacher of the Bengali language in the newly-established College of Fort William, Calcutta. Carey had accepted the appointment on condition that he be given freedom of action as a missionary.

The favourable attitude of government towards missionaries continued throughout the administration of Lord Wellesley, to the time he left office on July 30, 1805.

"All through the period of history occupied by the administration of Lord Wellesley, the Serampore Mission, if it did not actually bask in the sunshine of viceroyal (i.e.) favour, encountered no storms and was called by no frosts.

Lord Cornwallis, who followed Wellesley as governor-general, had a very brief span of office, from July 30, 1805 to Oct. 6, 1805. It was the appointment of his successor, Sir George Lord, as acting governor-general that raised the hopes of the missionaries that permission might now be given for the establishment of..."

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1. [John, History of Christianity in India, vol. II, p. 118]
2. [Chenery, Protestant Missions in India, p. 74]
3. [In 1807 Wellesley established the College of Fort William to supplement the education of junior members of the civil service by the study of various subjects, including languages of India. Carey was considered to be the only person qualified to teach Bengali; he had demonstrated his ability in that language by translating the New Testament into it.]
4. [Chenery, Carey, Reason and Faith, vol. I, p. 112]
5. [Chenery, Christianity in India, p. 24]
6. [Chenery refers to Carey as the "living" exponent of the spirit of the New Testament...in...required." Carey, Tradition and Faith, vol. I, p. 23]
mission stations in British Bengal, as he was known to be a warm supporter of religious improvement in India. Sir George was approached on the matter, but he obviously felt the delicacy of his position as acting governor-general and pointed out that however favourable his personal opinion, he could not go against the sentiments of the Court of Directors.

In 1806 panic was aroused in India and in London by the news that on July 10, in the Fortress of Vellore about fifty miles from Madras, the Sepoys had mutinied, risen on the European garrison, and massacred 14 officers and 99 soldiers. The mutiny was brought about through the efforts of the dethroned family of Tipoo of Mysore, who inflamed the Sepoys by pointing out, that recent changes in army regulations concerning appearance and uniform constituted an attempt by the British government forcibly to christianize them. The cause of missions was made to bear the blame. It was immediately asserted that interference of any kind with the religious customs of the people was fraught with the greatest political danger. The alarm felt in Bengal was manifest in the action taken by the acting governor-general. Henry Martin, then staying at Arcot, records in his diary under the date Aug. 5, 1806:

"At midnight Martin came to the Vepoys, and demanded of them the information that Sir Charles had connected as necessary not to disperse any more troops, nor seek the more native brethren, or in any way interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives."
At the same time, Government issued orders that two new missionaries, Chater and Robinson, who had arrived at Calcutta on Aug. 10, 1806, were to return home. Conciliatory action was, however, taken by the resident missionaries at Serampore, by arranging that Chater should sail to Bumma, there to begin work. Robinson stayed on in Serampore, and no further questions about him seem to have been raised by Government until Dec. The restrictions imposed upon the missionaries, amounting virtually to an entire stoppage of their work, were modified by the Governor-General. It would seem that the missionaries felt the interference of Government at this time to be due to a mere dislike of Christian missions, and that they did not fully appreciate the extent of the alarm caused by the Vellore Mutiny, nor sense the prevailing feeling that missionary efforts had indirectly been responsible for the Mutiny.

The state of tension now existing between the Bengal Government and the missionaries was greatly increased soon after the arrival, on July 31, 1807, of Lordinto as Governor-General. A pamphlet, issued by the Serampore Mission Press, was found by Government to contain language which was not only derogatory, but offensive in its reference to the Prophet Mohammed; Government considered the pamphlet to be inflammatory and dangerous. Lordinto was asked for an explanation but in the meantime—Lordinto requested the Bengal Governor at Serampore to suppress further publication of the tract in question, and surrender the press...
copies. This was done, and in addition a letter of explanation was sent through the Danish governor to Lord Hinto wherein the Serampore missionaries expressed regret for the publication of the tract, and stated that a Mohammedan musnshi, a convert to Christianity, who had been requested to translate a tract from Bengali into Persian had, of his own accord, introduced the offensive language which had escaped their notice.¹

In spite of the explanation, the governor-general in Council issued an order on Sept 8, 1807 to the effect that

"no publication should issue from the Serampore Press of a nature offensive to the religious prejudices of the natives or directed to the object of converting them to Christianity." ²

At first the Serampore trio were inclined to defy the Governor-General, but on second thoughts they decided to make an effort at conciliation. An interview was arranged, the ostensible purpose of which was the presentation to Lord Hinto by Carey and Marshman of their translation of the Ramayan, which had just been printed at the Serampore Press. In the course of conversation, the matter of missionary work was raised and discussed. It is evident that Carey and Marshman made a favourable impression on Lord Hinto, for a few days after the interview the restriction on the press was withdrawn.³

Only once more in this period was trouble to arise. From the disturbance in 1807 about the pamphlet, until 1810, Government dealt very tolerantly with the missionaries. But by June 17, 1811, ⁴

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¹ See supra, Carey, London and Calcutta, vol. 2, p. 320
² Ibid., p. 325
³ Ibid., p. 333
⁴ Ibid., p. 336
Government's attitude had changed from tolerance to hostility. On that date, two new American missionaries, Judson and Lowell, arrived in India but were refused permission to settle in the Company's territories. On Aug. 15, three more Americans, Hall, Rice, and Nott, Judson's colleagues, arrived, as well as two Baptist missionaries for Serampore, Lawson and Johns, and an E.I.S. missionary, Hay. Three of the Americans, Hall, Judson and Rice, escaped deportation by sailing to Mauritius; the other two, Hall and Nott, escaped to Bombay. One of the Englishmen, Hay, received permission to remain, as he was going to a European congregation at Chinsura. Harshman obtained the Governor-General's permission for Lawson to remain because of his specialized knowledge of Chinese type, in which Lord Hinto was then greatly interested. Johns was the only one actually deported to England.

What is the explanation of the sudden change in the government's attitude to missionaries in 1812? J.O. Harshman gives it as his opinion that:

"The conduct of government in Calcutta on this occasion was therefore without precedent, without necessity, and without justification." 5

It seems reasonable, however, to assume that as government, on other occasions, had reasons for any action taken against missionaries, so on this occasion. It appears, from an entry in theilder's diary on April 15, 1812, that the Dowlat Scindia, one of t.

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1. Ibid., early history of the E.I.S., p. 238
2. Ibid., p. 338
3. Ibid., p. 338
4. Ibid., p. 338
5. Ibid., p. 338
7. Life, by his sons, vol. IV, p. 18
independent princes of western India, had protested vigorously against the proselytizing being done by missionaries in India. As early as 1805, the Maharaja had been made acquainted with the work being done by missionaries, as Gospels in Marathi were sent to him from Calcutta, along with a translation memoir explaining what was further planned in the way of translating the Bible into many of India's languages. The Dowlat Scindia was a man of influence and it is quite likely that his protest provided the motive for the sudden hostility of Government in 1818 to missionary work.

At home, meantime, the friends of Christian Missions had not been idle concerning the matter of the attitude of the East India Company to missionary work. The Charter of 1793 was about to expire, and the whole question of the Company's policy in India was to be reviewed by Parliament. Various missionary bodies held meetings at which it was agreed that petitions should be sent to Parliament. In all, 657 petitions in favour of introducing Christianity into India were sent to the House of Commons, the first being from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on Feb. 15, 1818.

The resolutions submitted to Parliament referring to Christianity in India were:

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India for their maintenance.

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2. [Editor], Early History of the C.I.E., p. 287
3. Missionary Register, 1816, p. 380
XIII Resolved. That it is the opinion of this committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs. Provided always that the authority of the Local Government respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and that the principles on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion be inviolably maintained."

There was much bitter opposition by many members of Parliament to these resolutions. But the House could not ignore public sentiment in favour of the resolutions, demonstrated by the great number of petitions, and on July 16, 1815, the Charter Bill, including the clauses on Christianity in India, was passed. After it was passed by the Lords on July 30, it received royal assent on July 31, and as Act 50 Geo. III c. 155, it came into force on April 10, 1814. It was the culminating event of this period in the relationship of missionaries to government, bringing about, in 1815, what had so ardently been desired in 1803, at the beginning of the period, by Grant, Wilberforce and other friends of missions— the right of missionaries to pursue their calling without interference from government.

In reviewing the relations of the missionaries to government in Bengal during the period 1803-1815, certain facts concerning policy are worthy of note.

1. Missionary Register, 1816, pp. 666
2. Pole, Early History of the C.M.S., p. 600
(I) It was not the policy of government constantly to interfere with missionary work on the mere pretext of disliking it. There were only four occasions when government very definitely interfered, in 1799, 1806, 1807, and 1812. We have tried to show, however, that on each of these occasions government felt it had good grounds for action: in 1799, the fear that the four dissenting missionaries were political revolutionaries; in 1806, the Vellore mutiny, at first thought to be the result of missionary work; in 1807, the offensive tract, which the missionaries admitted to be inflammatory, and in 1812, the apprehensions of government that unless action was taken against missionaries, princes like the Dowlat Scindia, who had registered a formal protest against missionary work, would cause political trouble.

(2) Three things may be said about the attitude of missionaries to government.

A. They were loyal to government. Although the missionaries did not see eye to eye with government on every question, they resisted the temptation to agitate against the government from Denial Scindia. Their attitude is best summed up in the words of Carey:

"Whatever be my ideas of the best or worst mode of civil government, the bible teaches me to be an obedient and peaceable subject." I

B. When real trouble arose, as on the occasions mentioned, the attitude adopted by the missionaries was one of conciliation, not of defiance.

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I. Kershaw, Carey, Kershaw and More, vol. 1, p. 76
C. There can be little doubt that the loyal and conciliatory attitude referred to was a potent factor in helping Parliament to accept Resolution XIII of the Isli Charter Act. When Wilberforce was urging Parliament to pass the Resolution, he spoke in glowing terms of the excellent work which had been done by the Serampore missionaries. If their attitude had been one of defiance, hostility and criticism, it is extremely doubtful that Resolution XIII would have been accepted.

Life of the Missionaries in Bengal during this Period, 1790-1839.

(I) The question of their financial support.

Before William Carey sailed as a missionary to Bengal, he had already expressed his views on certain missionary matters in a pamphlet which he published in 1793, "An Inquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the heathens, in which the religious state of the different nations of the world, the success of former undertakings, and the practicability of further undertakings, are considered." 2

On the question of the financial support of missionaries, he advocated the policy of self-support:

"It might be necessary for two at least to go together, and in general I should think it best that they should be married; and that they should be wholly engaged in procuring necessaries, the one for his own use and that of their wives and families, the other for procuring the means of self-support of the church in providing for its wants. In the colonisation it would be necessary for that to cultivate a..."
little spot of ground, just for their support, which would be a resource to them, whenever their supplies failed. Not to mention the advantages they would reap from each other's company, it would take off the enormous expense which has always attended undertakings of this kind, the first expense being the whole; for though a large colony needs support for a considerable time, yet so small a number would, upon receiving the first crop, maintain themselves."

To what extent was this policy of self-support carried out in the period 1793-1815? Soon after his arrival in Bengal with Thomas, Carey found it necessary to obtain some means of livelihood, as the funds which they had brought from England, and which were to keep them for one year, were well nigh exhausted. The superintendency of Calcutta's Botanical Gardens was vacant, but by the time Carey had applied for the position, it had been filled. He next received the offer of some jungle land opposite Debhatta in the Sunderbunds, rent free for three years. Upon accepting this offer, he was engaged for three months in clearing the ground and planting it. In March of 1794, however, Carey received a letter from Thomas, which announced that a Mr. Udny of the Company's Civil Service was in need of assistants to superintend two of his indigo factories, and that the positions were open to Thomas and Carey. Both men accepted the posts, and Carey immediately wrote to the Missionary Society in England, giving them the news, and at the same time stating that he would no longer require their financial support for his personal needs, but that he wished to remain in the same relation to the Society as if he needed support. The Baptist Missionary Society, on learning that their

2. Pearce Carey, William Carey, p. 145
3. Ibid., p. 144
5. Ibid., p. 37
6. Ibid., p. 37
two missionaries were now in charge of indigo factories, was afraid that they might lose their missionary zeal, and passed the following resolution:

"That, though, on the whole, we cannot disapprove of the conduct of our brethren in their late engagement, yet considering the frailty of human nature in the best of men, a letter of serious and affectionate caution be addressed to them."

It cannot be said that under Carey and Thomas the indigo factories prospered. The locality was ill adapted to the manufacture of indigo, so that after three poor seasons, Mr. Удни questioned the advisability of maintaining the factories any longer. Seeing that the prospects of continuing as Mr. Удни's assistant were doubtful, Carey proposed to his society the formation, in N. Bengal, of a missionary settlement on Moravian lines, where seven or eight families would live together in straw houses, having all things in common, and providing for their own needs. 2 Carey's fears about his position with Mr. Удни were well-grounded, for in September 1799 the factory was closed. 3 Carey, however, at this time bought for £300 another indigo factory at Kidderpore, 4 ten miles from Dum- batty, the place where he had been indigo superintendent, planning that the Kidderpore factory should be the support of the proposed Moravian settlement. 5 Meanwhile, the missionary society in England had been considering Carey's suggestion on that very subject.

The society had recently appointed four new missionaries, 6 which meant that when they joined Carey in N. Bengal, the missionary

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3. ibid, p. 18, 30
5. ibid, p. 180
6. Pearce Carey, Life of William Carey, p. 176
establishment would comprise six men and their families, that is, five women and eight children.¹ But for the support of all these people, the Society could promise only £360 a year,² so no other course seemed open to the Society than that of agreeing to the formation of a Moravian settlement as outlined by Carey.³

Carey's plan of a Moravian settlement in Bengal, however, never materialized. Due to difficulties in 1799 which have already been noted, the four new Baptist missionaries and their families found refuge in Danish Serampore, where they were joined by Carey and his family. The Kidderpore factory was abandoned.

One of the first things to which Carey and his missionary colleagues gave their attention in Serampore, was the formulation of rules for the missionary establishment. Among other things:-

"It was determined to form a common stock, to dine at a common table, and to give each family a trifling allowance for personal expenses....... and it was resolved that no one should engage in any private trade, and that whatever might be earned should be credited to the common stock."⁴

In uniting secular occupation with missionary work, the Baptist missionaries were not inaugurating a new policy: missionaries connected with the S.P.C.K. as Schwarz, Gerick,⁵ and Hiernander, had never depended on the Missionary Society at home for their entire financial support, but supplemented the Society's allowance by their own earnings in India. But the Serampore missionaries did adopt a new principle by divesting themselves of the right of property in their own earnings, and devoting these earnings

². ibid., p. 109
³. ibid., p. 109
⁴. ibid., p. 109
exclusively to missionary work, through the formation of a common stock.

In May of 1800 Joshua Marshman and his wife opened boarding schools at Serampore as a means of helping the Baptist Mission finances. Profits from the schools rose from 100 rupees per month at the commencement, to 500 rupees per month by the end of the year.

A printing press had been set up on the Serampore Mission premises with the primary object of printing the Bible in Bengali. The Serampore Press, however, began to do printing for Government, and for the general public, and the income from work of this nature grew steadily.

The finances of the Serampore Mission were further strengthened when, in May 1801, Carey commenced his duties as teacher of Bengali in the College of Fort William, Calcutta, for which work he received a salary of 500 rupees per month.

In spite of their assured financial position, the missionaries regulated the household and personal expenditure with the strictest economy. For example, they, their families, and the scholars from the Marshman's schools all dined together. Hard wrote:

"we live moderately, and drink only rum and water. We have always a little cheap fruit; goats' flesh, the same as mutton, broth, fowls, with a little beef sometimes, and curry, but we have good wheaten bread."

Though the Serampore Mission could claim to be independent financially, it still, of course, continued to receive grants from the home committee of the Baptist Missionary Society.
instance, the missionaries reported at the end of 1804, that during the five years they had been at Serampore, their total expenditure was £15,000, of which £5740-17-7 came from the Society in England.

In 1806, Carey was promoted to a professorship in the College of Fort William, and his salary was increased to 1000 rupees per month. All of this money was put into the common fund.

For the rest of the period we are considering, the Marshmans' schools, Ward's printing press, and Carey's salary as professor, were the financial mainstay of the Baptist Mission in Bengal.

On the subject of the financial support of missionaries, brief mention should be made of the solitary representative of the L.M.S., Nathaniel Forsyth, who arrived in Bengal in 1798. During the whole of his missionary labours in Bengal, Forsyth did not ask any financial help from his missionary society, but depended on his own limited resources, a small private income, and the 50 rupees which he received each month from the Dutch local government for acting as minister of the church at Chinsurah.

In reviewing the financial policy of Bengal missionaries from 1795-1815, we note four things:-

A. Funds for missionary work in Bengal were supplied by the earnings of missionaries in secular occupations. Such amounts as were sent from home were regarded by the missionaries as grants-in-aid.

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2. Pearce, Carey, William Carey, p. 211
3. L.M.S. Report, 1798
4. Sogerly, Narrative of the Bengal Mission, p. 50
B. This policy gave the missionaries freedom of action, as they were able to enlarge the sphere of their work, purchase buildings, erect churches, and appoint missionaries raised up in India, without reference to the Society in England.

C. The practice of devoting all they earned to missionary work, won for the missionaries the admiration of Christian friends in India, in England, and in America, and stimulated the flow of monetary gifts.

D. The self-sacrificial example set by the Serampore missionaries was followed by their converts. For instance, Fernandez, a man of Portuguese extraction, engaged in commercial pursuits in Bengal, laboured, after his conversion and ordination, as a missionary, but at the same time continued the supervision of his factories, devoting the profits to missionary work.

(2) Personal relationships of the missionaries during the period 1790-1815.

We have already noted, in its financial aspect, the communal system of living adopted by the Serampore missionaries. It cannot be said that in the realm of personal relationship the scheme proved as successful as in the field of finance. Among the rules drawn up by the Serampore missionaries in 1800 were the following:

"All the missionaries were to be considered on a footing of equality, and to preach and conduct social devotions in turn. The superintendence of domestic arrangements and expenditure was to be entrusted to each missionary in rotation for a month. . . . One evening in the week was to be devoted to the adjustment of differences and the renewal of their pledge of mutual love." I

2. Ibid., p. 124
By July 5, 1801, of the six missionaries who had formulated the above rules, there were only three survivors, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, the others having died. These three seemed well-adapted to each other, and lived in the utmost harmony, until the arrival at Serampore of several new missionaries, one in 1803, and four in 1805. Dissatisfaction arose among the new missionaries, because they were not allowed an equal share in the management of the Mission on the ground of inexperience. Feelings were aroused, and much correspondence on the subject passed between Serampore and the B.M.S. in England. The Committee at home had always held that the policy of regarding every missionary as entitled to an equal share in the management of the Mission was untenable. While the Home Committee was considering the situation in the light of new developments, the missionaries at Serampore had, in 1807, resolved that they and their families should be associated together only by their own consent, the distinct families to constitute one general Mission, with a committee and a secretary to transact business. This arrangement, however, did not succeed, as the junior missionaries still objected to the control of affairs exercised by the three senior brethren. The dispute was ended, at least openly, when the Society at home notified all concerned, that the management of the Baptist Mission in Bengal was to be vested in Carey, Marshman and Ward for their lifetime. For the rest of

2. ibid., p. 212
3. ibid., p. 306
4. ibid., p. 308
5. ibid., p. 306
6. ibid., p. 401
the period, this arrangement was in force. The spirit of discontent was, however, still present, and resulted in the Serampore controversy, which will be considered in the next period.

Two observations may be made about the disagreement among the Serampore missionaries during the period.

A. The senior missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward felt that experience was the determining factor in deciding who should manage the mission. The emphasis on experience, however, seems to have been at the expense of the spirit of enthusiasm which characterised the younger missionaries. The attitude of Marshman and Ward on the question of the value of experience is difficult to understand, when one remembers the generous spirit which Carey and Fountain in 1800 manifested to them, when they themselves were new missionaries, by admitting them to equal partnership in the affairs of the mission, despite their lack of experience.

B. The junior missionaries were required to conform to the Serampore system of self-denial, without being conceded the privilege of equality. Johns, one of the junior missionaries during the period, in his series of letters on "The Spirit of the Serampore System" demonstrates how that was true concerning himself. In Letter II he points out that the senior missionaries, who arranged for him to receive the appointment as Government surgeon in Serampore, received all his salary and private fees into the common stock, expected him to take his meals at the common table, yet did not admit him to equal partnership in the system. It was unreasonable to expect men with families to live under conditions
which entailed such self-denial as was imposed at Serampore, without permitting them full, free, and equal partnership in the management of that system.

Methods of the Missionaries in Bengal during the period 1782-1810

(I) Translation.

Carey's chief interest as a missionary was the translation of the Bible into India's vernacular languages, for this he considered to be the first essential condition of the evangelization of India. 1 Carey himself wrote on Dec. 22, 1796:

"The translation of the Scriptures I look upon to be one of the greatest desiderata in the world; and it has accordingly occupied a considerable part of my time and attention." 2

In commenting on Carey's interest in translation work Richter states:

"Carey's dearest project was to give the Holy Scriptures to all the people of Asia in their own tongue. The translation of the Bible he considered his life-work." 3

The attention of Carey was directed first to the translation of the Bible into Bengali, the language of the province in which he laboured. He was able to complete the translation of the New Testament from the original into Bengali by 1797. 4 In October, 1798 he had completed the translation of the Pentateuch, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah and part of Ezekiel, and by 1800 the Old Testament was completed, except for two books. 5 On Feb. 7, 1801, hard was

1. Smith, Life of Carey, p. 106
3. Richter, History of Missions in India, p. 109
able to announce that he had finished printing the first copy of the Bengali New Testament.

In 1805 a new edition of the Bengali New Testament was printed. It was almost a new translation rather than an improvement of the first edition. Carey's position as teacher of Bengali at the College of Port William brought him into daily contact with some of the most eminent of India's scholars, and with their help, he was able to produce not only a more accurate, but also a more idiomatic translation. The interest of the Serampore missionaries was not confined merely to translating the Bible into the Bengali language; they desired to translate it into the other languages of India. Thus between 1805 and 1806 they began translating the New Testament into Hindi, Oriya, Sanscrit, and Kurrati.

The value of the work they were doing along this line was recognized by the British and Foreign Bible Society soon after its formation in 1804, when a letter was sent to Mr. Udny, Carey's former employer in N. Bengal, proposing that he, two of the Chaplains, Brown and Buchanan, and the three Serampore missionaries, form a committee to correspond with the Bible Society. Unfortunately, Buchanan and Brown did not wish officially to be associated with the Serampore Trio on such a committee. The fact of the matter is that Buchanan was very anxious that any scheme of translation be associated with the College of Port William, of which he was Vice-Provost. In the course of a statement which he published in 1806

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1. Larchman, Carey, Larchman and Ward, vol. 1, p. 179
2. Ibid., p. 196
3. Ibid., pp. 201, 203
on the question, and to which the names of Carey, Marshman and Ward were appended, he stated:

"Our hope of success depends chiefly on the patronage of the College of Fort William. To that institution we are much indebted for the progress we have already made. Oriental translation has become comparatively easy, in consequence of our having the aid of those learned men from distant provinces in Asia, who have assembled during the period of the last six years at that great emporium of Eastern letters. These intelligent strangers voluntarily engage with us in translating the Scriptures into their respective languages."

The Statement, asking for public support, was sent to influential people in India and at home, and the response was such that Buchanan was able to grant 500 rupees per month to the Serampore missionaries for translation work.

One of the languages included in Buchanan's proposed scheme was Chinese; in 1806 Marshman commenced the study of the Chinese language with a view to the translation of the New Testament into that language.

The reorganization of the Fort William College in 1807 abolished Buchanan's position as Vice-Provost, and made the plan of associating Bible translation with that institution no longer feasible. Buchanan formed a new plan, in which he proposed that at Serampore, under the patronage of the King of Denmark, and superintended by a Church of England clergyman, there should be a College of Translations, of which the Serampore Mission Press should be an integral part.

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1. Hole, Early History of the C.M.S., p. 170
2. Life of Buchanan, vol. 1, pp. 385-387
4. *loc. cit.* p. 386
5. *loc. cit.* p. 384
anything to do with it, this scheme was dropped.

By the year 1809, the missionaries were able to report that the whole Bible had now been printed in Bengali; the Bengali New Testament was in its third and improved edition; the New Testament had been printed in Oriya and Sanscrit; the translation of the New Testament into Marathi and Gujarati had been accomplished, but printing was held up for lack of funds; and a rough translation of the New Testament in Telugu and Punjabi had been made.

The interest of the public in translation work was growing. In 1812 an Auxiliary Bible Society was formed in Calcutta and supported by many Government officials. At first it was desired by many of those who formed this Society, that missionaries should not be permitted to join, but this sentiment did not prevail for long, as it was soon realized how essential the help of missionaries was in such an enterprise.

On March 11, 1812, a fire at Serampore in the printing office destroyed paper, types, valuable books and manuscripts. The damage was estimated at £10,000, but when news reached England of the disaster, the entire sum was raised in fifty days.

By the end of this period, the Serampore missionaries had translated and printed the New Testament in the following languages: Bengali, Sanscrit, Oriya, Marathi and Hindustani; they had translated the New Testament, but not as yet printed it, in Telugu, Kannarese, Gujarati, Sikh, and Chinese; they had also made some

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2. Lushington, History of Benevolent Institutions, p. 4
3. Pearce Carey, William Carey, p. 334
progress with translations in Burmese and Kashmiri.

"In no country in the world, and in no period in the history of Christianity was there ever displayed such an amount of energy in the translation of the Sacred Scriptures from their original into other tongues, as was exhibited by a handful of earnest men in Calcutta and Serampore in the first ten years of the present century. It cannot be supposed that these first attempts are to be compared with the versions which have been subsequently made in these languages. But this must not diminish the intense admiration we ought to feel towards men of such boldness of design, and such astounding energy of execution." 2

In reviewing the history of translation work in this period, we note:-

A. Carey's policy of making the translation of the Bible into Bengali his chief work during his first few years in India, secured for him, through the providence of God, a position at the College of Fort William, which enabled him, in contact with brilliant native teachers, not only to perfect his Bengali version of the Bible, but to accomplish its translation into many other of India's languages.

B. The policy of concentrating on translation was, to some extent, forced on the Serampore missionaries by the refusal of Government, during this period, to allow them to form missionary settlements in British Bengal. The time and money which such settlements would have required, were devoted to translation.

C. The employment of non-Christian natives to assist in translation work was the subject of criticism on the part of certain people in England. The Serampore missionaries, however, held firmly to their policy of making use of the most capable helpers, even if

2. Sherring, Protestant Missions in India, pp. 85, 86
they were non-Christians.

D. The value of the translation work done in this period cannot be questioned: it meant that when India was declared open to missionaries in 1815, those who came found the New Testament in several languages ready for their use, as soon as they learned the language; as soon as natives became Christians, those who were literate could read the Bible in their own language; in this first period, portions of the Scriptures in the vernacular were carried by natives to many places where the missionaries were unable to reach, and from time to time, interested persons from such places came to Serampore for further information about the Way of Life.

(2) Medical work.

As has already been noted, Thomas of the B.M.S. was a qualified medical man.

"Medical missions in India in the modern sense of the term date from 1785 when John Thomas, a ship's surgeon, commenced missionary work in Bengal." 1

In Bengal, in addition to his work as superintendent of an indigo factory, and his engagements as a missionary, Thomas was also busily occupied in medical work. On Sep. 27, 1795, he wrote:

"Great numbers of the natives come from various parts continually and I intend to erect an hospital for them...... this may eventually lead them to Him who is able to save them to the uttermost." 2

A year later we receive an independent account of Thomas's work from Fountain, another B.M.S. missionary, who on Nov. 11, 1796, wrote from Nadabatty:-

1. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, p. 36
"Brother Thomas delights in doing good to the bodies and souls of his fellow-men. His medical skill is a great blessing in this country... he does all gratis." 1

The first native convert of the Baptist Mission was won through the instrumentality of Dr. Thomas in 1800. 2 The native in question, Krishna Pal, who had dislocated his arm, sought Thomas's help. Thomas gladly gave him medical aid, but in addition, he so preached to his patient as to convict him of sin and his need of a Saviour. Krishna Pal believed, and in a few weeks' time was baptized.

After Mr. Thomas's death on Oct. 15, 1801, 3 there was no medical missionary in Bengal until Aug. 15, 1812, when Mr. Johns of the B.M.S. arrived in India. 4 He remained only a few months, however, due to his deportation by government on April 1, 1813.

Medical missionary work in Bengal during this period was on a small scale. The value of medical work as a means of evangelism was not then fully appreciated. It was the souls rather than the bodies of men which concerned the missionaries.

(3) Preaching.

We have noted how engrossed Carey was in translation. He was also very interested in preaching to the natives. In Bengal, the workers in his indigo factory constituted an audience to whom he regularly preached. In addition he visited villages in the neighbourhood, where he addressed the natives. Cox states that -

"Carey proceeded in perpetual rotation through two hundred villages to proclaim the Gospel." 5

3. Ibid., p. 106
4. Ibid., p. 106
5. Cox, History of the Baptist Mission, vol. 1, p. 34
In 1799 Carey himself wrote:—

"I preach every day to the natives." 1

Yet when he left N. Bengal for Serampore in 1799, he had not one convert to show for all his work. 2

At Serampore, open-air evangelism was begun in 1800, and morning and evening Carey and Fountain preached in the streets of the town. 3 Frequently, at these open-air meetings, there would be discussions, when learned natives expressed disagreement with the message proclaimed by the missionaries. For instance, on one occasion, while Fountain was impressing on his hearers the fact that Jesus Christ was the only way to God, a Brahmin interrupted him, and said:—

"There are rivers from the east, west, north and south; but they all meet in the sea: so there are many ways among men, but all lead to God."

To this Fountain replied:—

"No way can lead to God, but that which He hath marked out. There is no Saviour but One whom God hath appointed, even Jesus Christ." 4

Reference has been made to the conversion of Krishna Pal. This native was encouraged by the Serampore missionaries to join them when they conducted their open-air meetings, and to accompany them on their frequent itinerating tours in British Bengal. 5 The native women who believed were anxious, of their own accord, to spread the gospel message. Ward in his Journal for Nov. I, 1801 tells of two

2. Ibid., p. 153
4. Ibid., p. 189
such, who on a visit to relatives, made known the Word of Life to many women in the village where they stayed.

The conviction that their converts should be evangelists grew, and Ward expressed the views of the Serampore missionaries when, in 1806, he wrote:

"It will be vain to expect that the gospel will ever spread widely in this country till God so blesses the means as that native men shall be raised up." 1

In keeping with this policy, two of the Baptist Mission converts who had demonstrated their ability to preach, were ordained in 1804. 2

The theme of their preaching was, with other matters, formally stated by the Serampore missionaries in 1805 when they drew up a Form of Agreement. (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 at a Meeting of the Brethren at Serampore, on Monday, Oct. 7, 1805.)

"In preaching to the heathen, we must keep to the example of Paul, and make the great subject of our preaching, Christ the Crucified..... The doctrine of Christ's expiatory death and all-sufficient merits has been, and must ever remain, the grand mean of conversion." 3

The Serampore missionaries continued to impress upon their ever-growing body of converts the need for them to evangelise their own countrymen. For instance, at a meeting of converts held at Serampore on Aug. 9, 1806, the missionaries drew the attention of

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1. I. Periodical Accounts.
3. Serampore Form of Agreement, 1806
the converts to the following points:-

"1. That the intention of their Saviour in calling them out of darkness into marvellous light, was that they should labour to the uttermost in advancing His cause among their countrymen.

2. That it was therefore their indispensable duty, both collectively and individually, to strive by every means to bring their countrymen to the knowledge of the Saviour; that if we, who were strangers, thought it our duty to come from a country so distant for this purpose, much more was it incumbent on them to labour for the same end." 

This responsibility was admitted, and accepted by the converts. Many of them were unable on week-days, because of secular occupation, to engage in evangelism. On Sundays, however, nearly every Christian connected with the Serampore Church preached the Gospel in some village or another near Serampore. It is significant that the Serampore missionaries acknowledged the numerical growth of the Serampore Church to be due to the efforts of the native converts, rather than to their own efforts.

Thus far, reference has been made to the evangelistic efforts of the Baptist Mission only. As has already been indicated, information about the labours of the E.H.S. missionary Forsyth in this period is very scanty. There is, however, sufficient information available to show that he was keenly interested in preaching the Gospel to the natives, and that from time to time, living in a small boat, he made tours up and down the river in order to reach as many villages as possible. It does not seem that he was ever accompanied by native preachers on such tours.

1. Smith, Life of Carey, p. 167
4. Lewis in his Life of Thomas, p. 305, does not seem to think that Forsyth ever learned any of India's languages.
5. Rogers, Narrative of the Bengal Mission, p. 60
Throughout the period, then, at street-corners, bazaars, religious festivals, in houses, villages and towns, to the ignorant and the learned, the Gospel was preached by the missionaries and their converts.

Two facts concerning evangelism from 1795–1813 seem worthy of note.

A. There was no doubt in the minds of the missionaries as to what the message of evangelism should be. They regarded the heathen as eternally lost, pointed out to them the folly of idolatry, and proclaimed to them that there was but one way of salvation, Jesus Christ.

B. It was the policy of the Serampore missionaries to make the fullest possible use of native converts to evangelize their own people. The results of this policy we have already indicated, that the increase in the Church was due to the efforts of the native brethren.

(4) Tracts.

With the setting up of a printing press at Serampore in 1800, the thoughts of the missionaries were turned to the publication of tracts. Ram Basu, a talented Bengali who was deeply interested in Christianity, but never himself became a Christian, was asked by Carey to write a tract. He complied by writing a tract called 'The Gospel Messenger' in which he introduced the Gospel to his fellow-Bengalis. Thereafter, tracts were composed by the missionaries, and distributed on every possible occasion. The interest

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aroused in the tracts was enormous, and soon a steady stream of natives was visiting Serampore for further information. A typical example is Petumber Singh, into whose hands a tract given out by Mr. Ward on a tour in 1801, fell. Singh walked forty miles to Serampore to learn more of this new doctrine, received instruction, and was later baptized.  

In 1802, Carey was able to write that there was neither time nor occasion as formerly to go out to preach.

"Our printing-press now sends out missionaries, New Testaments, pamphlets, and tracts; and the people who come to us for instruction are frequently as many as we can attend to." 2

At the end of 1802, 22,000 tracts had been printed and distributed since the press had been set up. 3 It was in this same year that the first tract composed by a convert in Bengal, Petumber Singh, was printed. A copy of this tract found its way to a village in Jessore, one hundred miles from Serampore. Through interest created by reading this tract, three Hindus in the village, one of them a brahmin, went to Serampore, where they eventually became Christians. 4

In this period only one tract was printed by the Serampore press which was abusive in its tone. Reference has already been made to this tract, and its subsequent withdrawal from publication.

It is not to be imagined that tracts were in every place received with pleasure. At times they were torn to pieces after

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2. ibid. vol. III p. 65
3. ibid. vol. III p. 124
5. ibid. p. 174
being distributed, either before the missionary's eyes, or after his departure.

By the end of the period, great improvements had been effected in the standard of tracts being published. This was due to the fact that not only did the missionaries now have a greater command of the Bengali language, thus expressing their ideas more clearly, but also a fuller conception of the Bengali mind and character.

In conclusion we note:

A. Tracts, on the whole, were the means in this period of arousing the interest on natives in what was then, to them, an entirely new doctrine. Many of the natives whose interest was sufficiently aroused to come to Serampore for further information, later became Christians.

B. In encouraging their educated converts to write tracts, the Serampore missionaries were pursuing the policy, here, as in evangelism, of using native converts to win their fellow-countrymen.

(5) Education.

In 1794 Carey opened a school for natives in N. Bengal, where he proposed to teach poor boys how to read and write, and give them instruction in the doctrines of Christianity. When he left Bengal in 1799 for Serampore, Carey was able to report that fifty boys had been taught reading and writing, and knew something of

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2. Ibid, p. 69
Christian truth.1

In 1800 a school at Serampore for natives was opened with forty pupils. The Baptist missionaries hoped to make this school a means of

"diffusing the knowledge of the Gospel." 2

Whenever possible, new schools were opened, so that at the end of this period, the Serampore missionaries had 16 schools with a total attendance of 1000.3

While there was little difficulty in obtaining boys as pupils, the same was not true of girls, who came in very small numbers at first.

"The only women who were educated at all were the nautch-girls, so that for a Hindu lady to be able to read and write was actually disreputable." 4

Gradually the prejudices against female education were overcome, and the number of pupils increased, until Mrs. Marsman found that her bungalow was not large enough to accommodate them.5

Forsyth, the L.M.S. missionary, also seemed interested in native education; in 1801 he wrote home to the directors of his Society that he was about to commence a school for native children.5 Kay, another L.M.S. missionary, who joined Forsyth in 1812 was an enthusiastic educationist, and in Dutch Chinsurah, where he threw himself into the work of native education, he soon had many

References:
5. Ellis, Our Eastern Sisters, p. 6
6. L.M.S. Report, 1801
primary schools organised. I

In considering the policy of Bengal missionaries in matters educational for the period 1790-1815, we note:-

A. No doubt seems to have arisen in the minds of the missionaries as to the propriety of conducting schools for non-Christian native children. They considered education to be a legitimate missionary method.

B. In establishing schools, the missionaries were looking to the future, as is evident from their own words:

"Some parts of missionary labour very properly tend to the present conversion of the heathen, and others to the ushering in the glorious period when 'a nation shall be born in a day'. Of the latter kind are native free schools." 2

C. The teaching of Christian doctrine was an essential feature of the curriculum.

D. In this period, no fees were charged at any native school conducted by missionaries.

Policy of the Missionaries concerning their Converts in the period 1790-1815.

In the section which deals with missionary methods in this period, reference has already been made to missionary policy respecting converts, in so far as such policy was related to the subject of methods.

There are certain other matters concerning converts, however, which require to be mentioned.

L. Horn, Story of the L... S... p. 30
M. Serampore Form of Agreement, 1805.
A. Policy relating to the baptism of converts.

The requirements which the Baptist missionaries made of native candidates for baptism in this period seemed as simple as could possibly be arranged. Ward speaks for the Serampore Trio when he states:

"We think it right to make many allowances for ignorance, and for a state of mind the fruit of corruption; we therefore cannot think of demanding from the candidates before baptism more than a profession of dependence on Christ, and submission to him in all things." 1

So far as the matter of caste was concerned, however, the Serampore Trio from the first adopted a fixed policy, that candidates for baptism must renounce caste, which was, of course, a most difficult requirement. Caste has been excellently defined by Freytag as:

"The unit of life in which the Indian exists, and which so lays its stamp on his whole existence, that he cannot really live without it. A man is born into a certain caste and there are said to be between 5000 and 6000 of them. It is the living space given to him. If he loses caste, as a citizen he is dead, and generally he has no possibility of belonging to any other caste, within the framework of Hinduism. Caste not only determines a man's rank, and keeps him strictly apart from other castes by strict adherence, forbidding him to eat with members of another caste, but in the majority of cases, it also determines his profession. The possibility of economic existence depends on adherence to caste. Inheritance and marriage rites, the dress and the habits of daily life, prohibitions in eating, the honours paid to the deceased, and religious observances, everything is mapped out for the Hindu at his birth, inevitably and irrevocably." 1

The first Baptist converts signified the renunciation of caste by eating food with the missionaries. 1 Brahmin converts renounced caste by trampling on the poita, or sacred thread, the emblem of Brahminhood. 2

In requiring such renunciation before acceptance into the Church of Christ, the Serampore missionaries adopted a policy contrary to that of German and Danish missionaries in South India who permitted caste to be retained in the Christian churches, which they established. 3 Referring to the results of the policy in South India, Dr. George Smith points out:—

"Brotherhood in the Christian community became impossible, the graces of the Holy Spirit were choked from the first; distrust and dissension, pride and malice, made havoc of the infant evangelical Church." 4

The Baptist missionaries made every effort to ensure that the distinctions of caste did not enter into the life of the Church. At the celebration of the Lord's Supper, converts formerly of a high caste received the bread and wine after converts of a low caste. 5 Marriage between converts formerly of different castes was encouraged by the missionaries. 6 Converts were asked to assist in tasks which were previously forbidden them by caste rules, as for example, when a baptized Brahmin was requested by Larshman to help in carrying the body of a baptized Sryara to the burial-ground. 7

3. Sherring, Protestant Missions in India, P. 57.
The determination of the Bengal missionaries to exclude every vestige of caste from the Christian Church remained fixed throughout this whole period.

The problem of whether or not Christian names should be given to converts on baptism was one which the Serampore Trio faced early in their missionary labours. The decision they reached as to what their policy should be is recorded by Marshman:

"Mr. Carey opposed the practice; not only because he could perceive no necessary connection between the rite of baptism and a change of name, but also because it did not appear to have been usual in the apostolic age to repudiate such names of heathen origin as Sylvanus, Olympias, Hermes, Nereus and Fortunatus. Mr. Marshman and Mr. Ward fully concurred in this view of the case, and it was resolved not to impose any new names on the converts at their baptism." ¹

B. Policy concerning the habits and customs of converts.

Though the Serampore missionaries took such a definite stand against caste, they did not desire unnecessarily to interfere with the habits and customs of the converts.

"We think the great object which Divine Providence has in view in causing the Gospel to be promulgated in the world is not the change of names, the dress, the food, and the innocent usages of mankind, but to produce a moral and divine change in the hearts and conduct of men." ²

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The first Brahmin to be baptized trampled on his poita as an indication of his rejection of the creed associated with it; he, and other Brahmins were, however, permitted by the missionaries to wear the poita again after baptism, on the ground that it represented social distinction as much as spiritual supremacy. Interestingly enough, several years later, Brahmin converts, of their own accord, decided to give up wearing the poita altogether.

The question of polygamy as relating to converts was one which had to be dealt with by Serampore missionaries in this period. The policy they adopted was, that a convert with more than one wife should not be compelled to put away any of them; but that so long as he remained in a polygamous state, he was disqualified from any office in the Church.

Concerning this policy, Marshman comments:

"The correctness of this decision is questionable. The New Testament, as these good men were themselves aware, condemns polygamy; and the only reason that could seem to justify a Christian in retaining more than one wife was the claim which all had on him for maintenance and protection, which, however, he might still afford them after their separation. There could be little difficulty in deciding which wife should be retained; for the one first married, though not always the favourite generally took precedence of the rest, and was legally entitled to the prior claim upon the husband."

Another question, equally difficult, was what their policy should be respecting converts whose wives refused to join them.

1. Serampore Form of Agreement, 1805.
2. Sherring, Protestant Missions in India. p. 73.
In 1804 there were two converts in this position. The Baptist missionaries were of the opinion that Calvin and Doddridge seemed to think that under such circumstances a person might marry again. 1 A specific instance of the procedure followed in such a case is recorded by Marshman:

"Bhagvat, a young Brahmin, had been baptized some months before; his wife rejected all his entreaties to live with him; and it became desirable that he should marry again. But the missionaries were unwilling to encourage this course, till every effort to overcome the wife's reluctance had been exhausted. Bhagvat was therefore directed to draw up a document stating that he had embraced Christianity, but still continued to consider himself the lawful husband of the woman he had married when a Hindu............. but that he should consider the connection dissolved if she persisted in refusing to live with him."

(Bhagvat presented this document to his wife who tore it in pieces)

"He returned to Serampore where Mr. Carey and his Colleagues, after maturely weighing the circumstances of the case, determined in accordance with the decision of St. Paul:—

'But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such a case;' that the convert was no longer debarred from contracting a second marriage." 2

C. Policy concerning financial aid to converts.

Many of the converts, after baptism, found it exceedingly difficult to find secular employment, since they were no longer members of the caste to which they had previously belonged.

Ward admits the difficulty, when on Feb. 20th 1802, he writes in his journal:-

"We find difficulty respecting the employment and support of our new converts, as they can no longer live by idolatry and begging." 1

It was the increasing number of converts which made the missionaries consider the problem seriously. So enthusiastic had the missionaries been about their first converts, that at their baptism, they presented each with a new cloth, or dress, and a sum of money. 2 For one of the converts, they erected a house. 3 They had established a precedent which proved financially embarrassing as converts increased, so the practice of giving gifts at baptism was discontinued. 4 In addition, the missionaries determined not to give financial aid to converts unless it was absolutely necessary. We note, for instance that a convert, who at this time asked for money to enable him to start rearing silk-worms, did not obtain it, as the missionaries were afraid that to give help in this instance would establish a precedent. 4

The missionaries found that converts, when thrown upon their own resources, managed in one way or another to obtain a means of livelihood.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 333.
3. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 133.
5. Smith, Life of Carey, p. 142.
When some persons in England expressed the view that certain converts who were experiencing great difficulty in finding employment should be helped financially, Marshman replied:

"After the most mature consideration, our knowledge of the Hindoo character, and of the circumstances of the country, convinced us that we could do nothing more than pray for and encourage them without doing far more harm to them than good. Had we sent each of them only a rupee per month, such is the indolence of the Hindoo character, that it would have effectually prevented their exerting themselves; their expectations would have received a wrong direction, and must finally have been disappointed." 1

The question of financial aid to converts provides one of the very rare instances in this period of a change in policy, on the grounds that experience showed the policy not to be a good one. The Serampore missionaries learned that to give financial aid to their converts was, in most cases, taking into consideration the character of the people, a hindrance, rather than a help. Therefore they adopted a new policy of withholding monetary help, while, at the same time offering every possible assistance to converts in procuring suitable employment.

D. Policy concerning the establishing of the Church for the convents.

The Baptist missionaries on April 24, 1800, organised for themselves a Church at Serampore. 2 This Church, was, of course, Baptist in its principles, and admittance to membership was possible only to those who, after personal confession of faith

in Christ, had been baptized by immersion. The Church at Serampore also adhered to what is denominationally called "strict communion"; that is, the practice of admitting to the Lord's Supper none but those baptized by immersion, after personal confession of faith. 1

It was into this Church native converts were received after they had complied with the conditions of membership, which were the same for them, as for the European missionaries. 2 Services were conducted in the Bengali language, and hymns from a Bengali hymn book compiled in 1802 were sung, either to English or to native tunes. 3

The Serampore missionaries, while happy to have their converts as members, with them, of the parent Baptist Church in Bengal, began to look forward to the day when the native Christians would be formed into their own churches throughout the land. Three principles, the missionaries felt, ought to govern the operation of such separate churches.

(1) They should be self-directed.

"...we think it our duty, as soon as possible to advise the native brethren who may be formed into separate churches, to choose their pastors and deacons from amongst their own countrymen, that the Word may be statedly preached, and the ordinances of Christ administered, in each Church by the native minister"

(2) Such Churches should be self-supporting.

"The different Churches will also naturally learn to care and provide for their ministers, for their church expenses, the raising places of worship etc."

4. Serampore Form of Agreement 1809.
Such Churches should be self-propagating.

"If a number of native churches be thus established, from them the Word of God may sound out even to the extremities of India and numbers of preachers being raised up and sent forth may form a body of native missionaries." 1

The second Baptist Church to be formed by the missionaries in Bengal was at Dinajpur in 1806: the organization of this Church was in keeping with the principles noted above, except that the pastor of the Church was not a Bengali, but a man of Portuguese extraction, Fernandez. 2 He served the Church without remuneration, and all expenses, such as the cost of erecting the Church building, and current expenses, were borne locally.

The Baptist missionaries in this period tried to make the Church, not the Mission, the vital factor in the life and work of their converts. As an instance of this, where any native Christian voluntarily travelled a long distance from his home to preach the Gospel, during the time he was away, it was the Church fund, not Mission money, which helped his family financially. 3

At the conclusion of this period the Serampore missionaries reported that over 200 natives were now members of Baptist Churches in Bengal.

1. Serampore Form of Agreement, 1803.
3. Smith, Life of Carey, p. 188
The Missionaries of this period did not for a moment believe that salvation was to be found in the non-Christian religions of India. Carey's conception of the non-Christian inhabitants of Bengal is found in his own Journal for November 9, 1795:

"A large field opens on every side, and millions of perishing heathen, tormented in this life by idolatry, superstition and ignorance, and exposed to eternal miseries in the world to come, are pleading."

Ten years later, when the missionaries at Serampore were drawing up their Form of Agreement, they expressed their views about the spiritual condition of non-Christians.

"In order to be prepared for our great and solemn work, it is absolutely necessary that we set an infinite value upon immortal souls; that we often endeavour to affect our minds with the dreadful loss sustained by an unconverted soul launched into eternity. It becomes us to fix in our minds the awful doctrine of eternal punishment, and to realize frequently the inconceivably awful condition of this vast country, lying in the arms of the wicked one. It is important that we should gain all the information we can of the snares and delusions in which these heathen are held."

The minds of the missionaries were, therefore, directed to the overthrow of these non-Christian religions, which they regarded as satanic in origin. Carey looked forward to the day of the "certain downfall of the Kingdom of darkness in this long, long, benighted region."

1. Serampore Form of Agreement, 1805.
2. Cox, History of the Baptist Mission, I p. 41
Fountain sees in a vision:—

"Hindoo Pagodas and Mahometan Mosques all destroyed. Where they stood, Christian temples are erected." 1

It was not their policy, however, openly to attack these religions.

"Nor is it advisable at once to attack their prejudices by exhibiting with acrimony the sins of their gods; neither should we on any account do violence to their images, nor interrupt their worship." 2

Though they had the conception that the heathen, spiritually, were lost, the missionaries were genuinely interested in everything concerning the life and habits of the people among whom they laboured.

"To know their modes of thinking, their habits, their propensities, their antipathies, the way in which they reason about God, sin, holiness, the way of salvation, and a future state, to be aware of the bewitching nature of their idolatrous worship, feasts, songs, etc., is of the highest consequence." 3

In accordance with this policy, the missionaries, Ward in particular, began making researches, and collecting materials on the subject of the Hindu people, their religion, habits and customs. The fruit of this research is contained in a two-volume work by Ward "A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos: including a minute description of their manners and customs, and translations from their principal works," which was published in 1810.

2. Serampore Form of Agreement, 1805.
3. Ibid.
The value of their work is stated by Marshman:

"Its value has not been diminished by fifty years of subsequent investigation, and as a whole it continues to maintain its authority as the fullest and most accurate record of the subject on which it treats". 1

Many years later, Richter, the German scholar, referred to Ward's work on Hinduism as "the sole authority for half a century". 2

It was the further desire of the missionaries to be on the best possible terms with the inhabitants of Bengal.

"It is necessary in our intercourse with the Hindoos, that as far as we are able, we abstain from those things which would increase their prejudices against the Gospel. Those parts of English manners which are most offensive to them should be kept out of sight as much as possible .......... We ought to be easy of access, to condescend to them as much as possible, and on all occasions to treat them as our equals." 3

This friendly spirit, and the desire to be of help to the people of Bengal, manifested itself in various ways. Carey, for example, soon after his arrival in North Bengal, began to find out how he could improve agriculture: he sent home for seeds of flowers, vegetables and trees, stating that he hoped to use them in introducing new varieties to Bengal. 4

The great work which the Serampore Trio accomplished for the people of Bengal, and for which Bengalis up to the present time are grateful, was the work they did in connection with the Bengali language and literature. When Carey began missionary work in India, Bengali had no printed and hardly any written

2. History of Missions in India, p. 306
3. Serampore Form of Agreement, 1805
literature. This presented a problem to Carey, when, in 1801, he commenced his lectures as teacher of Bengali in the College of Fort William, for not a single prose work in Bengali was available. Under his direction, Ram Basu, a talented Bengali, compiled a history of Pratapaditya, the last king of Sagar Island. This was published in 1801, and may be regarded as the first prose work printed in Bengali. Carey himself had, meantime, compiled a Bengali grammar for the use of his students. Throughout this whole period, Carey continued to manifest great interest in Bengali prose; however great his other achievement in Bengal, Carey will not be soon forgotten as "the creator of Bengali prose".

The literary interest of the missionaries was not simply confined to Bengali works. Carey and Marshman translated the Ramayan, India's most renowned epic, from Sanscrit into English, but after the publication of the first three volumes, the work was abandoned. In 1806, Carey published his Sanscrit grammar; while in 1810 Marshman published the first volume of his translation of the works of Confucius from the Chinese. The latter work was praised highly by the governor-general, Lord Hinto.

While the Soramsore missionaries in every possible way revealed a genuine interest in the life and the language of the

4. History of Missions in India, p. 106.
6. The Foreign Missions Library of the Church of Scotland possesses two volumes of this now rare work.
people among whom they worked, and while they made it a point to cultivate the friendliest of relationships with them, there were certain Hindu practices which the missionaries felt it their duty publicly to condemn, namely infanticide and suttee. Infanticide was very prevalent at the beginning of this period. It was the custom for Hindu couples who had been married for a long time, but remained childless, to make a vow, that if they had children at some future time, they would sacrifice the first-born to the goddess. They would sacrifice the first-born to the goddess. The sacrifice usually took place at an annual festival held at the spot where the Ganges joins the sea; here young children were forced by their parents into the water until the sea eventually carried them away. Carey drew up a report on the whole matter, and urged the immediate prohibition of the practice. Udny, a member of the Governor's Council, who like the missionaries, sought to have the practice stopped, brought this report before the Council. After much deliberation, the Council, in 1803, issued orders that the practice of infanticide was, from that time, to be considered illegal; they furthermore arranged for soldiers to be present at the annual festival, to see that Government orders were obeyed.

In their efforts to have suttee abolished, the missionaries were not to achieve early success. Suttee, the practice by

which a Hindu widow was burned alive on her husband's funeral pyre, was like infanticide, very prevalent in Bengal during this period. From the many passages in the Hindu smritis on the subject of suttee which Ward has recorded, we quote two:

"O Fire, let these women with bodies anointed with clarified butter, eyes (coloured) with stibium, and void of tears, enter thee, the parent of water, that they may not be separated from their husbands, but may be in union with excellent husbands, be sinless, and jewels among women." 1

"There is no virtue greater than a virtuous woman's burning herself with her husband." 2

In 1800, an investigation conducted by Carey to find out how many widows in an area within thirty miles of Calcutta had been burned alive that year, showed the number to be 83. A similar investigation conducted the following year revealed that nearly three hundred widows had been burned alive. 3 A report on the practice of suttee, embodying the findings of these investigations, was given by Carey to Mr. Eden, who, in turn presented it to the Governor-General. Lord Wellesley, however, though interested, was soon to give up office as Governor-General, 4 and he felt there was not enough time left for him to give the matter the consideration it deserved. It was not till a quarter of a century had passed, that the Government took action, and forbade the practice of suttee.

In surveying this period as a whole, we may refer to it, in one sense, as a day of small things. Among the millions of Bengali people, only two missionary Societies, The L.M.S. and the B.M.S., had been at work, and only four stations established, Serampore, Dinajpur, Jessore and Chinsurah. In another sense, it was a period of great accomplishment: there were converts from every caste of Hinduism, and from Islam; caste had been excluded from the Church; hundreds of boys had been educated, and instructed in Christian doctrine; thousands of tracts had been distributed; the Bible had been translated and printed, not only in Bengali, but also several other of India's languages; but, perhaps, most important of all, missionary work could now be carried on in Bengal without Government interference, and Bengal was open to any other Missionary Societies that cared to begin operations. With this in mind, we turn to the second period.
SECOND PERIOD
The year 1810 is important in the history of missions in India for, as Kichter states:—

"From that year only were Protestant missionary operations on a large scale possible, and, as a matter of fact, undertaken by various societies." ¹

Previous to the year 1810, the only Missionary Society doing effective work among the non-Christians of Bengal, as we saw in Chapter One, was the Baptist Missionary Society whose policy was mainly formulated by the Serampore Trio—Carey, Marshman and Ward. The work of the London Missionary Society in the same period was, as we have also seen, on a very limited scale, being confined, except for the last year of the period, to the efforts of a solitary missionary, Forsyth, whose influence on missionary policy was negligible.

After 1810 these two Societies renewed their efforts with increased diligence, especially the L.M.S. whose Directors, on the removal of government restrictions relating to missionary work, decided immediately upon a programme of expansion in Bengal. ²

¹. Kichter, History of Missions in India, p. 150.
On June 5th, 1816, W. Greenwood and C.F. Schroeter, representative of another Society, the Church Missionary Society, arrived in Bengal to commence work. It should, however, be noted that as early as July 7th, 1806, the Home Committee of the C.M.S. had expressed their interest in Bengal by granting £300 for the translation of the Scriptures, and by virtually appointing a Corresponding Committee in Calcutta. They refrained from sending missionaries to Bengal until the passing of the Charter Act, 1815 as:

"It was not deemed advisable to send any missionaries out to India while Government continued hostile." 

Missionaries of a fourth Society, the Rev. A.W.W. Hill and Rev. J.H. Alt of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel came to India in 1821 upon the invitation of the Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Middleton, to take charge of the Missionary College which he was establishing in Bengal.

In this period, therefore the policy and methods of four Societies, the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are to be examined.

1. For the history of the Church Missionary Society see Eugene Stock's History of the C.M.S. four volumes, and Charles Hole's Early History of the C.M.S.
3. Hole, Early History of the C.M.S. p. 171.
5. Rough, Christianity in India, Vol. V, p. 82.
7. Richter, History of Missions in India, p. 156.
Missionaries and Government in the Period 1815-1830.

The relationship of missionaries and Government enters, in this period, upon a new phase. From 1793-1813 the East India Company without exception refused to give missionaries the necessary licenses which made residence in India legal; after the Charter Act of 1813 had been passed, the Company, with one exception, gave its license to every missionary who applied. Thus, when the C.I.S. in Nov. 1813 applied for licenses for two of their missionaries to sail to India before the Charter Act, 1813 came into force, the Company issued them without demur. In 1814, Eustace Carey of the B.I.S. was granted a license without delay. Later, however, the Missionary Societies had to give a bond of £450, or £500 for each missionary proceeding to the East Indies to insure the missionary's return if Government, for some good reason, demanded his recall. The one exception, where the Company refused to issue a license, was in the case of William Yates of the B.I.S. who applied for a license in 1814. Although he made two applications for a license to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on both occasions the Directors refused to issue it. Yates then appealed to the Board of Control who overruled the Court of Directors' decision.

1. It came into force on April 10th 1814. Hole, Early History of the C.I.S., p. 500.
6. Hoy, Memoir of Yates, p. 44.
7. Ibid., p. 45.
Why did the East India Company Court of Directors turn down Yates' application for a license? From all the evidence, it does not seem that they had any particular dislike for Yates; it does seem, however, that Yates applied for a license just at the time when the Directors were feeling very annoyed at the conduct of one of their Calcutta chaplains in a matter involving missionaries.\(^1\) In Chapter One reference was made to the two American missionaries, Nott and Hall, who, to escape deportation from Bengal, had fled to Bombay. The Governor of Bombay received orders from the Governor-General to deport them. Meanwhile, a new Governor-General, Lord Moira, had arrived, and Christian friends in Calcutta held high hopes that he would revoke the deportation order.\(^2\) The Rev. T. T. Thomason, an East India Company chaplain, interviewed both Lord Minto and his successor, Lord Moira on the matter, and they hinted that his petition would not be in vain. Thomason, thereupon, wrote an encouraging letter to Nott and Hall in the course of which he stated:

"But we look above councils and governors in this matter. We have a gracious Head, who is not unmindful of His Church."\(^3\)

Nott and Hall showed the letter to the Governor of Bombay, who suspended the deportation order, and placed Thomason's letter on public record. Although the Governor-General eventually revoked the deportation order, a copy of the whole proceedings, including Thomason's letter, was sent to the Company Court of Directors, who

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2. ibid., p. 69
3. ibid., p. 69
were considering this matter about the time Yates applied for a
license. Many of the Directors objected strongly to the express­
ion of Thomason, their chaplain in Calcutta, "we look above coun­
cils and governors in this matter," feeling it to be a reflection
on their authority. The opportunity to demonstrate that councils
still had to be reckoned with was provided by Yates' application
to them for a license; with this in mind, they showed the extent
of their power by refusing to grant the license. 1

Thus far, reference has been made to the attitude of the East
India Company officials in England only. In India, the Governor-
General who held office when the Charter Act, 1813, came into
force, (Lord Moira), had, before his departure from England, signi­
fied his intention of looking with favour on the work of Missions
abroad. Early in 1816, when a deputation from the C.M.S. called on
him in London, Lord Moira

"manifested every disposition to protect and assist the
Society's work in India." 2

This interest in Missions was shown in practical form when on
November 27, 1816, the Governor-General paid a visit to the mission­
ary establishment at Serampore.

"The visit was beneficial in correcting the erroneous
impression that missionary labours were regarded with
feelings of aversion by the Christian Government of the
land." 3, 4

2. Hole, Early history of the C.M.S., p.250
4. The help which the Government of Bengal gave to missionaries in
the field of education will be examined under the section on
methods in this chapter.
The general attitude of government to missionaries in the period 1815-1830 may be summed up in the words of Marshman, Carey, Marshman and Ward, Serampore:

"Now, in all that concerns the mental and moral cultivation of India, the Governor-General and the Government of Bengal are become powerful auxiliaries. Native schools have for years back been under this absolute patronage. Several Christian institutions in Calcutta which have the good of the natives as their direct object receive a marked countenance, and missionaries receive the most friendly attention." 1

The missionaries, for their part, continued the policy of refraining from politics, and not only did they themselves maintain a loyal attitude towards Government, but they encouraged the same attitude among the converts. During this whole period, there is not a single instance of Government's having to cancel the license of any missionary in Bengal.

The Relationship of Missionaries to their Missionary Societies in the Period 1815-1830.

(1) The Serampore Controversy.

The differences which arose among the Baptist missionaries at Serampore during the period 1795-1816 on the question of the management of the Mission were discussed in Chapter One. These differences arose out of the refusal of the Serampore Trio to admit new missionaries to full partnership in the affairs of the Mission. The Home Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society,

on learning of the dispute, took the side of the Trio, and stated that the management of the Mission in Bengal was to be in the hands of Carey, Marshman and Ward for their lifetime.

In the period 1793-1815, then, the disagreement was among the missionaries in India, and might be termed a local dispute: in this period, however, a dispute arises between the Serampore Trio and the Home Committee of the B.M.S. about exactly the same matter, the management of the Baptist Mission in Bengal. This dispute, which was carried on for several years, later came to be known as the Serampore Controversy. It is necessary to examine the history of the Controversy as it deals with a very vital question of missionary policy, namely, whether or not missionaries, in managing the affairs of the Mission in India, were to be subordinate to the wishes of the Missionary Society Committee in England.

It seems clear that Carey and his colleagues never regarded themselves as in a position of subordination to the officers and members of the Baptist Missionary Society in England, but considered themselves as equal partners with them in a great enterprise. To them, it was quite out of the question that the Home Committee should issue orders so far as their work was concerned. Moreover, the Serampore Trio, although receiving monetary grants from the Society in England, depended mainly upon the secular occupations in which they were engaged to supply money to finance the Mission in Bengal; they therefore felt free to use the funds of the Mission as they saw fit, and, without prior reference to the
Home Committee, they bought property, erected buildings, appointed native evangelists, and trained missionaries in India. A full account of all decisions made at Serampore was sent to the Home Committee of the B.M.S., for information, not for approval. This arrangement proved very satisfactory in India until the Serampore Trio refused to admit certain of the new missionaries to their Household Agreement, and neglected to take them into the fullest confidence respecting the affairs of the mission: the arrangement worked perfectly so far as the Home Committee was concerned, until the death of Andrew Fuller, the Secretary of the B.M.S. from its commencement, on May 7, 1815.

Writing of the relationship which existed between Fuller and the Serampore Trio, J.C. Harshman states:—

"It was characterised by that identity of feeling which seems to belong peculiarly to the early stages of a great undertaking, when congenial minds are absorbed in removing the obstacles which impede the prosecution of it. They began the enterprise together, and they pursued it with unbroken unanimity. The three men at Serampore were prepared to yield without servility to the judgment of their associates in England, and this feeling was fully reciprocated by Mr. Fuller and his two colleagues. There was never any suspicion that either party would encroach on the province or the independence of the other." 2

Shortly before his death, Fuller hinted to the Serampore missionaries that there were members of the B.M.S. Committee in England who were anxious to have more authority in the affairs of the mission than was possible so long as he was secretary.

The missionaries were therefore not wholly unprepared for a

2. ibid., p. 100
3. ibid., p. 105
slight change in the relationship of the Home Committee to them after the death of Fuller.

The first intimation of the new order was contained in a letter from Fuller's successor as Secretary (pro temore) of the B.H.S., Dr. Kyland, who suggested that the B.H.S. Committee, which had largely left the affairs of the Mission in Fuller's hands, would now wish to be fully informed about such matters. He therefore requested the missionaries to supply particulars concerning the Mission at Serampore, including full facts about Mission property there. This request for information is quite understandable; but in this same letter, and in subsequent letters, Kyland made it clear that there was not unanimity in the Home Committee. He states in a letter, July 2, 1815:-

"If no one can be found who will unite the Society, I must keep the Secretaryship in my hands as long as I can. I am afraid to commit the reins to any of those who are so eager to seize them." 2

Later he wrote:-

"I have unbounded fears for the future." 3

He also indicated that the Committee intended to make investigations into past proceedings of the Serampore Trio. 4

This news, which profoundly disturbed Carey, Marshman and Ward, conveying, as it did, the impression that they had now to deal with a Committee which suspected their past actions, and which desired to control their future efforts, was a vital factor in bringing about the Controversy.

2. ibid., p. 106
3. ibid., p. 106
4. ibid., p. 106
The death of Fuller, moreover, in addition to creating problems relating to the Home Committee, also caused the Serampore missionaries to consider another matter, which, as Hard expressed it, was:

"The uncertainty of life and at the same time of the great importance and necessity of leaving their joint opinion of the best way of providing for the future carrying on of the Mission Station at Serampore." 1

Hard accordingly drew up a declaration, the principles and rules of which are similar to the Serampore Household Agreement of 1800. It seems evident, however, that some of the proposals are intended to safeguard the authority of the Serampore missionaries. One proposal deals with missionaries:

"That each individual elected into the Station shall be unanimously chosen by the members already comprising the Serampore Mission Family Station, but that such persons cannot act nor vote till the choice has been ratified at home by the Society. ........ That no individual missionary now in India, nor any one in future coming from the Society, can have any authority in this Station." 2

This proposal makes a distinction between the Serampore missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society and the ordinary missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society since the latter may not become one of the former in virtue of belonging to the same Society, but must be elected to it by those comprising the Serampore Union.

A second proposal deals with finance:

"That all the moneys resulting from the entire labours of the persons comprising the said Family Station........ are devoted to the cause of God under the exclusive management.

1. A letter to John Eyre, Esq., occasioned by "A Statement relative to Serampore" by J. Harper, including Original Correspondence, by John Eyre, Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society, p. 56.
2. ibid., p. 54.
A third proposal deals with property:

"That the property in lands, or moveables, already acquired, or which may hereafter be acquired, shall be held by the Serampore Mission Family Station, as Trustees to the Society; that it can never become private property, nor ever be sold, or alienated from the Society, except by their own previous consent; if ever a sale should take place, it shall be subject to the final ratification of the Society, and not be valid till such ratification has been obtained." 2

Whatever may be said for or against Ward's plan, it is to be regretted that he sent copies of it to two members of the Committee in England before he had submitted the scheme to his colleagues, Carey and Marshman, for their opinion. 3 When Carey examined it:

"He so entirely disapproved of the partial surrender it would make to the Society of our right to our funds and the choice of our associates, that it never came before us even for discussion. Indeed Mr. Ward quite disapproved of it himself when he re-considered the subject." 4

Meanwhile, copies of the scheme had been received in England by Dr. Ryland and by Mr. Furls, to whom Ward wrote:

"I have been very anxious respecting a comfortable settlement of this Station, this business, and this immense property; and the plan is the result of my thoughts. I have sent it to my brethren, Carey and Marshman, and we are to have a solemn discussion and revision, and it will then be sent to the Society." 5

Ward's letter was laid before the Committee at its annual meeting in October 1816, when it was decided to await the revised plan respecting Serampore. 6

A sub-committee meeting in December 1816 decided, however, to

1. Dyer, letter to J.B. Wilson, p. 34.
2. Idem, p. 54.
3. Marshman, Statement relative to Serampore, p. 43.
4. Marshman, Statement relative to Serampore, p. 49.
5. Dyer, letter to Wilson, p. 56.
6. Ibid., p. 58.
ask the opinion of a Calcutta lawyer then in England concerning
the matter of the Serampore property. Upon his advice, the Sub-
Committee decided to suggest that the property be vested in eleven
trustees, eight in England and three at Serampore. This decision
respecting the property was communicated to the Serampore mission-
aries, along with a series of resolutions dealing with various mat-
ters, one of which was:

"That we cheerfully accept the offer of our brethren, that
they will undertake, on behalf of the Society, the direction
of the native ministering brethren already under their care,
including those who are supported by the liberality of priva-
tate individuals in India or in Britain."

It was with the feelings of deepest anxiety that the Serampore
missionaries read the Committee's Resolutions. Harshman records:

"This letter filled us all with astonishment and grief."

Concerning the Committee's suggestion about the property:

"They felt that to place the premises in the hands of a
majority of trustees in England chosen by the Committee
would deprive them of all control over them, end their their con-
continued residence on them, and expose all their mission-
ary operations to the risk of interruption."

The resolution dealing with the direction of the native brethren
on behalf of the Committee was taken by the missionaries to imply
that the Serampore funds were now considered as being at the dis-
pposal of the Committee, since the Serampore missionaries had, up
till now, been responsible for the salaries of the native workers,
whom they paid from their own funds.

4. Harshman, Statement relative to Serampore p. 44.
"The whole question of their independence appeared to be involved in the expressions which had been adopted by the Committee." 1

The resolutions, however, as sent by the Committee, do not seem to justify the feeling of alarm aroused among the Serampore missionaries upon receiving them. The expressions used concerning the property and the directing of workers appear to be very straightforward, and the suggestion about the appointment of trustees seems perfectly reasonable. To understand fully the reaction of the missionaries to the proposals, two facts must be kept in mind: the statements of Kyland soon after the death of Fuller about a suspicious committee anxious to seize power; and the increasing hostility to the Trio of the junior Baptist missionaries, who had many friends on the Home Committee. The junior missionaries felt so sure that the Home Committee was on their side, that in 1817 they withdrew altogether from Serampore, and formed a separate Missionary Union of their own at Calcutta. ²

In September, 1817, the Serampore missionaries sent a lengthy reply to the Committee resolutions of December 1816. ² Two matters raised by the Committee are specially dealt with in this letter. The first concerns what exactly is involved in the Committee's resolution that the supervision of the native preachers be carried out by the Serampore missionaries 'on behalf of the Society'.

"Your requesting in your 7th resolution that we will undertake on behalf of the Society, the direction of the native ministering brethren already under our care,' that is, of the brethren whom we support ourselves, has created much

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3. For reply see Marshman, Statement relative to Serampore p. 80.
uneasiness in our minds, lest you should thereby have intended to hint, that you have some kind of right over the labour of our own hands. If undertaking it 'in behalf of the Society' be intended to convey no other idea than that of cooperation with the Society at home;— if it be addressed to us as brethren and fellow helpers in the cause, possessing the same right over the funds we originate, as you possess over those intrusted to you, we feel no objection to the expression or the thing;......but if it be intended to convey any further idea, regard for the welfare of the cause, and for our usefulness in the work of God, forbids our admitting it even for a moment." 1

The second matter dealt with is property.

"What shall we say to the request made us to put into the hands of a majority of trustees in England the premises on which we reside? The spirit of this request is impossible not to perceive......To waive the injustice of it, where could be the delicacy of a new Committee's saying to those who have for so many years furnished the greater part of the funds expended in the mission; 'It is no longer safe to intrust with four thousand pounds' of property; give it up to us'?" 2

The reply of the missionaries clearly attributes to the Committee in England a desire to dominate and control the Baptist Mission at Serampore. So convinced were they of this, that at the time of making the reply, they drew up an Explanatory Declaration, which stated their decision about the Serampore premises, to the effect that although the said premises were held in trust for the Baptist Missionary Society, they were to be forever attached to the Baptist Mission at Serampore, and to be held in trust by Carey, Marshman and Ward and by such persons as they might appoint.

"And they further hereby declare, that it is their will, design, meaning and intention that no other person or persons, either in England or in India, belonging to the said Baptist Missionary Society......shall have the

1. Marshman, Statement relative to Serampore, p.58
2. Ibid., p.61
3. For text of Explanatory Declaration see the Appendix to the Annual Report of the Committee of the B.M.S.;1837, p.59
least title or right to the property or the administration of the said premises, unless lawfully appointed thereto by them as trustees for that purpose." 1

Thus, the Serampore missionaries, in order to protect themselves from what they considered to be an unfriendly Committee, took up the anomalous position that though the Serampore premises belonged to the Baptist Missionary Society, that Society was not to be allowed to occupy the premises, or to have the right of appointing trustees.

It must be said to the credit of the Home Committee that while the letter and the Explanatory Declaration of their Serampore missionaries "filled the minds of all with a degree of astonishment and concern not easy to describe", 2 they replied on June 26 and on August 31, 1818 in a most conciliatory manner. When the letters were read at Serampore, Marshman said:

"The letters from the society are in the highest degree pleasing; they breathe the most cordial love to us; they have acknowledged that the premises were bought with the proceeds of our labour and that we have a right to manage our own funds, and that they have neither right nor wish to force anyone on us; that we are distinct from them, though united in the same cause, and have acted in the most disinterested manner." 3

High hopes were therefore entertained that a settlement of the differences would be effected. These hopes were, however, almost completely destroyed, when, shortly after the Committee letters reached Serampore, a private letter to Dr. Carey 4 arrived from

1. Appendix to the Annual Report of the Committee of the B....S.p. 32
2. Dyer, letter to J.H. Wilson, p. 37
3. For letter see ibid., pp. 38-43
4. For letter see ibid., pp. 45-47
6. Marshman, Statement relative to Serampore, p. 100
the assistant secretary of the B.M.S., John Dyer, requesting Carey to send home a confidential report about Harshman concerning whom the Committee had heard reports that he and his family lived very extravagantly.

"This letter of Mr. Dyer's produced a most disastrous effect. In the public letter the Committee was represented by him as dissolved in tears at the mistrust and suspicion entertained of their conduct, and overflowing with love to their beloved brethren at Serampore. But the private letter, written to one of them at the request of the same Committee was eminently calculated to sow mistrust among the missionaries. They now perceived that beneath the outer crust of official goodwill, there was a current of suspicion and jealousy. They felt that no reliance could be placed on the most friendly professions of the Committee, and the breach became wider than ever." 1

Meanwhile, at home, the plan of the Baptist Missionary Society was being revised in order that business could be transacted more promptly and efficiently; to this end the management of the Society was entrusted to a central Committee which met monthly in London. 2 This new Committee, which went very carefully into the Serampore question, drew up, on December 31, 1819, a series of resolutions. 3 The Committee declared:-

"It appears most evident to the Committee that the property at Serampore belongs clearly and unequivocally to the Society in England. The Committee cannot therefore but feel that, were they to consent to the alienation of the property from the Society, they would violate the confidence reposed in them by the public, and be guilty of a dereliction of their duty. This Committee again solemnly disclaim any intention to interfere with the management of the property at Serampore." 4

While the resolutions, on the whole, seemed acceptable to the

2. Dyer, Letter to J. B. Wilson, p. 51
3. For resolutions in full see ibid., pp. 52-55
4. Ibid., p. 58 ff.
Serampore missionaries the reference by the Committee to "the alienation of the property from the Society" was considered by Carey to be an insult, as the words implied that the missionaries had proposed such an alienation, which was far from being the truth. Carey, therefore, wrote to Dr. Hyland, protesting vigorously against the accusation which the Committee had made.

At this same time Carey and Larishman had received from Ward, who was now on a visit to England, an account of a meeting he had with the new London Committee. Ward wrote:

"When we met in the committee, the discussion turned on the question of our independence, and I found we had our finger on the very spot where the bone was out of joint.... Mr. Gutteridge, Mr. Shaw, Dr. Gregory, Mr. Broadley Wilson all pleaded that there was a natural and necessary dependence of all stations on the parent society; the head and members; the senders and sent; the very name missionary implied this.... There is no chance of union with the society, but by acknowledging their supremacy.... Here, then, the point is ascertained as far as the society is concerned; that point is some right or control over Serampore." 3

From this time on, the breach between the missionaries at Serampore and the Society in England became perceptibly wider in spite of the many letters which were written in the hope of effecting a settlement of the dispute. In 1825 a critical stage in the disagreement was brought about by a letter from the Chairman of the B.M.S. Committee in which he charged the Serampore missionaries with carelessness in financial matters, referred to them as inconsistent in their attitude about the mission property, and expressed the opinion that Serampore College could not be

2. ibid., p. 208
3. ibid., p. 209
considered a missionary institution. On receiving the letter Carey wrote:

"If I were to follow the feelings of my own mind arising from the very unlovely letter we received yesterday, I should instantly break off all connexion with the Society."

According to J.C. Marshman:

"The letter at once dispelled every expectation of future union."

The climax of the controversy was reached on March 20, 1857, when Marshman, who had come to England on business connected with Serampore College, and the Committee, decided, after several long, and sometimes stormy meetings, that the Serampore Mission and the Baptist Missionary Society were henceforth to operate as separate and distinct missionary bodies. The agreement reached was as follows:

"Several years ago it was officially announced, that, as the missionaries at Serampore had been enabled so far to exceed the expectations of their first supporters, as largely to promote the propagation of the Gospel, by funds which they had themselves originated, a material change had resulted in their relation to the Society from which they sprang; in consequence of which, the brethren of that station acted independently in the management of all their concerns.

Subsequent experience that the continued operation of the cause alluded to in the preceding statement has occasioned considerable embarrassment in the practical arrangements of the Society and their brethren at Serampore. The means of obviating this difficulty have been fully and seriously considered in a special meeting of the Committee assembled to confer with Dr. Marshman on the subject, which has terminated in the full conviction that, under present circumstances, it is most expedient that henceforward the Society at home and the missionaries at Serampore should be publicly understood to constitute two distinct and independent missionary bodies.

Under the circumstances, they wish their mutual friends to understand that they feel united, of course, respecting

1. For letter see Dyer, Letter to J.B. Wilson, pp. 83 ff.
2. Marshman, Statement relative to Serampore, p. 168
the general advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, and only desire that their respective efforts may be so conducted as that the blessing of God may rest upon them." ¹

An examination of the views of missionary historians and of Carey's biographers concerning the Serampore Controversy reveals that in almost every case their sympathies are with the Serampore missionaries rather than the Home Committee. Writing nearly forty years after the Controversy, J.C. Marshman, Joshua Marshman's son, states:—

"The missionaries offered the society cordial and affectionate co-operation on the basis of independence, a kind of federal union with individual freedom......Had it been possible to create a dozen establishments like that of Serampore, each raising and managing its own funds, and connected with the society as the centre of unity in a common cause, it ought to have been a subject of congratulation, and not of regret. Had the committee literally responded to the proposal of the missionaries at Serampore, and, instead of cherishing those in Calcutta as a counterpoise to what was termed the 'rebellious station of Serampore,' treated both alike as valuable and independent auxiliaries, much mischief and scandal would have been avoided." ²

Dr. George Smith, Carey's first biographer, records:—

"The society has long since ceased to approve of the Dyer period......The worst result of the Dyer mistake was not merely that it outraged justice in the case of the men of Serampore, but that it arrested for nearly half a century the progress of a healthy because indigenous Church of India." ³

Pearce Carey, in his life of Carey, expresses his opinion very briefly:—

"One wonders that demands so reasonable cost a decade of disharmony with the home Committee." ⁴

¹. brief memoir relative to the operations of the Serampore missionaries, p.48
³. Smith, Life of Carey, p.559
⁴. Pearce Carey, William Carey, p.548
Deaville Walker, another of Carey’s biographers, comments more fully:–

"Secretary Dyer and a group of London men were determined to run the mission on the same lines as a business concern, and to put its mission staff on the same footing as the employees of a commercial house— with regard to receiving instructions be it noted, not with regard to remuneration...

The Committee in England had a perfect right and even a duty to look into the management of affairs and also to ask for full information. That information Carey, Marshman and Ward were perfectly willing to give and did give; what they were grieved about was the tone and spirit of the demands and the way the correspondence was conducted." 1

Richter, the gifted missionary historian, writes about the Controversy:–

"It was a tragic circumstance that these lives which had ever been 'in labours more abundant' should be embittered during a decade and a half by a quarrel of the most petty character with the Society which Carey had himself founded and which really existed on the strength of his success,—the Baptist Missionary Society......Today we can only read the annals of this unworthy strife with the deepest regret." 2

My own conclusions about the Serampore Controversy are as follows:–

(1) It is impossible to escape the feeling that the Serampore missionaries were themselves responsible for bringing about the Controversy. It is not enough, as nearly every missionary historian and Carey biographer has done, to consider the Controversy in the light of events from the death of Fuller until the 1807 Agreement. The seeds of the Controversy were sown in 1803 when the Serampore Trio refused to admit new missionaries to full and equal partnership in the Baptist Mission at Serampore; the dissatisfaction aroused among the new missionaries because of this,

1. Deaville Walker, William Carey, p. 298
2. Richter, History of Missions in India, pp. 142, 145
spread to their friends in England who were members of the L.I.S. Committee. It is argued that the Trio did not consider several of the new missionaries as fit to share with them the management of the Serampore Mission; but if Carey, Marshman and Ward had shown to their junior colleagues that perfect trust which they expected the Home Committee to have in them, it is doubtful if there ever would have been a controversy.

(2) On the other hand, the Committee in England failed fully to appreciate the self-sacrifice, which, from the very beginning, had characterised the lives of Carey, Marshman, and Ward. If they had so chosen, the Serampore Trio could have used the large sums of money they earned in secular employment for their own personal benefit, rather than devoting all of it to the work of the Baptist Mission. Furthermore, it was too little realised that the contributions which steadily and increasingly flowed into the funds of the Baptist Missionary Society were largely given because of interest in the splendid accomplishments of the Serampore missionaries. If the Serampore missionaries sowed the seeds of the Controversy, the Committee in England, by its lack of sympathetic understanding of all the factors involved, and, in some instances, by its tactlessness, as the letter to Carey about Marshman,\(^1\) helped the Controversy to flourish.

(3) There can be little doubt, that the very vital question with which the Controversy was concerned, though at times obscured by arguments about property rights, was:- To what extent did the

\(^1\) see pp. 72, 73
Baptist Missionary Society in England have the right of control over the work of its missionaries in India. The principle laid down by the Serampore missionaries was 'Control originates in contribution'; and since they themselves contributed the major share of the money required for the Baptist Mission in Bengal, they reserved the right to control the work of that mission. The Home Committee, however, in accordance with the same principle, felt that they should have a share in the control of the work, in the measure that they contributed financially to its support. It is important to realise that we have here a decided change in missionary policy as it was conceived by Carey, Marshman and Ward. The policy under which they went to India was to make themselves self-supporting, so that financially they would be independent of the Society which originally sent them. The conception of being subordinate to a Committee in England, and of having the work in India directed by it, was foreign to them. Since the time the Serampore Trio commenced work in India, the financial resources of missionary societies had grown to such an extent that it was no longer deemed necessary to send out missionaries who would be expected to support themselves by secular employment; it was now possible for missionaries to devote their whole time to missionary work under the arrangement that a regular and adequate salary would be paid to them by the Missionary Society in England. It may be said in favour of this arrangement that the mind of the missionary was set free from worries of a financial nature, and that he now had all of his time free to pursue his calling. The new policy, however, involved other considerations:
A. The missionary whose salary in full was paid from England came to be regarded as an agent or a servant of the missionary society, rather than a co-partner in a great enterprise. In other words, the missionary became subordinate.

B. The missionary, moreover, became dependent on the Society in England not only for his own salary, but also for the salaries of the native evangelists whom he employed, and for all the money necessary to finance local missionary work. The missionary, thus, no longer found himself able to appoint workers, or to commence new work without first ascertaining if money was available, and his references to the Home Committee on the subject meant that ultimately the control of the work in India rested with the Committee in England.

C. Under this new policy, the splendid example which the Trio set their converts in self-support, that is, using the proceeds of their secular occupation in God's work, was no longer possible to missionaries of the Society.

The agreement of 1827 between the Serampore missionaries and the Baptist Missionary Society, brought to an end a very disagreeable and bitter strife; but it also marked the abandonment of a policy concerning the financial support and the control of missionary work, a policy which, had it received the encouragement and sympathy it deserved, might have resulted in what does not yet exist in Bengal, a completely self-supporting and self-governing Bengali Church.
(g) The Calcutta Baptist Missionaries.

So far, in the matter of the relationship of missionaries to their missionary societies in the period 1816-1830, only one group of missionaries has been considered, namely, those at Serampore. As we have already indicated, however, there were, belonging to the same Society as the Serampore Trio, that is, the B.M.S., other missionaries who in 1817 decided formally to separate from the Trio.\footnote{Larsen, Carey, Larsen and Ward, vol. II, p. 100} We are now to consider briefly the principles which governed their relation to the Society in England. Whereas the Serampore missionaries held strongly to the principle of being independent of the control of the Home Committee, the Calcutta missionaries formed their union on the basis of subordination to that Committee. The question of subordination at this time was concerned chiefly with financial matters: for example, the Serampore missionaries reserved the right to spend whatever money they earned in secular occupation as they thought fit; but the Calcutta missionaries surrendered the right over their income to the Society in England.

"The principles of the mission had always appeared to them to be that, on the one hand, all the moneys acquired by the missionary brethren in the service of the society, and especially all permanent property, should be considered as belonging to the society, and as subject to the final control of the committee in England." \footnote{Larsen, Carey, Larsen and Ward, vol. II, p. 100}

The income of the Calcutta missionaries during this period was considerable. In order to supplement the grants from England, a boarding-school and a seminary, both of which proved remunerative,
were opened by the missionaries. One of their number, Pearce, opened a **printing press** which became remarkably successful, and was known as one of the most efficient in Calcutta. Another of the missionaries, Yates, was appointed to the lucrative position of Secretary of the Calcutta School Book Society. The income from all these sources was regarded as belonging to the L.M.S., and exclusively under the control of the Home Committee.

(3) The London Missionary Society.

The missionaries of the L.M.S. in their relationship to the Society were governed by principles similar to those already stated concerning the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries. In organising and directing mission work, they were largely left to their own discretion, but reference had to be made to the Home Committee of all proceedings. The missionaries, with the exception of men of means, like Townley, depended on the Society for their salary. Moreover, it was necessary for the missionaries to apply to the Committee in England for grants in connection with the work, such as for evangelists and school-teachers, and the erection of buildings; in some instances, however, as the Union Chapel, Calcutta, and the Boroampore Chapel, the money required for building these churches was raised locally.

(4) The Church Missionary Society.

When the first missionaries of the C.M.S. appointed to India were ready to sail, a Special Meeting of the Society on January 7, 1822

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1. *Ibby*, *Life of Yates*, p. 115
2. *Yates, Life of Pearce*, p. 997
1814, was held, at which, in addition to an address by the Rev.
Claudius Buchanan, the Instructions of the C.M.S. Committee to
the missionaries were delivered. The Instructions were a set of
formal regulations according to which the missionaries publicly
bound themselves to be guided as agents of the Society.

"They were virtually terms of a compact between employers
and employed." 3

The C.M.S. missionaries in India were directed in this period,
not by the Home Committee, but by Corresponding Committees in
India. As early as 1806 the Church Missionary Society had shown
its interest in missionary work in Bengal by a grant on July 7,
1806, of £300 to Mr. George Udny, the Rev. David Brown, and the
Rev. Claudius Buchanan, all of Calcutta, in aid of the transla-
tion of the Scriptures. 4 These Calcutta friends were virtually
appointed a Corresponding Committee of the C.M.S. at this time,
although they were not designated as such until May 22, 1809, when
a second grant of £500 was made. 5 On January 11, 1813, the C.M.S.
Committee requested the Calcutta Corresponding Committee to add
to its number such gentlemen as were deemed suitable. 6 The
Corresponding Committee was composed of men, such as chaplains
and government officials, whose experience in India made them
peculiarly fitted to supervise and promote the work of the
Society. The Church Missionary Society placed Implicit Faith in

1. Hole, Early History of the C.M.S., p.418
2. ibid., p.418
3. ibid., p.419
4. ibid., p.171
5. ibid., p.165, 186
6. ibid., p.242
the Corresponding Committees, granting them large sums year by year for distribution, and leaving to the Committee the location of missionaries sent from England, and the direction of their work. Not all the missionaries were in favour of being under the control of the Corresponding Committee, and difficulties arose when certain missionaries refused to acknowledge the Committee's authority. In 1818 the Home Committee ruled that in all matters having to do with the establishment of Mission Stations, the appointment of Indian workers, and the erection of buildings, the missionaries were to recognise the full authority of the Corresponding Committee. In financial matters, the Committee in India did more than administer grants received from England. While they looked to the Society in England to provide the salaries of the missionaries they sent to India, the Corresponding Committee members felt that the money needed for building and equipping schools and churches, and for the salaries of Indian workers, ought to be raised in India. In one year, 1820, the Calcutta Committee raised £4,000 locally. 1

In the period with which we are dealing, 1816-1850, the policy of designating authority to a Corresponding Committee in India had certain advantages: the appointing of a committee in India comprised of chaplains and officials insured that men experienced in Indian affairs directed the work of the mission; and at a time when ten months elapsed between the sending of a letter and the arrival of the answer thereto, it was a wise

measure to have a Committee on the spot who could make decisions at very short notice.

The Church Missionary Society missionaries in Bengal, as in all of India, were also subject to another authority, namely that of the Bishop of Calcutta, to whom they were responsible in the exercise of spiritual power. The C.M.S. was anxious to cooperate with the Bishop in every possible way; thus, in the discharge of a missionary's spiritual functions the Society assumed no control over the missionary's conscience, though it did reserve the right to dismiss any missionary of whose views it disapproved. The first Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Middleton, refused to give C.M.S. missionaries episcopal licenses, which meant that they were precluded from ministering to English congregations in India. Bishop Middleton's successor, Reginald Heber, who was much more friendly to the cause of Missions, arranged to give episcopal licenses to missionaries upon his arrival in India.

In summing up this section on the relationship of missionaries to their Societies in the period 1810-1830 we note that where this relationship involved the question, 'Who shall control and direct missionary work in India' there were three answers: that of the Serampore missionaries,—the missionaries themselves; that of the Calcutta Baptist and the L.M.S. missionaries,—the Home Committee; that of the C.M.S.,—the Corresponding Committee. It will be shown later in the history of Missions in Bengal that one

2. ibid., p. 187
2. see LeBas, Life of Dr. Middleton, 2 vols.
of the policies, that of the C.H.S., was completely abandoned; the policy of the Serampore missionaries was for a time abandoned, but was later adopted by another Mission; and that of the third policy, which recognises the Home Committee as the deciding authority in missionary matters, grew, rightly or wrongly, in importance.

The Relationship of Missionaries of different Societies in Bengal during the period 1815-1850.

Although the number of Missionary Societies in Bengal had now increased to four, the absence of sectarianism is an interesting feature of this period. The attitude of the Baptist missionaries in this connection is stated by J.C. Marshman:

"While they held the doctrine of adult baptism with the firmness of a conscientious conviction, their minds were too deeply absorbed in the work of evangelising the heathen to be diverted from it by any desire to convert Christians of other denominations into baptists, and they would not have crossed the threshold of their door to achieve so inferior a triumph." 1

The feeling of the Anglicans was expressed by Bishop Heber of Calcutta in a letter to Dr. Marshman of Serampore on June 3, 1844:

"I have seldom felt more painfully than while reading your appeal on the subject of Serampore College, the unhappy divisions of those who are servants of the same great Master. Would to God, my honoured brethren, the time were arrived when not only in heart and hope, but visibly we shall be one fold, as well as under one shepherd.....If we are spared to have any future intercourse it is my desire, if you permit, to discuss with both of you (Carey and Marshman) in the spirit of meekness and conciliation, the points which now divide us, convinced, that if a re-union of our churches could be effected, the harvest of the

heathen would ere long be reaped, and the work of the Lord
would advance among them with a celerity of which we have
now no experience." 1

Writing generally of the relationship of missionaries of the
several Societies, Cox records:—

"These missionaries (baptist) and the agents of the London
Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society lived
in perfect harmony. Party feelings appeared to melt away
beneath the genial glow of Christian sentiment." 2

Another interesting feature of the period was the desire
among the missionaries for conference. This desire seemed to be
first manifested in 1820 when at Calcutta the missionaries of all
the Societies met in conference.3 This was the commencement of
what later proved to be an invaluable feature of missionary life
in Bengal, namely, the regular meeting of the Calcutta mission-
aries for fellowship and for conference.

Missionary Methods in the Period 1813-1830.

I. Education.

(1) Primary Education.

As we have already noted, the efforts of the B.M.S. and the
L.M.S. missionaries in the field of education during the period
1790-1813 were on a small scale. With the commencement of this
period, however, a genuine interest on the part of missionaries
in the matter of primary education becomes manifest.

A. The Baptist Missionary Society.

In 1810, Dr. Marshman of Serampore formulated a plan to

2. Cox, History of the Baptist Mission, p. 306
3. Joby, Life of Yates, p. 147
extend schools among the natives, based on the Lancasterian system. This scheme, which grew out of Marshman's experience in supervising Mission schools at Serampore, and his conviction that the success of these schools justified the extension of the system, has been referred to as:-

"The first organised plan for the establishment of schools which has ever been devised in India." 1

Courses in the schools were to include arithmetic, geography, history, selections from the Scriptures, selections from Hindu works, and the history of Christianity. Though the school teachers were to be non-Christians, their work was to be supervised by missionaries. Marshman estimated the cost, which he hoped would be met by public subscription, at Rupees 1000 per month for the tuition of 4000 children. Not much attention was at the time given to Marshman's plan; but in 1816, when he proposed a system of national education in his pamphlet "Hints relative to native Schools together with the outline of an Institution for their extension and management" great interest was aroused. 2 45 schools were in 1817 opened along the lines of this plan; 3 and in 1819 there were, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, 92 schools with nearly 8,000 children. 4

The Serampore missionaries were enthusiastic about this scheme of education, not because they expected it to produce remarkable results in the way of converts, but because they regarded the scheme as an invaluable aid to missionary work.

2. ibid., p. 119
3. ibid., p. 157
"We would wish to give to native schools the importance which belongs to them, and consider them as furnishing important aid in missionary work by communicating much useful knowledge, and by preventing the implantation, or at least checking the growth of those prejudices and dangerous errors which operate so powerfully against the reception of the Gospel. We ought however to look upon their aid as entirely subordinate and never to forget that the preaching of the Gospel is the means appointed by the Head of the Church for the extension of His Kingdom." 1

In 1824 the Serampore missionaries decided to close all schools which they had opened and operated according to Marshman's plan.2 In order to operate the schools, annual appeals to the generosity of the public for financial assistance were necessary; though the public responded splendidly, the missionaries no longer felt able to bear the responsibility which the increasing number of schools entailed. Furthermore, they were satisfied that in demonstrating the plan of national education to be workable, they had accomplished their main task, and they could now leave others to carry on the work which they had initiated.


The L.M.S. missionary at Chinsurah, Mr. May, was a keen educationist whose success at organising mission schools for non-Christians aroused the interest of Mr. Forbes, Commissioner of Chinsurah; Forbes wondered whether non-Mission schools could not be organised in similar fashion. He and May decided to experiment.

"In the autumn of 1815, Mr. Forbes, satisfied with the result of the experiment thus far, and also with Mr. May's unexceptionable mode of intercourse with the natives, brought the subject to the notice of the Supreme Government, recommending the extension of the system, applying for pecuniary aid, and pledging himself to continue the personal assistance which he had from the first rendered.

1. Missionary Herald, March, 1819
to the schools." 1

The Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, was so impressed by the scheme, that he arranged for the Chinsurah schools to receive a monthly grant of rupees 600. 2 This may be said to be the first grant-in-aid made by the Government of India in connection with primary education. Remarkable progress was made at Chinsurah so that in 1816 there were twenty schools with 1551 children, 3 308 of whom were sons of brahmins. 4 In the same year, Forbes again appealed on behalf of the schools to Government, and the grant was increased to rupees 800 per month. 5 By 1817 there were 50 schools with 2,600 children; and 1818 was possibly the best year, when there were 56 schools with 3000 scholars.

It must not be forgotten, in viewing the success of this scheme, that these were not Mission schools; and since Christianity was not taught, as in Mission schools, parents did not raise the usual objection that if they permitted their children to attend school, they would become Christians.

"It ought to be understood in order to account for this unprecedented success in the education of the natives, and in justice to these Mission schools whose progress has been less rapid, that the avowed and immediate object of the Chinsurah institution was, the improvement of the indigenous schools throughout the country which were described as in a 'miserable condition'. In Mr. Kay's own schools, as in those of other missions, Christianity was taught, but in these supported by Government, religious instruction was disclaimed. 6 Government expressly enjoined the most scrupulous adherence to the long-avowed and indispensable conditions of not interfering with the

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1. "Lough, Christianity in India, vol. IV, p. 435
2. ibid., p. 438
3. Ibid., p. 468
4. L.H.S. Report, 1816
6. Sherring, Protestant Missions in India, p. 91
7. ibid., p. 91
religious opinions of the natives." 1

It is not surprising, then, that so far as missionary work is concerned, the gain from these schools was small. 2 Later in the period, when Chinsurah was restored to the Dutch by the British Government, the Gospels were introduced into several of the schools as a class-book. 3 This did not prove successful as any explanation of the Gospels would normally have to be made to the scholars by non-Christian teachers. More and more, therefore, the missionaries at Chinsurah devoted themselves to the Mission schools where freely they could teach the Scriptures and catechism. 4

In addition to Chinsurah, the L.M.S. had primary schools at Calcutta and Berhampore on a small scale; in the two last-named places only schools were maintained where the Scriptures could be taught. 5

C. The Church Missionary Society.

During this period, the C.M.S. maintained primary schools at three places, Calcutta, Burdwan, and Kulna. The first school was opened at Kidderpore, Calcutta, by the Corresponding Committee, who held a high opinion concerning the value of schools as a missionary agency.

"Convinced that the most simple, obvious, unexceptionable and effectual mode of promoting missionary objects is by the establishment of schools, the Committee have directed their particular attention to this important branch of labour." 6

1. Hough, Christianity in India, vol. IV, p. 489
2. ibid., p. 478
3. Richter, History of Missions in India, p. 154
4. C.M.S. Report, 1813
5. L.M.S. Report, 1822
6. ibid., 1826
7. ibid., 1828
At first there was no attempt made to introduce the Scriptures into schools under the direction of the Corresponding Committee. The reason for this is provided by the Committee themselves:

"The servants of Christ who would raise up a Church among an 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." 1

When the confidence of the scholars and the parents had been won, there seemed to be little difficulty in the way of having the Scriptures taught daily in the primary schools. Mr. Greenwood, a C.M.S. missionary at Calcutta, writes of the Kidderpore school:

"Our school demonstrates, I think, that though anything like a forcing of the Scriptures on the natives is to be carefully avoided, as a rash and inconsistent line of conduct, and such as will never attain the desired end; yet that by exercising prudence and discretion there is no difficulty in introducing them into our school."

At Burdwan, 70 miles to the north-east of Calcutta, a very successful experiment in commencing primary schools where no Christian teaching was at first given, but where later, when the pupils and their parents had learned to trust the organisers of the schools, the Scriptures were introduced, was conducted by Captain Stewart. 2 This military officer, who was interested in the education of non-Christians, obtained financial help from the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee, and organised schools along the already lines indicated. By 1822 he was able to report that the Bible was now read in every school under his charge. 3

1. C.M.S. Report, 1818
3. C.M.S. Report, 1822
At Kulna, 47 miles to the north of Calcutta, another C.I.S. missionary, Deer, who had been stationed here, organised schools; and he reported, after a few years, that 1000 children were in attendance and that the Bible was taught daily.¹

In reviewing primary education during the period 1810-1850, we find that the efforts of missionaries in Bengal were directed along three channels: (1) the establishment of mission schools, whose avowed object, in addition to furnishing a sound elementary education, was to teach Christianity; (2) the establishment of non-mission schools, where, under non-Christian teachers, facts about Christianity were taught in addition to the usual subjects. Such schools, which depended on the public for financial support, were in general supervised by missionaries; (3) the establishment of non-mission schools, financially supported by Government, where no religious teaching of any description was given.

(2) Female Education.

All of the Societies in Bengal during this period made attempts to tackle the problem of the education of girls as well as that of boys. The Calcutta Baptist missionaries were first in the field:

"The first day-school for the education of Bengali females was established in Calcutta in 1819 by the missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society." ²

The London Missionary Society established girl's schools at Calcutta and Chinsurah; while some of the schools proved to be very successful, others had to be closed because of the failure

¹. Souza, Christianity in India, vol. V. p. 511
². Dey, Native Female Education, p. 7
of girls to attend in spite of the bribes which were given them by the missionaries in the shape of free clothes and the daily payment of a farthing to each girl.¹

The first woman to come to Bengal with the specific purpose of organising schools for girls was Miss Cooke; she came to India under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society to be the agent of the Calcutta School Society.² Upon her arrival in Bengal, Miss Cooke found that objections had been raised to her appointment by several native gentlemen on the Calcutta School Society: the C.I.I.S. Corresponding Committee, learning of the difficulty, requested Miss Cooke to be their agent.³ The success of Miss Cooke in establishing schools for girls aroused the interest of many women in Calcutta who formed the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education: Miss Cooke resigned from the C.I.I.S. and became associated with this local Society.

In addition to schools at Calcutta, the C.I.I.S. also established schools for girls at Burdwan, where under Mrs. Perowne, nearly 400 girls received a Christian education,⁴ and at Mulna, where there were three schools.⁵

The difficulties which those engaged in female education faced during this period were recorded by the Calcutta Baptist missionaries:

"The result of their labours.....was not such as to give general satisfaction. It was necessary at first to reward

¹ Cogerly, Bengal Pioneers, pp.102, 103, 105
² Yates, Life of Pearce, p.405
³ Sherring, Protestant Missions in India, p.95
⁴ Rough, Christianity in India, vol.V, p.309
⁵ Ibid., p.311
the attendance of the scholars; and most attended not for the sake of learning, but for the sake of obtaining the piece. It was also found that what little was learned in the school, was counteracted by the influence of evil example at home."

The method used by the missionaries to overcome these difficulties is worthy of particular note as it involved the adoption, for the first time, of a principle, the soundness of which has, in recent times, been questioned, namely, the principle that native children can be effectively influenced only if they are separated from the heathen influence of their home life.

"Hence after several years of painful trial it was thought desirable to give up these day schools, as of very little use, and to establish a boarding-school in which the children, being removed from the corrupt examples of those around them, and constantly instructed in the principles of Christianity, might grow up to be consistent characters. This again led the missionaries to recommend the children of native Christians before all others to receive the benefit of a good education, and the plan has been found completely to answer their expectation." 2

(3) Normal Training.

With the growth of primary schools, the problem of finding suitable teachers was acute. The C.I.S. Corresponding Committee opened on Dec. 1, 1614, at Calcutta, a school for training native masters: the first six men to attend this school were sons of native Christians. 3 Meanwhile, Captain Stewart, whose work in Buruwan has already been noted, opened in that town a central boarding school to which the best scholars from all the village primary schools were invited. 4 The purpose of this special school was to train teachers. Along similar lines were two 5

1. Yates, Life of Pearce, p.403
2. Ibid., p.409
3. Hulse, Early History of the C.I.S., p.600
institutions: at Calcutta there was established a Christian Seminary, the object of which was to give a liberal education to talented young men, especially Christians, with a view to their becoming teachers; and at Chinsurah, a successful normal school was directed by Rev. E. 2

There were, therefore, in this period, excellent efforts made to supply the need for trained teachers; but hardly any of the missionaries had the foresight to envisage how great the demand for teachers would be in the future, and, as we shall see later the supply of trained teachers for the Christian community was never sufficient to meet the demand.

II Evangelism

At the beginning of this period we find manifested an enthusiasm, similar to that in the last period, for open-air preaching. An example of the method followed is described for us by Lygerly, an L.M.S missionary of Calcutta:-

"In the evening of every day, as soon as the printing office was closed, I accompanied Mr. Townley, the senior missionary, to the quiet suburbs of the city, and there, standing on some elevated spot, we spoke to the people, who soon gathered about us in large numbers, concerning 'Jesus and the resurrection'. The doctrine to them was entirely new: the great majority of our hearers never even heard the name of Him who gave 'His life for the world'. We changed the scene of our labours continually and so surrounded the city."

The feeling seemed to be growing among missionaries that there were serious drawbacks to open-air preaching in Indian cities:

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3. Lygerly, Lengal Pioneers, p. 15.
few of the audience ever stayed long enough to hear a complete address; often in the noise of the streets, the speaker could hardly make himself heard; and there were usually frequent interruptions by people in the audience. It was therefore decided to try the experiment of erecting temporary preaching places, known as bungalow chapels, at populous parts of Calcutta and other towns, and to invite passers-by into the chapels to hear the Gospel message in comparative comfort.

The Calcutta Baptist missionaries expressed their opinion of chapel preaching in the following terms:

"It is now more than twelve months since we began this method of making known the name of our blessed Redeemer in this city; and though we never intended that it should supersede preaching in the open-air, yet it recommends itself to us very forcibly by its affording us an opportunity to put off discussions to the end of the service, and to possess a quiet and attentive audience whom we can address in rotation for an hour or two." 1

The C.M.S. and L.M.S. missionaries also used and developed the method of chapel preaching, the former at Calcutta, and the latter at Calcutta and Chinsurah. The L.M.S. missionaries stated:

"The congregations were generally numerous and attentive." 2

"On many occasions these little bungalow chapels are crowded with attentive hearers; who at the conclusion of the service frequently exhibit evident marks of concern at what they hear—confessing that if ever they are saved, it must be by believing on Christ." 3

The adoption of methods, such as chapel instead of open-air preaching, which helped to make the presentation of the Gospel more effective, is a noteworthy feature of evangelism in this

1. Missionary Herald, March, 1870.
period. There was another feature of evangelism, however, which cannot be regarded in the same favourable light, namely, the tendency on the part of missionaries and missionary societies to regard the work of evangelism as primarily theirs. In the period 1790-1810 it was recognised that the growth of the Church in Bengal was largely due to the efforts of the converts themselves: the converts had been made to realise that it was their duty as a Church to evangelise. With the increase of missionary societies, and of European missionaries, the concept arose that they, rather than the converts, were to evangelise Bengal. Is it to be wondered, in view of this concept, that towards the end of the period 1810-1830 missionaries were deploiring the meagre results of their evangelistic efforts? 1

"Thousands of persons have heard the Gospel every week in our chapels but for a long time no serious inquirers have appeared." 2

But the effect of this concept on the Bengali Church was to have an even more serious result than on the evangelistic work. This aspect will be considered in later chapters.

III Translation.

While in the period 1790-1810 only the name of Carey was associated with the translation of the Bible into Bengali, in this period two other names must be mentioned: that of Ellerton, an indigo planter, whose version of the Four Gospels, and then of the New Testament was issued between 1815 and 1819 by the Calcutta

1. "From 1810 to 1820 the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, so far as actual converts were concerned, appeared to have laboured in vain."
   Missionary Herald, June, 1828.
   L. L. Torey, Bengal Pioneers, p. 147.
Auxiliary of the Bible Society; 1 and Yates, of the B.M.S. who in 1687 published a translation of the Psalms. The version of Ellerton was soon superseded; but the translation of Yates revealed genuine scholarship, and on the death of Carey it was Yates who was recognised as his successor in the field of translation.

The work of the Serampore missionaries in translating the Bible into Bengali and other languages reached its climax at the end of this period when Carey and Marshman reported that from 1801-1832 more than 812,000 volumes in 40 languages had been issued by the Serampore Press. Carey and his colleagues were responsible for translating the Bible, or portions thereof into the following languages and dialects: Bengali, Sanscrit, Oriya, Hindi, Marasthi, Punjabi, Bolochi, Mewari, Telugu, Konkani, Pashto, Assamese, Lahnda, Gujerati, Bikaneri, Awadni, Kasmiri, Nepali, Bagheli, Harvari, Harauti, Kanouji, Nanerese, Jaipuri, Kumaoni, Sindhi, Dogri, Bhatneri, Kayahi, Malvi, Braj, Bhasha, Garwhali, Manipuri, Palpa, Khasi and Chinese.

The policy of the Serampore missionaries in extending the scope of their translation efforts to include so many languages and dialects has been the subject of varying degrees of criticism. A typical example is that of Mr. J. S. K. Hooper, General Secretary for India, British and Foreign Bible Society, who, in his recent book 'The Bible in India', declares about the above policy:

"There can be no doubt that this policy involved an enormous waste of energy...either their own.

1. Hooper, The Bible in India, p. 29.
2. Ibid., p. 30.
3. Ibid., p. 16.
4. 1908.
"qualifications, great though they were, nor the resources of Indian scholarship then available, nor indeed the state of philological knowledge were sufficient to justify Carey and his colleagues in attempting the translation of the Scriptures into so many different languages."¹

Julius Richter also criticises the policy of the Serampore missionaries:—

"It must be frankly admitted that not one of these Serampore versions is in use today. Soon after their publication, even, some 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. Even the best of them, such as Carey's Bengali and Sanskrit Bibles have been so thoroughly revised by gifted linguists of later times, that they may almost be termed new versions."²

It is admitted, of course, that most of the Serampore versions have been superseded by others more accurate and more idiomatic, but we do not feel it to be a logical inference that the Serampore missionaries had therefore followed a mistaken policy, or that they had wasted their energy. Any fair evaluation of the Serampore missionaries' translation policy must have the following facts as a basic considerations:— (1) Not only was Carey himself a brilliant translator, but in Serampore, and at the College of Fort William, he had the help of many gifted natives from all parts of India. Carey certainly made use of the best scholarship available in his day. (2) It must not be imagined that because much of Carey's work has been superseded, his translations were poor. In referring to Carey's 1st edition of the Bengali Scriptures, one well qualified to judge, namely Dr. Novells, formerly of Serampore College, and now of Rawdon College, states:—

¹. Hooper, The Bible in India, p. 17.
In the judgment of many this final version of Carey's has not been surpassed in simplicity of style and correctness of idiom. 1

(c) In addition to having capable translators, the Serampore establishment possessed a printing press which was able to print the Bible in the scripts of all the languages translated. The missionaries set up a type-foundry at Serampore which continued until 1850 to be the principal Oriental type-foundry of the East. 2 (d) Too little attention is paid to the stimulus given to Eastern languages by the Serampore translations. The interest aroused among Indians by reason of the introduction of printed works in their own languages was tremendous; and it was this interest which led to the subsequent development of philological studies. In view of facts brought to light in the course of such studies, it is not surprising that the Serampore versions had to be superseded. But is it not a matter for praise rather than censure that the Serampore versions so stimulated language study that they were soon to be out of date? (e) With all due respect to Mr. Hooper's opinion of the Serampore versions, it should be kept in mind that his own Society, after receiving favourable reports from their Translation Committee, was, at the time, willing to make grants totalling several thousands of pounds for these same versions. Moreover, the British and Foreign Bible Society thought highly enough of the Serampore translation efforts to print accounts of them in the Society's publications; and the interest aroused in the public mind certainly helped the

contributions to the B. and F. Bible Society. (6) We conclude
with a statement made in 1844 by the Secretary of the British and
Foreign Bible Society, Mr. Brandram, who wrote to the Serampore
missionaries about their translation work:-

"You have indeed broken the ice, and given the onset, and if
you had done nothing more, this would of itself afford
abundant matter for thanksgiving." 1

Policy of the Missionaries concerning their Converts in the
Period 1813 - 1830.

1. Baptism.

In this period the requirements for baptism are not, as a
general rule, as simple as in the first period when usually all
that was required of converts was a profession of faith in Jesus
Christ. There was, for example the introduction of a probationary
period before baptism in the case of all converts concerning the
sincerity of whose motives the missionaries had any doubts.

"There is another Bengali who wants to be baptized, and we
have no fault to find with his conduct; but as we are not
satisfied that he has felt the power of divine things in
his heart, he has been kept back." 2

Moreover, at the time of baptism, the questions asked of the
convert were becoming more involved than hitherto. Here are a
few of the questions which were put to a Bengali convert just be-
fore baptism in 1826, and the answers thereto:-

"Why do you wish to renounce the Hindu religion?

Ans. "The Hindu religion enjoins the worship of many gods and
proposes various modes of attaining salvation; these gods I
have worshipped, their modes of purification I have observed;

2. Missionary Herald, June, 1826: see also Jogerly, Bengal
Pioneers, p. 205.
"but all in vain, therefore I wish to renounce it."

"Why do you desire to embrace the religion of Jesus Christ?

Ans. "Because by embracing it I shall obtain the salvation of my soul."

"Do you know that you are a sinner?

Ans. "Yes, I know that I am a sinner; I am a great sinner, I have many times broken God's laws."

"Without the pardon or removal of sin, can you gain admittance into heaven?

Ans. "No, I cannot, for heaven is a holy place, and unless I am purified, I cannot enter there."

"Has God provided any remedy to take away our sin?

Ans. "Yes, God has provided a remedy; He sent the Lord Jesus Christ into the world for the purpose of taking away our sins."

In the first period, the only Society in Bengal with native converts was B.M.S., whose mode of baptism was immersion. In this second period, with the coming of the L.M.S., C.M.S. and the S.P.G. there was introduced among native converts baptism by sprinkling, and also the baptism of children. In other words, concerning baptism, each Society followed the practice of the denomination which it represented: the London Missionary Society, which prided itself on the fact that it represented no particular denomination, followed the Presbyterian practice.

Here we have the beginning of denominationalism in Bengal: it is quite clear that each missionary at this time regarded it as his duty, in accordance with the expectation of his denomination.

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(1) L.M.S. Missionary Chronicle, May 1828
(2) see Hough, Christianity in India, Vol. V., p. 510.
L.M.S. Report, 1828; and Missionary Chronicle May, 1828
in England, to teach converts the doctrines of his own Church. This policy will be discussed more fully under the section dealing with the establishing of the churches in Bengal.

2. The provision of Employment for converts.

The question of finding employment for converts continued to be a troublesome problem in this period, as in the first. The problem was to some extent created by what Marshman described as:

"the indolent and inveterate habit of dependence exhibited by the natives of Bengal ......... The Bengal convert was always looking to the missionary, not indeed to be supplied in indolence, but to be furnished with occupation. This serious defect in the national character of the Bengalis has been as fertile a source of discouragement to all missionary labourers in the province as it was to the Serampore missionaries in the early stage of the work."

The Baptist missionaries had up till now considered the problem of finding employment as capable of solution by the converts themselves; but towards the close of the period the missionaries began to devise ways and means to help converts. Carey set up at Serampore a weaving shop to train converts' children in an occupation which he hoped would be a means of good support to them; and Fernandez established a paper manufactory at Dinajpur "with a view of giving employment to the seceders from heathenism."

The C.M.S. Missionaries in 1825 thought the problem of finding employment for their converts could to some extent be solved by settling them on farms.

References:
educated converts was usually easy of solution, for each Missionary Society in Bengal was, in this period, in great need of native readers, catechists, evangelists and schoolmasters, and such positions were generally obtained by these converts.

3. The Formation of Christian Villages.

Another problem with which missionaries had to deal in this period concerned the severe persecution of Christians by their Hindu and Mohammedan neighbours. This problem was met in two ways: houses for converts were built on the Mission compound so that the converts could enjoy the protection of the missionary; Christian villages were formed by inviting all isolated Christian families in certain areas to establish their homes at some place chosen under the guidance of the missionary. The missionaries naturally expected good results from this policy of separating converts from their non-Christian neighbours; in a Christian environment, and under missionary protection converts would now receive regular religious instruction from native ministers, and their children would obtain a good education at Mission schools.

The actual results of the policy of forming Christian communities will be shown in the succeeding periods.

4. The Provision of Training for Converts.

(i) Serampore College.

In this period the Serampore missionaries launched the last,

and perhaps the most ambitious of all their schemes, namely, a college for training teachers and preachers. Marshman informs us:

"For several years they had been desirous of establishing an institution in which a higher and more complete education should be given to native students, more especially to those of Christian parentage, and in which native preachers and schoolmasters, whose defects had long been felt, could be efficiently trained up."

A prospectus of the College, issued on July 15, 1818, stated that Christian Natives who intended to do missionary work must not only know the doctrines they were to teach, but also the doctrines they were to combat. To accomplish the first aim, Serampore College proposed to give students a complete course of instruction in Christian theology; to accomplish the second, it was proposed to teach Sanscrit and Arabic, so that students could thoroughly study the doctrines of Hinduism and Islam.

Entrance to the College was not, however, to be confined to Christian students, but was made open to non-Christian students who desired a liberal education.

To house the College, a magnificent building, costing about £15,000 was erected at Serampore.

By 1824 there were 54 students in attendance, 40 of whom were resident native Christians.

1826 was an historic year for Serampore College, as Dr. Marshman obtained from the King of Denmark, who had always manifested interest in the Baptist Missionaries residing in the

2. Ibid., p.169
3. Ibid., p.170
4. Ibid., p.170
5. Ibid., p.237
6. Ibid., p.299
Danish Settlement of Serampore, a Royal Charter which gave to the College the right to confer degrees.1

Towards the close of this period, Serampore College accepted a new responsibility by undertaking to train as missionaries Eurasians (now officially known as Anglo-Indians) who seemed fitted for the work.2 These men were born in India of European parentage on one side, had been accustomed to living in European fashion, but were used to the climate of India, and were well acquainted with the language and habits of the natives. Great things were hoped from the training of these men.

In the period 1813-1850 Serampore College had four distinguishing features: it was Oriental in character, the main emphasis being laid on the study of Sanscrit, rather than English, and all lectures being delivered in the vernacular; it was open to Christian students of any denomination, and the teaching was strictly non-sectarian; in the College, Christian and non-Christian students studied side by side; and finally, the College revealed the growing conception in the minds of the Serampore missionaries of the value of concentration rather than diffusion as the policy to be adopted in missionary work. The last point is very important: at a time when less-experienced missionaries were beginning to assume that the evangelisation of Bengal was their responsibility rather than that of the Bengali Church, the more-experienced Serampore missionaries were expressing the conviction that Native Christians were the logical people to

2. Ibid., p. 306, 393
evangelise Bengal, and that it was the responsibility of missionaries to see that they were efficiently trained for the work.

"The distinguishing characteristic of Carey's work was his adoption of the principle of concentration.... To a far greater degree than any of his predecessors he realized the comparative futility of diffused missions, and the impossibility of converting India by European evangelists. By concentrating the greater part of his activities within a narrow circle and by spending his time upon the education and training of Indian teachers he inaugurated a new method of missionary work the importance of which it is impossible to exaggerate." 1

(ii) Bishop's College.

In the year that the Serampore missionaries issued the prospectus of their College, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel decided to commence missionary operations in Bengal, and voted £5000 to the Bishop of Calcutta for use in missionary work. 2 Dr. Middleton conceived the idea of founding in or near Calcutta, a missionary College 3,4 with a four-fold object:—

"1. The instruction of native and other Christian youth in the doctrine and discipline of the Church, in order to these becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters.

2. Teaching the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mussulmans or Hindoo having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage.

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." 5

1. Robinson, History of Christian Missions, p.82
3. Richter, History of Missions in India, p.156
4. Smith, Conversion of India, p.156, states that the Bishop "avowedly followed Carey's example by building Bishop's College".
5. Hough, Christianity in India, vol.V, p.45
It will be noted that Bishop's College differed from Serampore College in one notable respect, namely, that whereas the teaching of Serampore College was non-sectarian, that of Bishop's College was the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

The C.M.S., the S.P.C.K., and the B.F.B.S. signified approval of the Bishop's College by each donating £5000. The Government, for its part, donated the land, and upon it was erected a structure costing about £15,000.

The Bishop requested the S.P.G. to appoint the European staff for the College; and in 1820 the Society sent to India two Cambridge-trained Clergymen, W.M. Mill and J.H. Alt.

Great hopes were entertained for the success of this Missionary College, the view being expressed that the College "will be fraught with benefits to India beyond human calculations."

5. The Formation of Churches.

In this period, as in the first, the Baptist missionaries continued the policy of forming their converts into Churches which were faithful reproductions of the Baptist type.

The C.M.S. missionaries had no option in the matter of forming Churches. It must be kept in mind that the C.M.S. was instituted with Episcopal order as a main plank of its platform, and that its founders were—

1. Hough, Christianity in India, vol.V, p.87
2. Stock, History of the C.M.S., vol.I, p.188
3. Lushington, History of Benevolent Institutions, etc., p.109
4. Ibid., p.112
5. Hough, Christianity in India, vol.V, p.82
6. Sargent, Life of Thomason, p.275
"ex animo loyal members of the Church of England. They thoroughly believed in Episcopacy and liturgical worship." 1

It is not surprising, then, that the C.I.S. gave positive instructions to their missionaries that Anglican forms of worship were to be used in the Society's missions. 2 Furthermore, Bengali Christians upon being baptised and confirmed became members of the Church of England, since they were baptised by clergymen licensed by Bishops of the Church of England, and confirmed by Church of England Bishops. 3 For the convenience of Bengali congregations, the Book of Common Prayer was in 1846 translated into Bengali. 4

The L.I.S. had originally hoped to avoid, in the formation of Churches, anything that savoured of denominationalism. This Society was founded by Presbyterians, Anglican and Independents, 5 with the fundamental principle:

"The Society's design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independence, Episcopacy or any other form of Church order and government but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen." 6

With the formation of Missionary Societies in their own denominations, the Anglicans and Presbyterians left the L.I.S. largely in the hands of the Independents. 7 The result was that though the L.I.S. still considered itself to be interdenominational, native Christian Churches formed by the Society

"have almost necessarily, as the missionary influence

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2. Ibid., Vol. I., p. 192
3. Ibid., Vol. II., p. 428
4. Ibid., Christianity in India, Vol. V. p. 310.
5. Clarke, Study of Christian Missions
6. Ibid.,
111

"is bound to be very considerable, been organised upon Congregational lines with here and there a leaning towards Presbyterianism." 1

It is, therefore, clear that missionaries taught Bengali Christians the doctrine and the discipline of the Church to which they themselves belonged, with the purest of motives, and in the genuine conviction that this was the right policy to follow.

POLICY of the BENGAL MISSIONARIES respecting NON-CHRISTIAN and NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS in the PERIOD 1818-1830.

Although the knowledge of missionaries about non-Christian religions was growing year by year, there is no indication in this period that their conception of these religions as utterly false and evil had in any way changed. One of the missionaries, for example, wrote:-

"I find myself in the very heart of Satan's empire now, and cannot take a step without having to encounter the great adversary in the persons of his great friends, the poor deluded idolaters." 2

It is evident, too, from the words of a native convert here recorded, that the missionaries had communicated their views on the subject to the converts.

"In taking a view of our fellow-creatures we behold with feelings of pity and astonishment immortal, reasonable, and accountable beings, floating down the stream in an ocean of wickedness; and by being forcibly carried into its tremendous whirlpools, they expose themselves to innumerable evils, and ultimately to eternal destruction." 3

But the missionaries little realised as they pursued their task:

2. Hoby, Life of Yates, p. 120.
3. Ibid., p. 124.
of destroying Hinduism, that the impact of Christianity was
having an entirely different effect upon Hinduism than they imag-
ined: Christianity did not destroy Hinduism, but revived it:

"It was inevitable, therefore, that contact with the Christi-
ian civilisation of the West, which had been growing in
intensity decade by decade should result in movements
of a like nature amongst the Hindu population."

The leader of the Hindu revival was Raja Ram Mohun Roy, a
well-educated learned Brahmin who had acquired a thorough know-
ledge not only of Persian, Sanscrit and Arabic, but also Greek,
Latin and English. He came into contact with missionaries at the
beginning of this period and made himself well acquainted with
Christian doctrine. He then began to study the Vedas in the
light of Christianity and the result of his studies led him to
believe that he had rediscovered Christian monotheism in the
Vedas. He thereupon desired

"to cleanse Hinduism from the multiple accretions of latter-
day religious degeneracy and to lead it back to the pris-
tine beauty of the Vedic religion."

To this end he established a Society, which, in 1830, came to
be known as the Brahma Samaj. This Society embraced hundreds of
well-educated and influential Hindus who advocated the philoso-
phical theism of the early Hindu sages, and denounced popular
superstition. While the Society did not repudiate caste, it inter-
preted caste rules very freely. Freytag declares that such
societies

"tried to construct a new rationalistic union between

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1. Lichten, History of Missions in India, p. 350
2. ibid., p. 568
3. Roy, Life of Yates, p. 185
5. ibid., p. 129
6. ibid., p. 180
Indian, Christian, and other religious conceptions." 1

Ram Mohun Roy's interest in Christianity led him to publish "The precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Happiness and Peace" in which he praises the teaching of Jesus, but questions His divinity and denies the validity of the atonement. 2

Dr. Harshman publicly challenged some of the statements in Roy's work, and a controversy arose between them about the deity and atonement of Christ. Harshman attacked Roy's position in a series of articles "A Defense of the Deity and Atonement of Jesus Christ." 3

As Dr. George Smith points out, Harshman made the mistake of arguing with Ram Mohun Roy as if he were an orthodox Christian who had fallen from grace, rather than one brought up as an idolator and that the controversy "kept him back from the higher doctrines of the Christian faith." 4

The interest of missionaries in all matters concerning the welfare of the people among whom they worked was revealed in many ways during this period.

In April 1818 the Serampore missionaries commenced the publication of a monthly magazine in English, 'The Friend of India'. This magazine dealt chiefly with all matters relating to progress in India. 5

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1. Freytag, Spiritual Revolution in the East, p.159
3. Ibid., p.164
4. The articles were published in book form under the same title, London 1832
5. Smith, Life of Duff, p.118
On May 31, 1818, the first newspaper printed in any oriental language, the Bengali 'Sumacher Darpan' or 'Mirror of News,' issued from the Serampore press. The purpose of the newspaper was "to stimulate a spirit of inquiry and to diffuse information." 1

In this same year, the C.M.S. opened a female Orphanage at Calcutta. 2

In 1820 the Serampore missionaries opened a Savings bank to encourage thrift among Bengalis; deposits swelled to such an extent that the bank became too great a burden to the missionaries, and they closed it. 3

Carey had a garden at Serampore containing plants from all over the world; and his interest in agriculture led him to propose in 1820 the formation of an Agricultural Society consisting of Europeans and Indians who desired the improvement of land in India, and who would wish to introduce new and useful plants into Bengal and India. 4 This Society exists today, and gratefully remembers and honours each year Carey, its founder.

For many years during the first period, and throughout this present period, missionaries had protested against the practice of "Suttee," or widow burning. Their efforts in the matter were rewarded when on December 4, 1829, a Government regulation declared suttee to be henceforth illegal. 5 It seems peculiarly fitting that a missionary, Carey of Serampore, as Government Translator, had the task of translating the regulation into the vernacular.

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1. C.M.S. Report, 1818
3. ibid., p.229
4. ibid., p.237
5. ibid., p.399
6. ibid., p.412
Conclusion

The period 1815-1850 was significant in the history of missions in Bengal because in it we have, not only the abandonment of a policy which in the first period had been worked with such notable success, namely, that a mission should be so organised as to become financially independent of the Home Society, except for grants-in-aid, but also the introduction of several new policies, some of which seemed destined for success, and others which, at the time of their adoption, appeared sound, but were later found to be questionable. Among the former we have the C.M.S. policy of designating authority for the direction of the mission in Bengal to a Committee in that province; the policy adopted by all Societies of opening schools for boys and girls, and thus attempting to make known the Gospel message to those of an impressionable age; and the policy of the E.M.S., emphasised by the establishment of Serampore College, that concentration was a better method of missionary work than diffusion; among the latter, we have the introduction of the separatist policy in education, or the idea that children, to be effectively influenced, must be separated from all so-called heathen associations; the policy whereby authority for the direction of missionary work tends to be in the hands of the Home Committee rather than in the hands of missionaries; the policy of regarding the work of evangelising Bengal to be that of the missionary rather than the Bengali Christian; and the policy that it was the duty of missionaries to teach Bengali Christians the doctrine and practice of
their own particular denomination, and to form these Christians into congregations belonging to such denominations.

It may be said of the period 1815-1830 that in the formulation of missionary policy, and in the introduction of new methods, no missionary was particularly outstanding.

In turning to the third period in the history of missions in Bengal, however, we find that one man above all others influenced missionary policy and methods, not only in Bengal, but throughout all India; a man who had the courage to initiate a new policy in the face of opposition from his fellow-missionaries; a man who was destined to become one of the greatest missionaries in modern missions, Alexander Duff.
THIRD PERIOD.
At the commencement of this period, described by Sherring as "a momentous period in the history of Indian missions," there were at work in Bengal five Missionary Societies, the Serampore Mission, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; to their number we must now add the Church of Scotland whose first missionary, Alexander Duff, arrived in Bengal on May 27, 1830. Vital changes concerning two of the Missions, however, take place in the period; the Serampore Mission which separated from the E.I.C.S. in 1827, reunited with it on December 7, 1857; the Church of Scotland missionaries, after the Disruption of 1843, joined the Free Church, and became missionaries of that Church. Duff and his colleagues hoped that the Church of Scotland would refrain from sending missionaries to Calcutta, and leave that city as the sphere of work for the Free Church of Scotland; but on November 14, 1846, two Church of Scotland missionaries, Herdman and Ogilvie, reopened work in Calcutta.

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1. Sherring, Protestant Missions in India, p.106
4. Greig, Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland, p.56
The outstanding missionary of the period was unquestionably Alexander Duff, and it is his policy and methods that will largely claim our attention.

**Missionary Methods in the Period 1800-1857**

1. **EDUCATION.**

Duff's policy in education as exemplified in the school he established.

It must first of all be pointed out that it was not Duff but Dr. Inglis, a minister of the Church of Scotland, who conceived a Foreign Mission system for his Church in which he placed education first among missionary agencies.¹

"While the preaching of the Gospel was to hold the foremost and most distinguished place in any system of operations that might eventually be adopted, it was purposed from the very commencement, to institute and support seminaries for education of various grades. In order to give coherence, efficiency and unity to the whole system, and bring to maturity the more vigorous shoots that might have sprung from the preparatory culture in elementary and other schools, it was also from the first, resolved that a central or collegiate Institution should be established for communicating a knowledge of the higher branches of literature, science, and Christian Theology." ²

Concerning this scheme, Duff records that its author was Dr. Inglis:-

"Of this rudimental scheme, the sole, the undisputed author was Dr. Inglis." ³

At the same time, it should be kept in mind that Dr. Inglis was helped in his deliberations by two men well qualified on the

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¹ Smith, Life of Duff, vol. I, p. 59
² Duff, India and India Missions, pp. 479, 480
³ Ibid., p. 481
subject of education in India: Dr. Bryce, the first Scottish chaplain sent to India by the East India Company Court of Directors, who in 1834 petitioned the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to establish a college in India under the supervision of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church, Calcutta, and Dr. Joshua Marshman of Serampore, whose advice Dr. Inglis sought when he was visiting Edinburgh in 1827.

Thus it was, that when Duff was appointed as the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, he was made acquainted with a carefully conceived scheme of missionary operations. Dr. Inglis, however, wisely realised that adjustments of the plan of the educational seminary to existing circumstances in Bengal would have to be made, so he decreed:

"The mode and manner of its organization,—the system of tuition and discipline,—the modifications and adaptations of the original rudimental scheme to existing circumstances,—and all other details whatsoever would be left solely to the missionary." 4

Soon after his arrival in Calcutta, Duff decided that it would be wise, before commencing missionary operations, to make a survey of all missionary work then being carried on in Calcutta and neighbouring places. His survey was thorough: he interviewed the office-bearers of all literary, benevolent and religious societies in Calcutta; he sought the advice of the East India Company civil and military officers; he visited every sphere of missionary operation in and around Calcutta; and he obtained the

2. Ibid., p. 41
4. Duff, India and India Missions, p. 490
views of wealthy and influential non-Christian residents of Calcutta. As a result of this survey, Duff reached two important conclusions about the proposed school: it must be established in Calcutta itself; and it must be organised on lines entirely different from any institution then in existence in Calcutta or its neighbourhood. With respect to the first conclusion, Duff was going contrary to the instructions of the Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee that the institution was to be in Bengal, and though not in Calcutta, near enough to it that visitors from Calcutta could from time to time conveniently visit it. Duff reported that there was no place within easy reach of Calcutta with a sufficient number of children to enter the proposed seminary which was not already occupied by missionaries or other missions. On the other hand, Calcutta was not only the seat of government, and therefore a centre of powerful influence, it was also the home of many influential Bengalis who desired for their children a higher education such as Duff intended to offer in the Church of Scotland institution.

The reason for Duff's second conclusion, that his school must be organised on lines different from any other in Bengal, was the fact brought out in his survey, that—

"as against the brahmanised Hindus, the prevailing missionary methods had failed both in immediate results, and in self-developing power." 4

The situation as Duff found it is described by Richter:—

2. Ibid., p. 104
3. Duff, India and India Missions, p. 502
4. Ibid., p. 501, ff.
"He at once got the impression that missionary work had so to speak reached a cul-de-sac in which further progress was barred. The congregations gathered by the preaching of the missionaries were everywhere small. Further, it was a veritable disaster that the only candidates for baptism in north India were, with few exceptions, poor, downtrodden individuals belonging to the lowest castes, and that these persons henceforward remained pecuniarily dependent on the missions they joined. Duff therefore asked the question, 'Is there no possible way of getting into touch with the influential classes, the upper castes of India?' 1

Duff felt that these influential classes would be attracted by a system of education which had the Christian religion as its foundation and its animating spirit, which included in its curriculum all subjects ordinarily taught in English and Scottish schools and colleges, and which contemplated the English language as the medium of instruction. In a day when missionaries regarded preaching as the God-appointed method of evangelising the heathen, and all other methods as subsidiary to it, Duff advanced the view that Christian education would prove to be the best method for evangelising high-caste Hindus. He would not accept the opinion of many that education was opposed to preaching:

"How often has education been unhappily represented as somehow opposed to the preaching of the Gospel? If, indeed, by education were meant what is merely secular, there would be difference—there might be opposition. But if Christian education be meant, there can be no real antagonism. What is understood by preaching the Gospel? Is it not to proclaim, or make known Jesus Christ, and His crucified, to guilty sinners as their all-sufficient Saviour? If so, is not this included as an essential part of all Christian education?" 2

Nor would he agree that Christian education as a method was to be looked upon as subsidiary to preaching.——

1 Duff, India and India Missions, p.185
2 Duff, India and India Missions, p.185
"Preaching may be said to be more limited in its aim and object than education taken in its most comprehensive sense. The former looks supremely to the concerns of immortality, and only indirectly to those of time. The latter embraces directly the interests of time as well as supremely those of eternity. The former regards man chiefly as immortal; the latter views him as immortal too,—though encumbered with a material vehicle, which has its wants and necessities to be supplied, and points out the most effective modes of doing so." 1

Moreover, Christian education as Duff conceived it was thoroughly evangelistic:—

"In every right system of Christian education the making known of Jesus Christ as the almighty Saviour of lost sinners, constitutes the most vital part of it." 2

Dr. George Smith, writing about Duff's educational methods states:—

"His leading object was ....... the conversion of the soul to God." 3

One of Duff's Bengali students, recollecting the days which he spent under his instruction informs us:—

"As the chief object of the General Assembly's Institution was to convert the students to Christianity, the course of studies pursued in it was thoroughly saturated with the spirit of that religion from the lowest to the highest classes." 4

But Duff further conceived of Christian education as a blessing, not only to the individual who by it received salvation, but also to the Church, and to the Nation: to the Church because his Institution would provide highly-trained, gifted teachers and preachers; and to the Nation, by giving to its future citizens a sound religious training. 5

1. Duff, India and India Missions, p.257
2. Ibid., p.135
4. Duy, Recollections of Duff, p.117
5. Home and Foreign Missionary Record, March, 1843
Furthermore, as Duff, in a day when preaching was regarded as the chief missionary agency, announced his decision to put education in its place, so, in a period when the vernacular and the classical Indian languages were the approved means of conveying knowledge, he proclaimed that in his system of education the English language was to be the medium of instruction. Duff decided this after very careful deliberation. His survey had shown him that missionaries, as a rule, favoured the use of the vernacular in Mission schools; but the children who attended the schools were generally of low-caste birth, as children of high-caste parents were taught Bengali at home. Duff realised therefore, that a Bengali school would not attract the sons of influential people. He further realised that Bengali would not prove a suitable medium for conveying Western knowledge and science.

"The idea of studying Bengali for the sake of acquiring knowledge through it as a medium was an idea which in any right or available sense was unknown to the natives." 1

With respect to the classical languages of India, especially the Sanscrit, the problem of using them as a medium of instruction was not capable of easy solution. As Duff himself wrote: -

"All argument and authority not only preponderated in favour of the Sanskrit, but seemed exclusively to favour it. The Supreme Government had decided in its favour. Their schemes of education were essentially based on the assumption that, as a matter of course, and without the possibility of dispute, it must be the best. All learned orientalists......were enthusiastically and exclusively in its favour. And what was most silencing of all, the theory and practice of some of the oldest and most experienced missionaries in Bengal were decidedly in its favour." 2

1.Duff, India and India Missions, p.516
2.ibid., p.518
Nevertheless, when Duff compared Sanscrit with English as a medium for conveying Western learning to the minds of Indians he was convinced that English would be the more effective medium. Duff's decision was received with scorn by the Orientalists, who referred to him as having a form of mental disease which they termed 'anglomania'; \(^1\) and with suspicion by nearly all the other missionaries in Bengal who felt that an acquaintance with the English language would lead the Bengali people into infidelity. \(^2\)

To summarise, Duff's survey of missionary work in Bengal convinced him that the existing methods, namely preaching in streets and chapels, and teaching in primary schools, though accomplishing a good work, were not reaching the high-caste and influential people: he reasoned that education could be made attractive to these people by having Western learning as its substance and the English language as its medium, and that such education could be made evangelistic by saturating it with the Bible.

The first Bengali to whom Duff explained the above conclusions, was the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, Ram Mohun Roy, who not only fully agreed with Duff's views, but promised to secure high-caste boys as students for the Institution which was to be conducted on such splendid principles. \(^3\) The result was that when tuition commenced in the General Assembly's Institution on August 2, 1830, 260 boys, representing some of the noblest Bengali families in Calcutta were in attendance. \(^4\)

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1. Duff, India and India Missions, p. 519
2. ibid., p. 529
4. ibid., p. 120
Three facts about the Institution are worthy of note:—(1) from the opening day, Duff tactfully but firmly made it clear that the Bible was to be the chief text-book, and that the first hour of each day was to be devoted to its study; ¹ (2) the mode of tuition used was known as the 'Intellectual System' which had been perfected by Wood of Edinburgh and Stow of Glasgow. Duff determined that his students must be prevented from falling into the habit common to Eastern students of memorising their lessons word by word without taking the trouble to understand them. Under his system, students were trained to think; ² (3) the aim of the school, to win the students for Christ, was ever in the minds of Duff and his colleagues. ³

It may justly be asked with what success they pursued the last aim mentioned. It must be admitted that, taking into account the thousands of boys who attended the Institution, conversions were not numerous: but the twenty-six who in Duff's time did become Christians were gifted and brilliant young men from the best families in Calcutta, and they all became:

"Glittering stars in the firmament of the Indian Christian world." ⁴

There were, of course, indirect results. An Indian civil servant wrote on November 15, 1851:

"The number of young men who having received a College education have really thrown off idolatry is very great.... There can be no doubt that under God they are indebted for the favourable change to Mr. Duff's lectures and the

1. Duff, India and India Missions, p. 506 ff.
2. Ibid., p. 513 ff.
3. See letter to Prof. Ferrie, Life of Duff, vol. I, p. 175, ibid., p. 452, and the Bengal Missionary Conference, 1853, p. 70
4. Richter, History of India Missions, p. 184
knowledge they have acquired of English." 1

But, in a more positive sense, there was the wide dissemination of a general knowledge of Christianity and of the Christian conception of life.

Duff thus introduced to India the method of 'educational evangelising,' 2 a method which in his day, although, as we have already noted, looked upon with suspicion by many missionaries, yet proved its supreme value in the remarkable conversion of those who were not reached by ordinary missionary methods, and in influencing for good thousands of "the most intelligent and susceptible race in India"; 3 a method which, let it be noted by those who consider present-day missionary higher education as organised on Duff's principles, had as its basic principles, the Christian religion as the foundation and animating spirit of education, the Bible as the main text-book, and the conversion of students the chief aim.

Policy in Education of other Missionaries during the period 1830-1857.

(1) Higher Education.

Duff's policy in education was adopted by two other missions during the period: the Church of Scotland Mission, from which he had resigned in 1840 upon joining the Free Church; and the

London Missionary Society.

2. Smith, Conversion of India, p. 198
3. Richter, History of Missions in India, p. 177
The General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta, closed in 1845, but reopened in 1846 upon the arrival in Bengal of Ogilvie and Herdman, missionaries of the C.S.I. They conducted the Institution on the same lines as had Duff from 1800-1840 with this difference that they felt greater emphasis should be placed on the study of the Bengali language, especially in relation to those whom Ogilvie and Herdman hoped would become preachers.

"For the special object we have in view - the training up of native labourers to preach the Gospel in the native language - it is at once obvious that a thorough acquaintance with that language, and a complete knowledge of its grammatical structure is altogether indispensable."

The General Assembly's Institution during the years 1847 to 1857 was the object of a growing volume of criticism on the part of certain members of the Church in Scotland, who deplored the meagre results in the way of conversions - having respect to the hundreds of students who attended every year, and objected to the number of non-Christian teachers employed in the Institution. This criticism, which became acute towards the end of the period, led the C.S.I. Calcutta Committee to review the activities of the Institution. On the question of the future of the College, the Committee's opinion was divided, some members urging that it should be closed, and others that it should be strengthened; resolutions expressing both points of view were sent to Scotland. Those who wished the Institution to be closed drew attention to the following facts: (1) it was no longer needed as there was now ample provision for the intellectual development of Bengal in the

form of other institutions and colleges, missionary, government and private; (2) it would be necessary for the Institution to become affiliated to Calcutta University, and this would mean its becoming more secular in character; (3) the European staff was inadequate in numbers, but there seemed little hope that the staff would be increased so long as there were doubts in Scotland respecting the Institution; (4) the aim of the Institution to train up a native ministry had not been realised; converts whom they had in mind for the ministry were able to secure highly paid secular posts because of their excellent English education. 

Those who desired the Institution to remain open advanced the following reasons: (1) the Church of Scotland was the pioneer in missionary higher education, and in view of this, the Institution should be so strengthened as to make it worthy of that Church; (2) it was admitted that conversions were few in the Institution, but this was true of the other mission schools as well; (3) the day of visible results lay in the future, so perseverance was needed; (4) the failure to raise up a native ministry was acknowledged, but the solution of that problem lay in strengthening the Institution, not in closing it.

The Church of Scotland decided that the Institution should remain open, but urged upon the Calcutta Committee the desirability of having none but Christian teachers on the staff.

In 1867, the L.L.S. founded the Bhawanipore Institution. It was modelled after Duff's Institution, the medium of instruction was English.

being the English language, and the aim —

"to win Hindus for Christ by means of a sound Christian education." 1

The Institution proved so successful that its accommodation was sorely taxed by the number of Bengali students who desired to study in it. In 1851 it was decided to erect a building, which, it was hoped, would prove ample for Institution requirements. 2

On the day the foundation stone of this building was laid, Lacroix of the L.H.S., whose life-work had been preaching the gospel to Bengalis in the streets, in market-places, and in chapels, gave this remarkable testimony to missionary higher educational work:

"When the first missionaries arrived in Bengal,... they devoted nearly the whole of their time and energies to the proclamation of the glad tidings of salvation to the adults through the vernacular language.... Yet experience soon showed that this was not as comprehensive as could have been desired.... The fact is that comparatively few only of the most respectable and influential classes attended the preaching of the Gospel in bazaars and other places of public resort, because they objected to mixing in a promiscuous assembly with persons of the lowest ranks and castes. Hence the missionaries had often to lament the absence, on these occasions of the very individuals whom from their position in society, it was of high importance they should influence. Again it was found that preaching to fluctuating assemblies.... did not always allow to the missionary sufficient time and opportunity to declare the whole counsel of God to his hearers.

The missionaries deplored these adverse circumstances, and asked God for His guidance and interference, nor were these withheld. Almost suddenly, a door of usefulness was opened which promised to be the most effective auxiliary to preaching, inasmuch as it, in a great measure, supplied the advantages which the former did not afford to the extent wished for. An almost universal desire to become acquainted with the English language and western literature had existed among the young men belonging to the highest  

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 177.
"respectable families in the land; of this the missionaries, among whom Dr. Duff was foremost, availed themselves to establish schools where not merely a secular education of a superior kind should be given, but where in a special manner the saving truths of Christianity should be taught and inculcated." 1

In this period, Roman Catholic missionaries also entered the field of higher education in Bengal. A wealthy Bengali merchant established in Calcutta a college of his own, designed to educate five hundred Bengali youths: the entire management of the college he consigned to Jesuit missionaries. Concerning the policy of these missionaries Duff informs us:

"The Jesuits, as was to be expected, have come under a solemn vow not to intermeddle with Hinduism, or inculcate the peculiarities of their own system." 2

2. Primary Education.

The B.M.S., S.P.G., L.M.S. and the C.I.S., continued their policy of maintaining primary schools. In 1805, the S.P.G., which in one area had a hundred people awaiting baptism, claimed that their conversion was due to the influence of primary schools. 3

But generally speaking, primary education did not prove an effective missionary method during the period. As Weitbrecht states:

"On the whole, the bright hopes of the conversions which were expected to result from these numerous vernacular schools, have not been realised. The good seed sown in the hearts of hundreds, has been choked by the rank weeds of superstition." 4

In addition to this reason, it should be recognised that little could be expected from mission primary schools so long as non-Christian teachers were employed to conduct them. The L.I.S.

2. Home and Foreign Missionary Record, March 18th. 1830.
missionaries at Berhampore realised this, and took the following action:

"They have decided it right to discontinue all the schools conducted by heathen masters.... they have come to the conclusion that in a missionary point of view, such schools are not worth the time and money spent upon them, so long as Christian masters and conscientious men cannot be obtained." 1

As we pointed out in the second period, missionaries paid too little attention to the training of teachers, and the demand in this period for trained Christian teachers greatly exceeded the supply.

In reviewing missionary education as a whole during the period 1850-1857, we find that, largely through the instrumentalities of Dr. Duff, education became a recognised missionary method. The question, however, must be raised as to why it was this method produced so few results both in primary and higher education; why, in schools whose avowed aim was to convert the students, and where day after day the message of salvation was explained, only a few became Christians.

The answer in the case of primary education is not difficult, the lack of trained Bengali Christian teachers, and the absence in non-Christian homes of such influence as was needed to nurture any seeds of Christian truth which may have been sown in school.

In the case of higher education, the answer is more difficult. The following considerations may help towards it; (1) European missionaries engaged in education regarded the task of winning converts to Christ as their responsibility; thus there appeared in

1. L.M.S. Report, 1856.
education during this period, as in evangelism during the second period, a tendency to make evangelism the task of the missionary, a tendency as unproductive of results in education as we saw it to be in evangelism; (2) the influence of the student's home life was a factor not easily overcome in the case of high-caste boys, and when conversion involved the breaking of all home-ties, it constituted in many cases, too great a sacrifice; (3) this leads to the third and final consideration, that missionary efforts were directed towards the individual, rather than the family or group. A student who decided to follow Christ was urged to be baptised even though this step meant separation from his family. This separation was a loss to the student, but it was also a loss concerning the family as it meant the removal of their point of contact with Christianity. Had missionaries envisaged the winning of families and groups rather than individuals, education might have found the way of opportunity through the few students who were interested in Christianity, to the many in their families and communities who were not.

The Influence of Buff upon the Government in Educational Matters during the Period 1800-1857.

In connection with the East India Company Charter Act of 1615, a clause had been introduced with reference to education in India, requiring the Company to spend one lac of rupees (£10,000) per annum upon

"the revival and improvement of literature, and the education of the learned natives of India, and for the instruction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among
"the inhabitants of the British territories in India." 1

The officials of the Company decided to spend the money in encouraging the study of Hindu philosophy, science, ethics and mythology. In 1838 the acting Governor-General, Mr. Adam, desiring that education in India should be directed as efficiently as possible appointed a Committee of Public Instruction composed of Englishmen experienced in public affairs, and placed the annual lac of rupees for education at their disposal. 2 Meanwhile in London, the East India Company Court of Directors had been discussing the matter, and in 1834 they sent a Despatch to India, in the course of which they expressed the opinion:-

"With respect to the sciences it was worse than a waste of time to employ persons to teach or to learn them in the state in which they were found in Oriental books.... Our great aim should be not to teach Hindoo learning, but sound learning." 3

The Committee of Public Instruction was, however, dominated by Orientalists whose policy was to cultivate Hindu and Mohammedan literature, and to spend large sums on printing Oriental classics. They replied to 1834 Despatch by stating that:-

"Tuition in European science was neither among the sensible wants of the people nor in the power of government to bestow; that the learned Hindoos and Mohammedans were satisfied with their own learning, little inquisitive of anything beyond it, and did not consider the literature and science of the West as worth the labour of attainment." 4

By the commencement of this period, the composition of the Education Committee had so changed that nearly fifty per cent of the members were in favour of promoting English instead of Oriental education in India. A struggle arose in the Committee

between the Anglicists led by Macaulay and Trevelyan, who wanted Government to adopt Duff's plan in education, and the Orientalists led by Prinsep. As the Committee had reached a deadlock, the matter was referred to the Supreme Council,—Lord William Bentinck, Mr. Macaulay, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose decision on March 7, 1855, laid down the principle that the British Government ought to promote English science and literature among the peoples of India. The Resolution was as follows:

"His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone."

It is interesting, in this connection, to note the tribute which Trevelyan paid to Duff:—

"The example of his success, and the stimulus given by him to the popular demand for English education, entered largely into the causes which brought about the Resolution of Government of the seventh of March, 1855."

While Duff, however, approved of the 1855 enactment so far as it went, he was convinced that it did not go far enough:—

"But while we rejoice that true literature and science is to be substituted in place of what is demonstrably false, we cannot but lament that no provision has been made whatever for substituting the only true religion—Christianity— in place of the false religion which our literature and science will inevitably demolish."

Moreover, he did not agree with the theory advanced by

Lacaulay and Trevelyan that Western knowledge "would not only purge India of Hindu and Islamic religions, but also build up a new India with an essentially Christian constitution,"¹ for it was his firm conviction that to give Western knowledge without religion, that is, the Christian religion, was a wrong policy.

When addressing the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1855, Duff pointed out that to give people knowledge without religion was to commit the greatest of blunders.²

In yet another educational problem, the teaching of medicine to Hindus, Duff influenced the Education Committee. The Calcutta Native Medical College, established in 1822, was in his time, directed by an Englishman, Dr. Tytler, who encouraged the use of Oriental languages as the media of instruction in medicine, and who catered to the prejudices of caste Hindu students whose refusal to touch dead bodies made the teaching of practical anatomy well-nigh impossible.³

Duff pointed out that if English were made the medium of instruction in the Medical College, and Western knowledge taught, caste prejudice would be broken down. As proof of this, he demonstrated that high-caste boys in his own school were perfectly willing to work with dead bodies for the purpose of anatomical work.⁴

The result was that on January 28, 1855, a new Medical College was created which was to be open to students of all castes and

¹ Hayhew, Christianity and Government, p. 165
² Smith, Life of Duff, Vol. I, p. 294
³ Ibid., p. 210, 211
⁴ Ibid., p. 216
⁵ Ibid., p. 216
religions, and where English was to be the language used. It was later found that no difficulty was experienced in the practical anatomy work of this new College. 

Duff's final accomplishment in this period in influencing Government concerning education in India was in connection with the Educational Despatch of 1854. When Duff was on furlough in Scotland in 1851, the time for the renewal of the East India Company Charter was at hand; he was concerned with what the attitude of the Company was going to be towards non-Government education in India, whether Hindu, Mohammedan, or Christian. He, and several friends of Missions, decided to interview privately members of the Court of Directors. Later, however, Duff was called upon to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee which was examining Indian matters. In answer to the question, "Will you state what you would propose the Government should do towards the further improvement and extension of education in India?" Duff replied (1) that steps should be taken leading to the abolition of Oriental colleges; (2) Government should relinquish its pecuniary control over elementary education, and specialise in higher education; (3) Universities on the model of London University should be established in India; (4) the Bible should be introduced as a class-book at Government Institutions, but attendance at such a class to be optional; and (5) the Government should give financial aid to all other institutions where sound education is given.

2. ibid. vol. II, p. 231.
3. ibid., p. 241.
The full statement of Duff on educational matters which he made before the Parliamentary Committee was later embodied in a State paper and sent out to the Governor-General of India as the Despatch of July 9, 1854. The two features of the Despatch now in India were the setting up of universities as examining boards, to test the education and knowledge of students trained in various institutions, and to confer degrees in Arts, Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering; and the grant-in-aid system by which all institutions giving sound education, whatever their religion, were to receive financial aid from Government.

The question of accepting grants-in-aid from Government was much debated by missionaries in Bengal at this time. Years before, the Serampore missionaries had repudiated all State support either for religion or for missions, but

"They considered it the duty of government to employ the public resources in the promotion of education, and the duty of missionaries to avail themselves of the assistance." 2

When Ogilvie of the Church of Scotland Mission wrote the Committee on April 8, 1856, he stated:

"It is right that you should be made fully aware that a very large number of those (missionaries and missionary supporters in India) are decidedly opposed to the acceptance of these grants......It is proper that you should be made aware that not a few intelligent and long-experienced missionaries are of opinion that the whole system of grants from Government is in its very nature of a secularizing tendency. They think that as a matter of course, the merely secular element of education must needs obtain an undue share of attention." 3

3. Home and Foreign Missionary Record, 1856.
The Church of Scotland, however, did not seem to be worried by the doubts of long experienced missionaries, as is clear from the General Assembly Deliverance, May 27, 1856:

"The General Assembly are now fully satisfied that the terms and conditions as set forth in the Despatch on which grants-in-aid are offered, are such, as in perfect consistency with sound principle, and in accordance with the duty of the Church in this matter, may be taken advantage of for the benefit of the Schools established in connection with the General Assembly's Mission in India. The General Assembly accordingly resolve to sanction and authorize the acceptance of said grants, and to take advantage thereof."

Thus the two pioneer missions in missionary higher education in Bengal, the Church of Scotland, and the Free Church of Scotland, accepted the principle of grants-in-aid from Government for education, and their lead was followed by other missionary societies. The relationship of missionary educational institutions to Government under the conditions laid down in the Despatch of 1854 is described for us in the Lindsay Commission's report:

"By this new policy, the Christian colleges received very great assistance and encouragement. Not only did they receive financial help, but they were left the largest freedom in the control of their own life and organisation, while the missionaries themselves had ready access to the Government officials, and their advice and help was greatly valued. Men like Dr. Duff in Calcutta, Dr. Miller in Madras, Dr. Wilson in Bombay, and Dr. Ewing at Lahore, to mention only a few, were able to exert a profound influence upon University and Government policy."

2. LECTURES

Not only did Duff demonstrate the value of higher education as a method of evangelism, he also showed that lectures to educated Bengalis was an effective missionary method. On Sunday evenings during the years 1835 to 1854, at a bungalow in a crowded part of Calcutta, Duff delivered a course of lectures.

1. Christian Higher Education in India, p. 85
in which he contrasted Christianity with Hinduism and Mohammedanism. Bengalis attended the meetings in large numbers. In addition to these lectures, Duff had special Bible classes on Sundays for Bengali clerks who had not received their education in a Christian school, and as a result there were many inquirers.

The Church of Scotland missionaries who came to Calcutta after the Disruption appreciated the value of the lecture method, and in 1848 Herdman writes that they have at length been able to set on foot the plan long contemplated of lecturing in English to educated Bengalis on the superiority of Christianity to Hinduism.

In 1854, one of Duff’s converts, L.B.De, delivered lectures on Christianity in the Bengali language to educated Bengalis in the Free Church of Scotland Institution; the attendances ranged between three and four hundred.

The Church Missionary Society in 1857 sent to Calcutta a missionary whose time was to be devoted to work among educated Bengalis by personal contact and lectures. At Burdwan, another C.M.S. station, lectures in English to educated natives were given by the local missionaries.

While the lecture method was valuable in reaching the educated classes of Bengal, and making clear to them the evidences of Christianity, results in the way of conversions were small; and missionaries began to realise it did not

2. Home and Foreign Missionary Record, 1848.
3. Free Church Record, 1854.
necessarily follow that a Hindu or Mohammedan who had received convincing evidence of the truth of Christianity, and who even admitted the validity of the arguments of the missionary lecturer, thereupon became a Christian.

3. PREACHING

Thus far, in our examination of preaching as a missionary method, we have found that Bengalis responded to the appeal to become Christians in comparatively small numbers. In this period also, vernacular preaching met with little success. The Baptists reported in 1837 that during the whole year they knew of no instance of decided conversion through their preaching. During the latter half of the period, the Free Church Bengali preachers, who spoke in the streets and market-places of Calcutta and other towns, met with little success.

Missionaries now began to question the value of vernacular preaching as a missionary method. Ogilvie of the C.S.M. expressed the view that:

"Going about preaching in the bazaars and streets of Calcutta is about the most useless sort of work a man could possibly engage in."

The Bengal Missionary Conference passed in 1855 the following resolution respecting vernacular preaching:

"In looking at the results of vernacular preaching in Bengal they acknowledge with regret, that though the majority of missionaries have been engaged for many years in various parts of the country in this department of missionary labour, it is a remarkable fact that, as compared with the

2. Free Church Assembly Report, 1855.
amount of labouring and journeying, the number of known conversions to which vernacular preaching to the heathen in the bazaar by missionaries has immediately led, seems to have been small." ¹

In referring to the Rev. A. Lacroix of the L.M.S. who was reputed to have been Bengal's greatest vernacular preacher during this period, Richter points out:—

"By his attractive delivery, his sympathetic expression, and the felicitous use of really idiomatic Bengali, he everywhere drew together vast crowds of listeners, and his convincing eloquence and his speech so rich in Oriental illustrations charmed and fascinated the Hindus... but... Lacroix died without leaving a single convert... furnishing a striking example of the relative fruitlessness of purely itinerant preaching." ²

Statistics showing the meagre results of itinerant preaching, however, did not discourage Bengal missionaries; and the C.I.S. Home Committee rejoiced in 1856 that their representatives in Bengal were devoting more time to this work instead of spending their strength upon converts who were not proving satisfactory.³

When the Foreign Secretary of the B.M.S. visited Bengal in 1854, he advised the missionaries that they should spend less time in directing educational work, and more time on preaching the Gospel. ⁴

In Bengal during this period, however, there was one notable exception to the rule that results from vernacular preaching were small, for a mass-movement took place in which whole families and complete villages became Christian. When Deerr, a German C.J.S. missionary commenced work in Krishnagar, he came into

2. Richter, History of Missions In India, p.281.
contact with a sect, half Hindu and half Moslem called Karta Bhoja, "Worshippers of the Creator", which had been formed as a protest against the tyranny of Brahmins. As a result of evangelistic work among them, Deerr baptised thirty persons of this community in 1833. In 1838, the leading men in ten villages, who with their families numbered five hundred, expressed a desire to become Christians, and after a few months' instruction were baptised.¹ The Bishop of Calcutta, who was informed of this development, sent representatives to inquire into the facts; and they found that the total population of fifty-five villages wanted to join the Christian community. They further learned:

"The movement had been fostered by the unselfishness kindness of Mr. Deerr and his helpers when an inundation destroyed the crops, and to that extent temporal motives were at work."²

Within a year, one thousand people were baptised after instruction. By 1841, two thousand people had been baptised, there were Christians in one hundred villages, and three thousand people awaited baptism. But in the same report there is a significant statement to the effect that the loan system to Christians had been discontinued, with the result that there were few new converts appearing.³ From this year, the progress of the movement was arrested, and the annual reports of the Krishnagar missionaries till the end of this period become more and more discouraging. The 1857 report states that baptised converts were apostasizing in large numbers.⁴

² ibid., p. 135.
³ C.M.S. Report, 1841.
⁴ ibid., 1857.
Krishnagar was visited in 1846 by the Bishop of Madras who in commenting on the failure of the movement, said:

"It must be acknowledged with regret that in this movement there was much that must be attributed to mere temporary excitement, much that was unsound and fallacious. So long as the system of advancing money was kept up, the work seemed to advance; but it was soon discovered that many of the professed converts had crept into the Church from merely worldly motives." ¹

Stock, the C.I.S. historian, feels that the movement was genuine, and he gives three reasons why it was a disappointment: the lack of native teachers; the policy of the German missionaries in spoiling the people with kindness; and the withdrawal of missionaries from the area prematurely.²

We cannot agree that a movement deserves to be called a genuine movement towards Christianity which originated through the giving, by well-meaning missionaries, of financial help in time of dire need to a community which owed its origin to a desire for better conditions of life,—a movement which flourished so long as financial help was given,—a movement which was arrested just as soon as financial aid ceased, and which utterly failed when it was evident that no further financial help was forthcoming. The virtue of the Krishnagar mass movement is to be found in its demonstration of the fact that there are many people in India willing to adopt any religion which can amply provide for their physical needs. Other societies at this time admitted that converts would come forward in much greater numbers if temporal advantages were

¹ C.I.S. report, 1847
held out to them. 

4. ZENANA WORK. 

We have the introduction in this period of a new method of missionary work which owed its origin to Dr. T. Smith, one of Duff's colleagues, who in 1840 wrote an article urging the necessity of seeking out the women of Bengal confined to Zenana, and of giving them Christian instruction. It was not until fifteen years later that this method of work was begun by the Rev. and Mrs. J. Forde, who enlisted the help of a Eurasian and a Bengali woman. These two women visited homes which were made open to them through the instrumentality of Forde. It was not until the next period that missionary societies in Bengal appreciated the value of zenana work as a missionary method, and took measures to include it in their operations.

5. ORPHANAGES.

In this period two missions, the L.M.S. and the F.C.S., opened orphanages; the object of these institutions was two-fold: to alleviate the suffering of orphan children by providing a place of refuge for them and educating them so that when they grew up they would find easily a means of livelihood; and to win the orphans for Christ. In the latter object, the orphanages had great success.

1. L.M.S. Report, 1861
2. 'Zenana' means the part of a dwelling appropriated to women in India.
5. Free Church Record, 1885
In reviewing the methods as a whole for the period 1800-1857 we find that education, through the instrumentality of Duff, occupied the most prominent place, and the results, if few in number, represented the cream of Bengali families in Calcutta; lectures to educated Bengalis on Christianity proved a popular method, but produced few inquiries; vernacular preaching continued in importance as a method in spite of comparatively meagre results except in the case of the Krishna mass movement, the genuineness of which we question; and that interest in the welfare of women and children led to the introduction of zenana work, and orphanages.

Policy of the Missionaries concerning their Converts during the Period 1800-1857

1. BAPTISM.

Missionaries on the whole continued the policy in this period, as in the first and second, of making sure that the motives of those desiring baptism were sincere.

"The missionaries, deeply convinced of the evil arising from baptizing individuals of whose conversion there is not the most satisfactory evidence, have delayed the administration of this ordinance to a number of candidates." 1

The rule that caste must be renounced before baptism was strictly observed. 2

The length of the probationary period preceding baptism varied.

1. L.I.E.S. Report, 1856
2. Home and Foreign Missionary Record, 1849
With respect to well-educated converts who had been instructed in Christian doctrine at Mission schools, the practice was to give instant baptism. Duff, for example, wrote:—

"When we thought of the case of the Ethiopian eunuch..... when we thought of this and other similar examples, we saw no reasons why we should refuse instant baptism." 1

Ogilvie of the C.S.M. pointed out that the tendency to make the probationary period short in the case of well-educated converts arose out of the severe persecution to which they were subjected as soon as their intentions became known. He himself did not favour a short period of probation. 2

But whether the period was long or short, an attempt was made to have converts, educated or illiterate, as well instructed in the principles of Christianity as possible, and the minimum requirements usually included the ability to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. 3

One problem which faced missionaries working among young Bengalis in educational institutions was the question as to the age at which minors could be considered to have attained such discretion as would justify their acceptance of a faith other than that of the parents.

"Duff in Bengal seems to have regarded at times the attainment of fourteen years a qualification for independent judgment." 4

The trouble which arose on occasions when young people in Bengal desired to be baptised in spite of the opposition of

1. Home and Foreign Missionary Record, 1842.
2. ibid., 1852.
their parents, led to the practice of private, or secret baptism.

In the mode of baptism, missionaries continued to follow the practice of their own denomination. When one of Duff's converts requested him to baptise his six months' old child, Duff willingly consented:

"This I cheerfully engaged to do......Certainly as the first case of infant baptism connected with our mission, it was a fitting and seasonable opportunity for unfolding the comprehensive, yet compendious significance of the divinely-instituted rite." 2

While the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society as a rule used the mode of sprinkling candidates for baptism, they also, at times, used the mode of immersion:

"Not because immersion was considered of more importance in itself than affusion, but simply to show that in the English Church baptism by immersion or affusion is equally valid." 3

With respect to questions asked of candidates at the time of baptism, we have here a typical instance:

"1. Do you believe in Jesus as the Son of God, and the Saviour of the World?
2. Are you resolved to renounce the worship of idols, with caste, and everything connected with it?
3. Are you prepared to continue in your present condition of life, and to procure your livelihood in an honest and industrious manner?" 4

In the first and second periods of this study, we noticed that the general policy of missionaries in Bengal was to refrain from giving new names to converts at the time of baptism. Duff fully

2. Ibid., p. 300.
4. Weitbrecht, Missions in Bengal, p. 286.
concurred in the wisdom of such a policy, and all of his converts retained their pre-baptismal names. The B.L.S., I.L.S., S.P.G., and C.M.S., all commenced the practice of giving Biblical names to many of their converts at baptism.

2. POLYGAMY

It will be remembered that the Serampore missionaries adopted the policy of permitting polygamous converts to join the Church without requiring them to put away their wives. The question arose again in this period at the monthly meeting of Bengal missionaries residing in or near Calcutta. The resolutions they adopted on the subject were:

"1. That polygamy is a great evil; and, although tolerated under the Levitical, is forbidden under the Christian, dispensation. Nevertheless,

2. That persons having contracted marriage with more than one wife, whilst in a state of heathenism, and in accordance with the laws and customs of their country, are not liberated from the duties imposed on such marriages by their becoming Christians, but are bound to live with and support them all.

3. That such persons are, however, disqualified from holding any office in the Church, either as Bishops or Deacons, agreeably to the directions of the Apostle Paul." 5

Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, upon receiving a copy of these resolutions, expressed his disapproval and stated that in his opinion a man who became a Christian must put away all but the first wife. 6

1. Missionary Herald, February, 1837
2. L.H.S. Report, 1839
3. S.P.G. Report, 1842
4. C.M.S. Report, 1839
5. Gojerly, Bengal Pioneers, p. 236
6. Lateman, Life of Wilson, p. 194
Missionaries of the S.P.G., who did not attend the monthly conference of Bengal missionaries had their own rule respecting polygamy, that a convert with more than one wife, must live with only one, the first married, and must put away the rest, maintaining them until they could marry someone else.¹

Later in the period the C.I.I.S. missionaries were informed by the Home Committee what policy they were to follow:

"There should be no difficulty on the part of the missionaries in plainly stating to the heathen or Mohammedans that the practice is contrary to the will of God. . . . A state of polygamy is unlawful in the Church of Christ even though commenced in ignorance. . . . therefore a polygamist cannot be lawfully admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ."²

There was, therefore, no unanimous opinion among missionaries in Bengal during this period on the question of receiving polygamists into the Church.

3. NAMING OF CONVERTS.

We have already shown how the practice of giving Biblical names to converts at baptism had been begun in Bengal; but now another practice arises in this period, namely, that of bestowing upon Bengali converts the names of people in England who provided specially for their support, or for their education. The L.I.I.S. Report for 1854 records:

"Mr. Lundy has been instructed to engage a native reader to be called Francis Carlile and the Directors hope soon to hear of his appointment."

Further names bestowed upon Bengali catechists in this fashion:

1. S.P.G. Report, 1856
2. C.I.I.S. Report, 1857
were: Ramsay Paterson, John Yockney, and W.E. Collyer.

Boys in Calcutta boarding schools supported by missionary-minded people in England were also included in the scheme. Pearce, of the E.M.S., writing about a boy whom somebody in England supports states:

"With respect to giving him the English name of G. H. Davis I am sorry to say that the wish of our friends is hardly practicable..... It would not be difficult occasionally to incorporate an English surname with the native name as for instance in the present case the lad might be called Jumon Davis or Davis Jumon." 3

4. AIDING OF CONVERTS.

In times of famine, converts usually received financial help from the missionaries. Later, converts in many places began to expect pecuniary assistance whenever they required it. The missionary at Krishnagar wrote in 1851:

"I have had the grief to see that a whole village of 117 Christians, after my refusing them pecuniary assistance, have left off going to Chapel with the exception of 8 persons." 5

Converts certainly expected their children to be educated at the cost of the Mission. The E.M.S. Boarding School clothed, boarded, and educated converts' children. The C.L.S. did the same for hundreds of children in Krishnagar until 1855, when the practice was stopped. 7

In connection with this financial aiding of converts, a Bengali Christian stated:

1. E.M.S. Report, 1839
2. Ibid., 1847
3. Ibid., 1856
4. Missionary Herald, January, 1845
5. C.L.S. Report, 1851
6. Ibid., 1855
7. E.M.S. Report, 1839
"The spirit of dependence was largely fostered by the earlier missionaries constantly helping their converts, especially in the agricultural districts, in the shape of money and other things." 1

5. SEPARATION OF CONVERTS.

The policy of separating converts from their so-called heathen neighbours was continued in this period. In the case of converts from agricultural communities, villages were established. The L.M.S. Christian village at Berhampore had 95 residents by the year 1846. 2 The C.M.S. helped converts to establish villages in Krishnagar, and financial aid was given towards the cost of building houses. 3 Other converts lived in houses on the Mission compound where they were under the strict discipline of the missionary who punished with expulsion from the compound all who misbehaved. 4

In the case of well-educated converts from the high castes of Hinduism, such as those in Duff's school, the arrangement was different, for as a rule, after their baptism, they resided in the missionary's own house. Duff wrote on January 16, 1841, that there were three converts under his roof; and again on August 18, 1842, he wrote:

"The five converts now under our roof are getting on beautifully."

When, however, the number of resident converts rose to 13, it became necessary to build a special house for them. 5

Duff felt he had good reasons for the practice of separating

1. General Missionary Conference, Allahabad, 1872, p. 284
2. L.M.S. Report, 1846
3. C.M.S. Report, 1848
4. ibid., 1840
converts, and of keeping them under his care:-

"There is scarcely an authentic instance in our experience, of one who has thus voluntarily gone back to heathen friends..... with no intention of re-embracing heathenism on his part, ever returning to the fold of Christ's little flock." 1

6. THE TRAINING OF CONVERTS.

The two institutions which in the second period were opened with high expectations for the training of preachers and teachers, Serampore College and Bishop's College, enter in this period upon difficult days. When in 1837 the Serampore Mission reunited with the B.M.S., the latter body refused to have anything to do with Serampore College, and it was only in 1854 that the Baptist Mission was once again connected with the College, for in that year it was adopted as the missionary and educational training school of the B.M.S. 2 Bishop's College, which received its first Hindu Christian student in 1852, gradually began to lose its missionary character. 3

Theological seminaries on a simple scale were opened by the B.M.S. at Entally 4 and by the C.I.S. in 1840 at Calcutta. 5

So far as the Church of Scotland is concerned, as early as 1837 it was determined that Bengali converts studying to be ordained missionaries to their own people under the Church of Scotland must take nearly the same course as students in the Scottish Divinity Halls. Duff believed that the evangelisation of India would be accomplished not by Europeans but by Indians;

1. Letter, Calcutta, September 22, 1858
2. Larsman, Carey, Marshman and Ward, vol. II. p. 557
5. C.I.S. Report, 1840
that while the first impulse came from abroad, the onward dynamic force must be of native growth. Duff felt, however, that the type of training given to Indians must be of such a high standard that they could carry on the work were Europeans suddenly removed. In 1851, therefore, the nine catechists of the F.C.S.I. who were studying for the ministry had as subjects, Systematic Theology, Greek, Hebrew, and Church History. Three of the students, after passing examinations, were licensed, and on September 9, 1855, were ordained to the ministry by the Presbytery of Calcutta.

The same high standard of training was likewise required of converts by the Church of Scotland Mission; the four years' course included Latin, Greek, Philosophy, Logic, and Theology. Ogilvie, who directed the training of converts, later came to be of the opinion that the course was not suitable for Bengali converts, as (1) the long course of study seemed to make them lazy; (2) the English training did not fit them for work among ordinary Bengalis; and (3) their association with European missionaries gave them high ideas and taught them expensive habits. This last-mentioned point proved a source of trouble, for when the trained converts were offered positions as teachers in the General Assembly's Institution, they demanded a higher scale of salary than non-Christian teachers.

During this period, therefore, excellent efforts were made to train Bengali converts for the ministry; but when such men were ordained, no churches were to be found which were willing to

1. Duff, India and India Missions, p. 231
2. ibid., p. 394
3. Hunter, History of Missions of the Free Church, p. 113
call them and give them a salary befitting their training.
Trained Bengali ministers and pastors thereupon became agents
of the various missions, and as such were paid by the missions.

7. ORGANISATION OF THE BENGALI CHURCH

Each mission, in this period, organised converts into churches
after the pattern of the denomination it represented. It is interesting to read the opinion of a well-known Bengali Christian
about denominationalism in this period:

"In his public ministrations, it was a frequent subject
of prayer with him that denominational differences might
entirely cease. He viewed them as one of the greatest
hindrances to the Gospel in Calcutta."1

The initiative in all matters concerning the Bengali Church
rested not with Bengali Christians but with the missionaries.
This fact was forcibly impressed on the Home Secretary of the
B.L.I.S. when he visited Bengal in 1855 and conferred with mission­
aries of all denominations. He expressed grave concern at the
pupillage of the Bengali Church.2

In 1845, an Association of Baptist Churches was formed, and
the missionaries declared:

"The first grand step has been taken for the complete
independence of the churches. By the yearly sending of
native delegates to the Association, the natives will
learn to act for themselves."3

Again, in 1855, two Calcutta Baptist Churches united to have
their own Bengali pastor and this was referred to as the first
independent Native Church in India.4

2. Lullens, Ten years Missionary Labour in India, p.18
4. Ibid., July, 1853.
One year later it was stated, however, that this experiment of the two churches had hardly proved a success.¹

Much of the trouble seems to have arisen from the fact that Bengali churches were generally dependent upon the Missions for financial aid. The cost of church buildings for Bengali Christians was in most cases borne by the Missions; and the pastors who ministered to the congregations were paid by the Missions. Thus there grew up a reliance upon extraneous resources.

In reviewing the situation, the Bengal Missionary Conference, 1855, stated:—

"It is a serious defect which shows us what we have not attained, and what we must yet strive for that we have not yet one Church really supporting its own pastor." ²

At the end of this period, then, there existed between the Bengali churches and the various Missions, a relation of dependence by the former upon the latter.

In reviewing the policy of missionaries concerning their converts during the period 1830-1857, we find that the regrettable feature was the introduction of elements tending to make the converts dependent upon the missionary. Converts who receive financial aid from the missionary, whose houses are erected with his pecuniary help, whose children are educated at his expense, whose churches are built by his generosity, and whose pastors and ministers are paid by him, naturally become dependent upon him. We note also the beginning of a tendency to denationalise converts by bestowing European names upon many of them.

¹. Letter from Ogilvie, Calcutta, August 18, 1854.
². Bengal Missionary Conference, 1855, Report.
At the commencement of this period, missionaries of all denominations working in Calcutta or the immediate neighbourhood, resolved to meet once a month for prayer and conference; this gathering of missionaries came to be known as the Calcutta Missionary Conference.1 Through this monthly Conference, the utmost harmony came to prevail among the Bengal missionaries.

Two Missions, however, refused to have anything to do with the Calcutta Conference, namely the S.P.G., and the Roman Catholics. This in itself was no crime, but it indicated a spirit of non-cooperation which was to manifest itself in other unpleasant ways. The L.M.S., B.M.S., and F.C.S.M. all reported in this period that missionaries of the S.P.G. had drawn away their converts. The situation is described for us by Macdonald of the Free Church Mission:—

"I have with sorrow to mention that even in this distant land some have risen up, proud of an assumed apostolicity, and exclusive in their own fellowship, denouncing as no ministers those ministers whom Christ has owned; and seeking to convert to themselves those who have already been converted to God." 2

The situation became even more difficult when the S.P.G. employed Bengali preachers who had been dismissed by another Mission for bad conduct.3

The Roman Catholic missionaries had even fewer qualms than the S.P.G. in interfering with the converts connected with other

2. Tweedie, Life of Macdonald, p. 357.
Missions. Lacroix, describing the arrival of its in the district south of Calcutta, says they have:

"One single end of injuring the Protestant Churches. They have nothing to say against idolatry, they never preach nor establish schools; they simply endeavour by money and promises of various kinds.... to detach converts from the present set of Churches." 1

In the inter-relationship of missionaries, one problem which caused much dispute was the fact that the Baptist missionaries, who were responsible for the accepted Bengali version of the Bible, rendered the word "baptizo" by a Bengali word signifying "to immerse". For twenty-five years, the B.F.B.S. had made no objections on this score, but when certain missionaries in Bengal objected to the way "baptizo" was translated, the Bible Society asked the Baptist translators to leave the term in the Greek rather than translate it. The Baptist missionaries refused. 2 They were next approached by missionaries of the L.M.S. who objected to a practice which they regarded as:

"An unwarrantable decision on the mode of baptism, in consequence of which every paedo-baptist missionary was held forth as acting in opposition to the Word of God when he administered the rite according to the mode which he conscientiously believed to be the true and Scriptural one" 3

Meanwhile, the B.F.B.S. had been considering the question in all its aspects, and in July, 1855, they announced their decision that the Society would give financial aid to versions where "baptizo" was left untranslated, or rendered in terms unobjectionable to other denominations. 4 This meant that the Baptist

1. Mullens, Memorials of Lacroix, p.249.
3. ibid., p.442
4. ibid., p.442
missionaries no longer received financial help from the Bible Society, as their version of the Bengali Bible continued to render "baptizo" as "to immerse".

On the whole, the relationship of missionaries in Bengal during the period was along lines both pleasant and helpful, and the monthly gathering of missionaries for prayer and consultation was a forerunner of the excellent Missionary Councils which exist today.

THE RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO THEIR HOME COMMITTEES IN THE PERIOD 1850-1857

In this period, the influence of Home Committees upon the work of their missionaries becomes, in most cases, increasingly strong.

Though the gifted Trio of Serampore, after their years of experience in Bengal, had come to the conclusion that concentration was a more valuable method of missionary work than diffusion, and had accordingly built a college for training Indians as missionaries, the B.M.S. in 1857, when taking over the Serampore Mission, refused to have anything to do with the College. Again, when the Secretary of the B.M.S. visited Bengal in 1855, he was responsible for changing the policy of B.M.S. missionaries who were concentrating on educational work, to the policy of concentrating on evangelistic preaching.

Another instance of the influence of the Home Committee is seen in the instructions of the L.M.S. directors, to the effect that missionaries were to bestow European names on such Bengali
Christians as were receiving financial help from special donors in England: it is doubtful whether missionaries of their own accord would ever have initiated such a policy.

The C.M.S. in the second period had wisely delegated authority for directing the work of the Mission in Bengal to a Corresponding Committee. In this period, however, the Committee was dissolved, and authority transferred to the home base.  

When Duff went to India, it was on the understanding that he was not to be under the control of any body of men in Calcutta, but that he was to be responsible to the Committee of the General Assembly alone. Writing later of the relationship which existed between him and the Committee, Duff stated:

"Of the Home Committee as a body, justice and gratitude alike demand of us to record, that never were men less disposed to exercise mere power, however constitutional. The bond between the Home Directors and the Foreign agents has never been that of mere official authority on the one hand, and mere official submission on the other. No, the bond all along has consisted in a fatherly interest and confidence at home, which have been amply reciprocated by a filial respect and confidence abroad."  

When Duff went home on his first furlough, however, he found that the Foreign Missions Committee of his Church regarded him as an agent entirely subject to their control. At the first Committee meeting which Duff attended, the Convener stated:

"He had thought it right to summon a meeting to settle and determine the case of Mr. Duff, who, in these days of agitation, turmoil, and revolutionary tendencies and irregularities of every description, had taken it upon him to hold... a very large meeting... with the view of

2. Duff, India and India Missions, p.490.
3. ibid., p.531.
addressing it on the subject of missions... Mr. Duff had given him no intimation of his intention to hold such a meeting...... He thought it therefore right to consult his colleagues to induce them to lay down rules to regulate Mr. Duff's proceedings on such matters in future." 1

Duff replied that if the Committee resolved to draw up peremptory instructions to regulate his actions in purely spiritual, ministerial, and missionary matters, he must write out his resignation immediately. He demanded full liberty of action within reasonable limits. When Duff finished speaking, all present left the room without saying a word, leaving Duff and the Convener.

No more was said about regulating Duff's conduct as an agent of the Committee!

With hardly an exception, it may be said of this period that the Home Committees of Missions working in Bengal, while giving their missionaries freedom of action in formulating policy, felt that the ultimate authority in all matters of policy should rest with the officials at home.

DUFF'S ATTITUDE TO NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

We have already noted in the first two periods that missionaries took the view that all non-Christian religions were false. We now consider the views of the greatest missionary of the period, Alexander Duff. Referring to the system of Hinduism, Duff wrote:-

"It is nothing else than a stupendous superstructure raised upon this one grand central principle as its

foundation-stone, namely, the principle of exclusive self-reliance, exclusive self-righteousness. Hence the countless rounds of daily and almost hourly rites, ceremonies and observances; the countless round of fastings, pilgrimages, and rehearsals of holy texts; the countless round of gifts, offerings and sacrifices; the countless round of ablutions, expiations, and atonements; the countless round of austerities, self-inflicted tortures, and religious suicides; the countless round of inquiries into the nature of things, meditations and absorbed contemplations; all, all circulate forever around the grand central, but false and detestable, principle that man, though fallen and sinful, may work out by his own unaided strength a title to the divine favour, a right to celestial rewards or to supreme beatitude." 1

But later, Duff writes even more forcefully:-

"All your own learning we consider as teeming with error; all your religion as false; all your gods as monsters of wickedness. We have come hither, therefore to 'overturn, overturn, overturn,' the whole. We have come to lead you to abandon all your foolish prejudices; all your blinding superstitions; all your damnable idolatries." 2

Duff's attitude concerning their religion was well known to the people among whom he worked, and they respected him for his convictions on the subject, and for the fact that he felt the Christian way of salvation to be the only one. They knew that though he regarded their religion as false, he loved them, and worked for their welfare; and when he finally departed from Calcutta, all classes and creeds paid testimony to his nobleness of character, and his splendid work for the people of Bengal.

THE INDIAN MUTINY.

This third period closes with the Indian Mutiny, the greatest crisis in the history of British India. For some years previous to 1857, dissatisfaction had been spreading among Hindus at the

1. Duff, India and India Missions, p. 273
2. Ibid., p. 586
manner in which British legislators had interfered with their
customs. Moslems, on the other hand, felt the time ripe for the
re-establishment of the vanished glories of the reign of Islam.
The immediate cause of the Mutiny, however, was the panic created
among the Sepoys by the introduction to India of new cartridges
said to be smeared with the grease both from the cow and the pig.
In even handling these cartridges Moslem Sepoys would become
unclean, and the Brahmin Sepoys would lose caste. The disaffection
which appeared was not considered by Government to be serious
and no one dreamed of a general uprising. On Sunday, May 10, 1857,
the Sepoys at Meerut rose in mutiny, and this was the signal for
others to follow. At various places in India, before the Mutiny
was finally suppressed, a total of fifteen hundred unarmed men,
women and children were murdered by the Sepoys.

Christian Missions were, in some quarters, held to be
responsible for the Mutiny by interfering with the religious
prejudices of the Indian people. It is clear, however, that the
uprising was in no way occasioned by the labours of missionaries.
The manifestos issued by the insurrectionary chiefs during the
revolt with the view of inflaming the people contained no
reference in their catalogue of grievances to the exertions of
missionaries. At the time of the Mutiny, Duff wrote:

"By the Natives generally, no special animosity has been
exhibited toward the missionaries and their doings. The
very contrary is the fact."

After the Mutiny, at a gathering of Hindu gentlemen, the

following statement was made by the chief speaker,—a Hindu:—

"However we may differ with the Christian missionaries in religion, I speak the minds of our society, and generally of those of the people when I say that as regards their learning, purity of morals, and disinterestedness of intention to promote our weal, no doubt is entertained throughout the land; nay, they are held by us in high esteem." 1

In England, after the Mutiny, a controversy raged on the question of the policy of religious neutrality to which the Government in India had always strictly adhered. Many Christian people were of the opinion that the Government in India ought to take a definite stand in favour of Christianity, and petitions to this effect were sent to Parliament.

The Church Missionary Society sent a Memorial to the Queen, in which, having pointed out that neutrality cannot be practically maintained by a Christian Government in the midst of Mohammedan and Hindu institutions, they beseeched Her Majesty to have it declared to the authorities in India:—

"1. That the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained; but that, as it is the belief of your Majesty and of this Christian nation that the adoption of the Christian religion...will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation.

2. That...the Bible will be introduced in all the Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude and the source of those Christian principles upon which your Majesty's Government is to be conducted.

3. That any connexion which may still subsist between the Indian Government and the revenues or ceremonies of the Mohammedan, Hindu, or other false religions, shall at once cease."

2. Ibid., p. 243.
The policy of neutrality, however, was felt by the Government to be the only one it could justly maintain; and in the Proclamation announcing the decision to transfer the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, and to the direct rule of the Crown, in November, 1858, the part dealing with the religious question was as follows:

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

CONCLUSION

The third period in the history of missions in Bengal centres around one great missionary, Alexander Duff, whose courage in the face of opposition both from friend and foe led him to formulate the policy of evangelising through education. From the very commencement of his missionary career, Duff recognised the supreme value of concentration as a missionary method, and in his school he sought to win for Christ, and for the Indian Church, gifted, high-caste Bengali youths whom he looked upon, rather than Europeans, as the logical evangelists and missionaries of Bengal. Whereas the Serampore missionaries had concentrated their efforts upon raising up and training Anglo-Indians, or Eurasians as missionaries, Duff concentrated his efforts upon Bengalis;
and his success in that direction will always remain the crowning achievement of this period.

The years 1830-1857 are outstanding, therefore, by reason of Duff's policy in education, and the raising-up and training of gifted Bengalis for the ministry; but they are equally notorious by reason of the general missionary policy which made Bengali converts and churches dependent upon missionary societies. The giving of financial aid to converts, the building of houses for them, the settling of them in Christian villages, the provision of food, clothing, and education for their children, the training of evangelists and ministers and the payment of their salaries, were responsibilities assumed by the missionaries in Bengal; and the result was a dependent community and Church.

Never did a policy which grew out of real kindness on the part of missionaries, and a desire to help the Bengali Church prove so harmful as this; and probably no one was so well aware of this as the Bengal missionaries themselves, who at the end of this period, unitedly lamented the fact that self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing Bengali churches were still a thing of the future.
Eighth Period
FOURTH PERIOD — THE PERIOD OF EXPANSION

1857 — 1905

(From the Indian Mutiny to the Partition of Bengal)

The Indian Mutiny made such an impression upon the mind and conscience of Christendom, that Christians everywhere considered that the cause of Missions in India should be strengthened. The result was, as Stock informs us:—

"The year 1858.... saw also revival, expansion, and extension in the Missions in British India." 1

The expansion of missionary work in Bengal was in three directions; (1) the Missions already established in Bengal were strengthened in every possible way; 2 (2) other Societies commenced work in Bengal: in 1862, the Presbyterian Church of England 3 and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; 4 in 1861, the Oxford Brotherhood of the Epiphany, 5 more commonly known as the Oxford Mission to Calcutta; in 1882 the South Australian Baptists; 6 and in 1885 the New Zealand Baptists; 7 (3) there were

2. This was particularly true of Roman Catholic Missions. For example, a priest came from Italy to be the Roman Catholic Bishop of lower Bengal, bringing with him 11 priests and 6 nuns. Missionary Herald, October, 1871.
4. ibid., p. 312. 5. ibid., p. 221. 7. ibid., p. 221.
5. see Longridge, History of the Oxford Mission
great developments in the work among the women and children of Bengal. Connected with every Mission in Bengal during this period were lady missionaries specially engaged in this work, and their efforts were usually directed by Women's Associations in Britain, rather than by the Home Committees of the Missions. There were in addition separate Missions for work among women and children as the Church of England Zenana Mission.

This was, therefore, the period of great expansion in Bengal missionary work.

INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF BENGAL MISSIONARIES DURING THE PERIOD 1857-1905

With the increasing numbers of missionaries of different denominations in Bengal, the question of comity became of increasing importance. The Calcutta Missionary Conference which, during the third period, had been of great help in solving difficulties of this nature arranged that missionaries were not to commence work in areas where missionaries of other Societies were established without prior consultation.

The Roman Catholic missionaries refused to recognise this arrangement, and every Protestant Mission in Bengal suffered from their depredations. The S.P.G. reported in 1875 that in some places one-half and even two-thirds of their congregations had gone over to the Catholics who were lavishing money freely.¹

Mr. Williams of the C.M.S. pointed out in 1885:-

¹ S.P.G. Report, 1875, p.10
"I can say without fear of contradiction that there is not a single congregation professing to be Romanist which was not originally belonging to our Mission." 1

The usual method of the Catholics was to employ at a good salary some Bengali catechist or evangelist who had been dismissed by one of the Protestant missions for bad conduct, and use him to make Catholics of all the Protestant Christians among whom he had formerly laboured.

It may be asked why Roman Catholic missionaries were able to win over Bengali Protestants in great numbers to their Church. The fact is that such converts as they made were all from the lowest castes, who were usually ignorant and illiterate, and in many cases dependent upon the missionary for financial aid. Christians such as these were willing to link up with the mission which showed itself to be the most liberal; and as the Catholics appeared to have much money to spend, they had no difficulty in securing converts. It will be noted that the efforts of Catholic missionaries were directed, not to converting Hindus and Mohammedans, but to winning Christian Bengalis.

In this period, then, missionaries of Protestant denominations, while holding firmly to their own denominational practices, respected the rights of each other, and generally worked in harmony; but the Catholics, by their policy of seeking to convert Protestant Bengali Christians into Catholics wrought havoc in the life of the Church in many parts of Bengal.

1. Church Missionary Intelligencer, December, 1885
MISSIONARIES AND THEIR HOME COMMITTEES IN THE PERIOD 1857-1905

We noted in former periods a growing adherence to the policy that the ultimate authority for the direction of missionary work should rest with those who raised the money, namely, the Home Committee, rather than with the missionaries in Bengal. In this period we find that the Home Committees of the various Societies seem willing to depend to a much greater extent upon the advice of local missionaries as to how the work should be organised; and to this end nearly every Society and Mission suggested to its own missionaries in Bengal the formation of 'Conferences' or 'Councils' to advise the Home Committees.¹

One of the new Missions in Bengal during this period, the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, adopted a policy which is worthy of note. When the Home Committee of this Mission was first formed at Oxford it resolved:

"To keep the Mission before the public, regulate finances, and advise, but not to exercise definite control over the activities of the Mission in India."

The writer of the booklet, India and Oxford, in referring to this resolution states:

"It was a noble, self-denying ordinance on the part of the Committee. Hitherto it had been too often assumed that the Society at home which found the money should also, in greater or less degree, exercise the control. . . . . In this respect the Oxford Mission made a new departure, and certain it is that the Mission from the first felt the immense advantage of being able to act on its own initiative, subject, of course to the advice and authority of the Bishop." ²

¹Free Church Assembly, Foreign Missions Reports, 1859, 1861, and Missionary Herald, May, 1872
²Oxford and India, p. 9
Prior to this period, all Missionary Societies had held to the principle that control originates in contribution. It was the belief in this principle which made the Serampore Trio refuse to give up the right of controlling the Serampore Mission, since they themselves raised the money for it. But now the Oxford Mission, knowing that the subjection of missionaries in Bengal to an authority in England was a cause of frequent delay, obstruction, and misunderstanding, appreciating the fact that missionaries actually engaged in the work were much more likely to be acquainted with the problems than any Home Committee, and believing that the missionaries they appointed were worthy of complete trust, adopted a policy by which they resigned complete control of the work to the missionaries, and at the same time promised them financial aid to the utmost of their powers.

One can only regard with respect the originators of such a generous policy, and regret that their noble example was not widely copied by others.

MISSIONARY METHODS IN THE PERIOD 1857-1905

I. HIGHER EDUCATION.

The method of using higher education as a means of evangelism, so successfully introduced by Duff in the third period, and acknowledged by all missionaries at the close of that period to be a necessary method in missionary work, was subjected in this present period to a certain amount of criticism on the part both of Christians in Scotland and England, and missionaries in India.
In Duff's own Church, there arose:

"The questioning of a new generation of ministers... as to the nature and wisdom of the missionary method which... he himself established in 1850." 1

Some of the criticisms arose because of the lack of results in conversions; Ewart admitted in 1859 that there were few conversions in his day from the highest classes in the Institution: 2 other criticisms were made on the ground that there were too many non-Christian teachers in the Institution; in 1863, for example, the Institution's thirty-third year, there were forty-three non-Christian and eighteen Christian teachers. 3 In defence of the Free Church Institution, it may be pointed out that the Educational Despatch of 1854, which brought about the affiliation of missionary institutions with Calcutta University, had created problems which few had foreseen:

"The problem set before our missionaries employed in the Institution... is how to give such a secular education to their pupils as shall enable them to compete on favourable terms with their rivals, and at the same time so to pervade that education with the spirit of the Gospel, and so to superadd to it a large amount of religious instruction, and so to bring upon the hearts of the students a large influence of evangelistic earnestness as that many of them may by God's grace be savingly converted." 4

It was in 1891 that the Free Church General Assembly passed a very significant resolution to the effect that the amount of money spent on educational work in Bengal was to be limited:

"As the evangelistic side of the work had not been developed pari passu with the other." 5

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2. Free Church Record, 1859.
4. ibid., 1869.
5. ibid., 1891.
The Assembly here distinguishes between education and evangelism; but had they forgotten that it was their greatest missionary, Duff, who held that Christian education was the best method of evangelism? Or were they admitting that under the scheme of affiliation with Calcutta University, their Institution was no longer able to impart the evangelistic Christian education which Duff introduced?

The Church of Scotland Institution was facing difficulties similar to those of the Free Church. In the matter of religious instruction in the Institution, Macfarlane wrote in 1884:

"It is difficult to secure attendance at the Bible class... the students regard time as lost which is not given to subjects on which they are to be prepared for University examinations." ¹

It was in the same year, 1884, that the Church of Scotland sent a Deputation to Calcutta to investigate educational missions: the report of the Deputation was favourable. Again, in 1889, a Committee was appointed to report on the same subject. This Committee asked the opinion of one hundred representative persons, and of the eighty-four who replied, sixty-four were in favour of educational missions. ²

It is interesting, in this connection, to read what his biographer has written about Dr. Hastie, at one time Principal of the Church of Scotland's Calcutta Institution:

"It has been proved that the only hope of converting the

¹. Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Report, 1884.
². Weir, Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland, p. 61.
Hindu to Christianity is first through education; enlightenment must first precede the apprehension of the truth of the Gospel. Hastie himself had no doubts about the matter so that he was able to carry out the intention of the Church in regard to the work in Calcutta through the Institution without restriction and without reserve. Dr. Hastie, however, afterwards modified his views on this subject." 1

The C.M.S. had a fluctuating policy respecting higher education. In 1865 it opened the Cathedral Mission College 2 to prepare students for the University examinations, and 150 students enrolled. In 1871 the Principal reported:

"We are very much hampered by the University regulations; the University curriculum is long and arduous; in a Mission College it is an incubus resting upon professors and students alike." 3

After eight years of operation, the College was unable to report the baptism of a single student; 4 and in 1880 the Committee resolved no longer to continue the College in its character of training students for University examinations, but to make it an Institution for training pastors. 5 We find, however, that in 1902 a college department has been started in connection with the Divinity school, and by 1904 it is once again preparing students for the University examinations.

Bishop's College, originally founded to train missionaries, had always experienced difficulty because of a lack of Bengali Christian students. Bishop Cotton pointed out in 1860 that this difficulty was created because the College was attached to one

1. Macmillan, Life of Professor Hastie.
4. ibid., 1873.
5. ibid., 1880.
Society, the S.P.G.; he suggested that the College be handed over by the S.P.G. to a board of trustees, and left to work out its destinies in India without interference from England.¹ The fact is that the College had become secular in character, and was preparing students for the University examinations. Several of the S.P.G. missionaries were not in favour of using Bishop's College as an institution of higher education: one of them wrote:

"There was a time when I had great hopes that education would, under God's providence, be a real efficient means of the conversion of the country to Christianity; but year by year as I have watched the progress of education the scales have fallen off my eyes and I look upon such hopes now as a mere illusion, and upon the scheme of drawing the Natives of this country to Christianity by means of education as a pleasant utopia."²

In 1871 the S.P.G. Committee decided to restore the missionary character of the College; but the spacious College buildings, expensive in upkeep, became too much of a financial burden, and it was resolved in 1878 to sell them to Government and move the College to Calcutta.³ In 1890 the Oxford Mission took over its management;⁴ and in 1894 it was proposed to make the College teach up to the B.A. standard of the University.⁵

The Baptist Missionary for some years in this period used Serampore College as a preparatory institution for University examinations; but in 1883 it was decided to relinquish it as such, and to make it instead an institution for training Bengali Christian pastors and evangelists.⁶

¹ Mrs. Cotton, Memoirs of Dr. Cotton, p. 436.
³ O.M. Report, 1891.
⁴ S.P.G. Report, 1869.
⁵ ibid., 1894.
⁶ B.M.S. Report, 1883.
The London Missionary Society Institution for higher education had a steady career, and from time to time teachers in the College were able to report the baptism of students.\(^1\)

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1900 opened a College at Bankura.\(^2\)

There seems little doubt that Missionary higher education did not achieve the success in this period as in the preceding one.

"The brilliant beginning made by Dr. Duff had not been followed up, and at this time (1877) the strongest religious influence in the city (Calcutta) was that not of a Christian but of a Brahmo - the wonderfully attractive and eloquent Keshub Chunder Sen." \(^3\)

It should be kept in mind that the success of Christian higher education in Bengal at this time was being judged by the number of conversions it produced, and this was not, in the opinion of many, a fair test. Stock, the C.I.I.S. historian, for instance, writes:

"It would be unfair to judge the Schools and Colleges by the number of direct conversions among the students. No man applies such a test to a public-school or college at home; it is enough for even the most particular parent if the institution to which he sends his son is conducted on sound religious principles; yet is a clerical head-master of a great English School less responsible before God for his boys than a missionary who is Principal of a School in India? Even if there be no direct conversions, the School, if rightly conducted, is an evangelistic agency; that is, it makes known the Gospel and invites the scholars to embrace it; and bajzaar preaching can do no more, and in fact does less." \(^4\)

\(^{1}\) L.L.I.S. Report, 1880.
\(^{2}\) L.L.I.S. Report, 1905.
\(^{3}\) India and Oxford, p.8.
Nevertheless, one cannot escape the fact that several Societies came to the conclusion that their efforts in college education were not accomplishing the results which they expected from institutions of a missionary character, and decided to close their colleges, nor the fact that in other missions which resolved to continue their efforts in college education, there were constant questions as to the missionary value of the work being done.

The conclusion is inescapable that the Education Despatch of 1854 brought about changes which had a detrimental effect upon missionary institutions. The affiliation of colleges to Calcutta University meant that their chief work was now to be the training of students to pass University examinations. For their part, the students had an all-absorbing desire to succeed in such examinations, as it was on this success that they based their hopes of a good position in life. Few of them were therefore interested in Scripture Instruction, as it helped little in the attainment of their primary object, the passing of examinations.

"Calcutta University... has greatly affected the religious character of the missionary colleges. As missionaries prepare their students for the degrees of the University, they adopt the curriculum of studies prescribed by that learned body; they have therefore at present, less time for the Christian and theological training of their pupils than ever before; while the students themselves naturally pay little or no attention to those studies which do not pay in University examinations."

Moreover, missionary institutions were now brought into competition with each other and with secular colleges. The standard of

success was not the religious influence of the school, or the number of conversions among students, but the percentage of those entering for University examinations who passed.

Furthermore, some of the books selected for University examinations, and therefore read in Mission colleges were often such as would otherwise have been excluded as unsuitable. It will be remembered that Duff emphasised the supreme importance of using text-books of the right type.

We conclude, therefore, that the affiliation of Missionary colleges to Calcutta University proved during this period a definite hindrance to the missionary character of the institutions.

But the problem of Christian colleges was to become even more acute with respect to their relation to the University. In 1902 the Viceroy of India appointed a Commission to investigate and report on the subject of education in India. The recommendations of this Commission were embodied in the Education Act of 1904, by which Government control of the Universities was tightened, and the Universities, hitherto only examining bodies with no control over affiliated colleges, were now given direct control, with power to inspect colleges, and raise their standard of efficiency.

2. HOSTELS

One of the problems which faced missionaries in this period was that of the students who in great numbers attended non-Christian colleges where they did not receive any instruction whatsoever of a religious nature. The first systematic attempt to win such students was made by the Oxford Mission which in 1894 built for
them a hostel.\(^1\) One of the missionaries acted as hostel-master. The venture met with an enthusiastic response from students. The Oxford Mission later admitted that it was an extremely rare thing for any student who resided in the hostel to become a Christian, but claimed that the influence made on the lives of students was incalculable.\(^2\)

Other Missions in this period maintained hostels for Christian students.

3. BOARDING SCHOOLS

Different opinions were held by missionaries in this period respecting the value of boarding schools. In 1862 Mr. Long of the C.M.S. stated:

"They foster a spirit of dependence and tend to produce a class of boys degenerate and denationalized."\(^3\)

In 1863 his Mission closed several of the boarding schools in Krishnagar.\(^4\)

Later in the period, however, when a new generation of missionaries had arisen, boarding schools once again became popular, and were maintained by the C.M.S., L.M.S., W.M.K.S., and O.M. In some boarding schools, Christian and non-Christian children were admitted; while in others only Christian children were accepted. The C.M.S. for a time followed the former practice, but after a few years reverted to the latter on the ground that:

"The mixture of heathen boys had had a seriously detrimental

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1. O.M. Report, 1894.
2. ibid., 1904.
4. ibid., 1863
effect on the discipline of the school, and detracted from the full Christian character of the education imparted."  

The two dangers of boarding schools were the creation of a spirit of dependence upon the Mission, and the development of an estrangement between those attending and their own people in the villages of Bengal. Little thought seems to have been given at this time to these dangers.

4. PRIMARY EDUCATION

During this period, all the Missions in Bengal were actively engaged in primary education. Not all the schools with which missionaries had to do, however, were Mission schools. The Methodists adopted a policy of giving grants-in-aid to non-Christian primary schools which permitted a Christian teacher to come once a week and give the children Bible instruction. 2 The L.M.S. had a somewhat similar policy; they gave grants to non-Christian schools where the Bible was regularly read, and where the Scriptural knowledge of the children could from time to time be tested. Results were, on the whole, claimed as satisfactory.3

The Societies themselves continued to maintain Mission primary schools, in all of which, to thousands of children Scriptural instruction was given in addition to the ordinary subjects. The Methodists were, in this connection, thorough:

"Special attention being given to instruction in Bible.

1. Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1889.
2. L.M.S. Report, 1885.
3. ibid., 1899.
history, the Wesleyan catechism, and the fundamental truths of Christianity." ¹

In this period, more than in any other period we have examined, primary education proved to be a valuable evangelistic agency.

The B.M.S. reported:—

"These elementary scriptural schools are without doubt directly missionary agencies, and already have brought forth fruit in many districts." ²

The Methodist missionaries stated:—

"We do not look upon our schools as traps into which boys and girls may be lured in order that they may be preached to....on the contrary we believe in Christian education itself as an evangelizing agency." ³

The C.M.S. missionaries testified:—

"Our schools in Nadiya are real evangelistic agencies." ⁴

The explanation why primary schools had in such measure become missionary agencies is undoubtedly the fact that in this period Bengali Christian teachers were more numerous than at any other time since the commencement of Missions in Bengal. In one Mission for example, during several years, all the primary teachers were Christians.⁵

Another factor to be kept in mind is that missionaries had greater financial resources in this period for developing primary education, as they received grants-in-aid from Government. If, in higher education, grants-in-aid, by involving affiliation to the University, proved a hindrance through changing the character of

¹ W.M.I. S. Report, 1886.
² ibid., 1894.
³ B.M.S. Report, 1884.
⁴ C.M.S. Report, 1899.
⁵ P.C.E. Report, 1866.
Missionary colleges, in primary education, where no affiliation was required, they proved a blessing.

5. ADULT EDUCATION

Brief mention should be made of the attempts to meet the problem of adult illiteracy in Bengal. The L.M.S.¹ and B.M.S.² had, in the third period, night schools for adults. In this period the F.C.S.M. organised evening classes at Mahanad, and by 1879 were able to report:-

"There are eight night adult schools for young men employed in the fields during the day. In these, 295 boys and men, some as old as thirty or forty have received instruction during the year."³

6. ITINERANT PREACHING

We find in this period, as in former ones, that European missionaries took the initiative in itinerant preaching; and in bazaars, at street corners, and in villages throughout the length and breadth of Bengal, they preached the Gospel. Missionaries were usually accompanied by Bengali evangelists or catechists employed by them. Sometimes they preached under police protection as when a Methodist missionary, who finding himself faced by a hostile mob, sent for the police and continued his exhortation while the constables stood near to preserve order;⁴ at other times they preached in defiance of police orders, as when in 1861, after the Calcutta police ruled that no one was to preach in the streets without a license, missionaries ignored the order. They

¹. L.M.S. Report, 1838.
². Missionary Herald, August, 1837.
³. Free Record, March, 1879.
⁴. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, 1880.
later won their case in court.¹

The message of the missionaries continued to be uncompromising in its content:

"I converse upon the fundamental doctrines of salvation by Jesus Christ, the importance of His holy and all-sufficient atonement and its efficacy, the necessity of repentance and sincere faith in Him, the accountable and moral nature of man, the awful guilt of sin and human depravity."²

"Our message....redemption through the precious blood of Christ which alone can cleanse and deliver from the power of sin."³

To what extent did the hearers apprehend Gospel addresses of this nature? Interestingly enough, many of the missionaries in this period came to the conclusion that bazaar preaching would, somehow or other, have to be systematised, as many hearings were necessary before people understood the message.

In addition to preaching by European missionaries, Bengali evangelists were employed by the Societies to preach the Gospel. It was they who introduced to Christian work the method known as "obhinoy", which is musical recitation; and crowds of Bengalis listened with intense interest to the Gospel message being made known by this method.

The characteristic tendency of this period was to make evangelism the responsibility of the Missionary Societies; it was missionaries who preached the Gospel far and wide; and it was Bengali evangelists paid by them who assisted. We are therefore not surprised to read the statement of a missionary to the effect

¹. Free Church Record, 1881.
³. C.M.S. Report, 1875.
that he was:

"Struck painfully with the tendency among our native Christians... to rest contented with their own Christian privileges, without an effort to act on the surrounding Hindus and Mohammedans." 1

It was the natural result of a policy by which missionaries assumed a responsibility rightly belonging to the Bengali Church; a policy which, strangely enough, in its neglect of the Church by reason of eagerness to spread the message of the Gospel, defeated its own purpose, as the low state of the spiritual life of the Bengali Church in many places proved a stumbling block in the way of evangelistic work. 2

7. ENGLISH WORK AMONG EDUCATED BENGALIS

This work took two forms: as in the third period, there were lectures on Christianity mainly arranged for the Bengali students who attended the twenty non-Christian colleges in Calcutta; 3 and there was the visitation of students in their lodgings by missionaries seeking to do personal evangelism. 4

8. MEDICAL MISSIONS

Since the first period, 1793-1813, there had not been any medical missionary work in Bengal; but in this period several missions, the F.C.S.M., 5 P.C.E., 6 W.M.I.S., 7 and L.M.S. 8 appointed medical missionaries.

3. Towards the end of this period, however, lectures on distinctly Christian subjects failed to attract audiences. O.L. Rep. 1896.
In the hospitals and dispensaries attached to these missions, thousands of patients received skilled medical attention; and they also heard the preaching of the Gospel, as missionary doctors believed their medical work to be a means to an end,—the conversion of sinners.

One branch of medical work, namely that dealing with lepers, produced remarkable results in the way of conversions. At Purulia, for example, during the years 1888 to 1895, 639 lepers were received into the Leper Settlement, and of these 478 became Christians. At this same Settlement, in 1899, 149 lepers were baptised in one day. Leper asylums maintained at Raniganj, Bankura, and Asansol were also successful in winning converts.

Bengal's first medical missionary, John Thomas, demonstrated that an interest in the physical diseases of men, accompanied by a like interest in their spiritual state was a powerful and fruitful missionary method. When medical missions were re-commenced in this period, they proved equally effective. It seems regrettable, then, that for over fifty years, from John Thomas until Dr. Robson of the Free Church of Scotland, Bengal Missions completely neglected this potent method.

1. Richter, History of Missions in India, p. 364.
After the Mutiny, missionary work among women and girls developed enormously. This work was the responsibility of lady missionaries who were able to gain access to the zenana quarters of homes in Bengal, and make known the story of the Gospel to women who had no other possible means of hearing it. Women missionaries accompanied by Bengali Christian women were usually welcomed by zenana women. In zenana visitations, the Bible was regularly taught; but in some places reading, writing, and needle-work were also taught. Zenana work had this virtue, it could be done regularly and systematically; and zenana women who had been visited by lady missionaries usually had a much clearer understanding of the Christian message than their husbands who heard occasional references to it by preachers in the streets and bazaars.

In addition to zenana visitation, the women missionaries also organised schools for girls, normal schools for training Bengali Christian female teachers, classes for training Bengali women evangelists, known as Bible women, and industrial schools where widows were taught how to earn a livelihood.

It must be said to the credit of women missionaries in this period, that the school and normal work which they organised was of a higher order, and carried on more efficiently than any corresponding work carried on by men missionaries. This is

2. L.M.S. Report, 1871.
4. ibid., 1885.
5. ibid., 1884.
probably due to the fact that all women's work received the closest personal supervision and direction by the lady missionaries themselves; but the work which the men had to supervise was so extensive that it was impossible to give each phase of it the close attention which it required.

10. LITERATURE

In every period, tracts explaining the Gospel message were liberally distributed far and wide. In 1885 the Oxford Mission felt that this could be amplified by means of a weekly paper devoted entirely to Christian instruction, but with the further feature that it would answer in its columns questions sent in by inquirers. This was the origin of the Epiphany, a weekly paper in English which has continued to the present day, and which, through many years, has answered thousands of questions about Christianity.

GENERAL CONCLUSION ON METHODS IN THE PERIOD 1857-1905

With the expansion of missionary work following the design, missionary methods became more varied: this was excellent, as it signified the recognition by missionaries that one method of work which proved effective in dealing with certain classes of people did not necessarily prove equally effective with every class.

The whole tendency was, however, for all work which sought to win Bengalis for Christ, whatever the method, to be done by European missionaries or Bengali agents employed and paid by

1. O.M. Report, 1887.
them; and however much we may, and must, respect the enthusiasm of those who, in their desire to spread the Christian message in the shortest possible time, were responsible for this tendency, we cannot condone a policy which made foreign missions appear of more importance than the Bengali Church, and more able to do the work which rightly belonged to that Church.

POLICY OF BENGAL MISSIONARIES RESPECTING NON-CHRISTIANS AND NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS IN THE PERIOD 1857-1905

We do not find manifested in this period the same condemnatory attitude to non-Christian religions which we observed in former periods. The change in attitude is well-described by J.P. Jones, at one time a missionary in India:

"A Christian missionary has indeed changed his views, for instance, concerning the origin and character of Hinduism. Through modern enlightenment and the study of comparative religions no man can go out as a missionary, even as I was expected to go less than a quarter of a century ago (1875) with a general belief that that great religion is entirely of the devil and is in itself evil, and only evil continually. The missionary of today... must know that ethnic and non-Christian religions... are the expression of the deepest religious instincts of the human soul. And they have, especially such a faith as Hinduism, not a few elements of truth which a missionary should know no less than he should understand the great evils which enter as a part of them." 1

Concerning the relationship of missionaries to non-Christian religions, another writer feels that:

"A sympathetic understanding of their point of view should help him to bring out what in Christian truth they specially stand in need of." 2

1. Jones, India's Problem, Krishna or Christ, p.316.
2. Creighton, Missions, p.91.
The change in attitude aroused suspicion in many quarters at home; and in one mission, new missionaries were warned to avoid compromise with non-Christian religions:

"Be fair, be charitable, be Christ-like, but there be no mistake. Let it be made absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palates of either Hindu, Parsee, Confucianist, Buddhist or Mohammedan, and that whoever wishes to pass from the false religion to the true, can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise." 1

On the other hand, the growing influence of Christianity on Hindu religious life and thought became a matter of serious concern to orthodox Hindus in this period; and in an effort to resist the further encroachments of Christianity, there was founded in 1875 the Arya Samaj, a Society whose watchword was, "Back to the Hinduism of the Vedas". 2

During this period, many missionaries were engaged in social service on behalf of the people of Bengal. At the time of the great famine which occurred at the end of the 19th century, Bengal missionaries did notable work in raising and distributing funds to provide food for the thousands of people who were starving. 3

Several of the missions also maintained orphanages for Hindu and Mohammedan children to whom they gave a Christian education. Some missionaries were also active in bringing to public notice cases of oppression of Bengalis. One notable instance of this

2. Freytag, Spiritual Revolution in the East, p. 159.
was the protest made in 1861 by the Krishnagar missionaries against the oppression of Bengalis by European indigo planters. A Bengali play which showed these planters in an unfavourable light was translated into English by a missionary who was prosecuted as a political agitator, and for a time imprisoned. A Government Commission on indigo planting later exonerated the missionaries of being political agitators.¹

The relationship of missionaries with non-Christian Bengalis was of the highest order during the whole of this period until 1905, when the partition of Bengal brought about a political situation wherein the friendly relationship, through no fault of the missionaries, unfortunately deteriorated.

MISSIONARIES AND THEIR CONVERTS DURING THE PERIOD 1857–1905

1. BAPTISM OF CONVERTS

The practice of keeping converts on probation for periods ranging from one month to six months before baptism was followed in this period. This was to make sure that the motives of those desiring to become Christians were pure, and that candidates for baptism were as well-instructed in Christian doctrine as possible. In a number of instances, however, Methodist missionaries performed baptism without any probationary period, as for example, when at an open-air meeting a Bengali confessed Christ, the missionaries:

"Had him to a tank just by, and baptized him there and then before the multitude."²

¹ C.I.M.S. Report, 1861.
² Wesleyan Missionary Notices, 1879.
As each Mission followed denominational practice in the mode of baptism, controversies, often started by over-zealous Bengali catechists belonging to one Mission who would inform converts of other Missions that they had not been properly baptised, especially if they had been sprinkled, arose from time to time. \(^1\)

In view of such controversies, C.M.S. missionaries began administering the rite of baptism by immersion:

"As it meets the objection of Baptists, who are apt to tell the Church of England converts that a sprinkling with water is no regular baptism." \(^2\)

Infants continued to be baptised by sprinkling in the Church.

As regards the naming of converts at baptism, there seems, on the whole, to have been less tendency in this period to give Bengali converts European or Biblical names. The matter had been under discussion for some time; and the Home Committees of some Missions reached formal decisions as to what the policy of their missionaries should be. The C.M.S. Committee, for example, in 1883 decided that:

"The missionaries of this Society in all lands be instructed not to encourage the adoption by Native converts of any new names in place of the names by which they have been previously known. It is important that their identity as well as their nationality should be preserved." \(^3\)

Work among zenana women, which, as we have already noted, was carried on enthusiastically by women missionaries after the Mutiny, began to bear fruit in the way of conversions; and the question arose as to what the policy of missionaries should be.

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1. Mullens, Memorials of Lacroix, p. 65.
3. Church Missionary Intelligencer, February, 1883.
respecting the baptism of zenana women. The decision reached by missionaries in 1902 was:-

"While fully recognising the difficulties attending the baptism of married women whose husbands are still unbelievers, we feel that we must put plainly before them the Saviour's command, and leave them to act according to the dictates of conscience, even if it involves forsaking all for Christ's sake. We do not advise secret baptisms in zemanas."

We note a tendency on the part of missionaries in this period to leave the question of baptism, if the convert was well-educated, to his own conscience, in view of the fact that baptism usually involved separation from his family. An example of this situation is furnished us by the Rev. A. Tomory of the F.C.S.I. who, in 1894, wrote:-

"A young man, whom I believe to be a Christian, told me that in his family he was allowed to pray, to read the Bible as he liked, and no one interfered with him; everything and anything would be allowed except baptism. How I do not minimise baptism; I think the open break with the family is at present a painful but a necessary step. But I cannot ignore the fact that to an emotional man (and every Bengali is more or less emotional) the strain that is put on his faith by his reverence for his family and his parents......is usually stronger than the whisper of conscience bidding him follow conviction out into liberty." 2

It was cases such as this which led a missionary to advocate, in a paper read before the Calcutta Missionary Conference, such leniency in the matter of baptism as would permit the existence of secret disciples. In the discussion which followed this paper:–

"It was noticeable that it was the older missionaries, those who had been longest upon the field, who sympathized most with the sentiments expressed in the paper inclining to leniency in the matter of baptism, and believing it

2. Free Church Monthly, January, 1894.
best to leave a man more to the leading of his own convictions, rather than urging too strongly upon him the duty of 'coming out.' 1

There is thus manifested a desire on the part of missionaries to consider more sympathetically what baptism involved in the way of sacrifice for Bengalis who wished openly to acknowledge their allegiance to Christ.

2. THE AIDING OF CONVERTS

The problem faced missionaries in this period, as in other ones, as to what extent they were responsible for helping converts financially, or for finding them employment. Till now, in the case of converts who, having been baptised, were cast out by their families, the policy had been to assume responsibility for helping them. An endeavour was made during this period, however, to arrange for converts to return to their own homes after baptism if at all possible. Mr. Fyfe of the F.C.S.M. said in 1875:

"It is generally held that we did wrong in former days in allowing or encouraging converts to separate from their own families." 2

Often, however, even when the convert signified his willingness, the members of his family refused to have him. 3 The C.M.S. took a definite stand in the matter, and when a convert was baptised in 1882, it was stated:

"With him a policy commenced which will be strictly adhered to, namely encouraging converts to remain in their own homes among their own people." 4

1. Free Church Monthly, September, 1895.
2. Free Church Record, June, 1875.
3. ibid., April, 1897.
Converts from the lower castes of Hinduism and Mohammedan converts generally looked to the missionaries for help. The converts held that since their caste had been destroyed, the missionaries were bound to do everything for them. The missionaries helped some converts by purchasing land, and settling them on it, the missionaries acting as landlords. Some missions opened industrial schools where converts were trained as tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and cane-workers. While such measures temporarily alleviated the condition of many, they brought in their train results which, it is to be feared, were nothing less than a condemnation of the whole system of aiding converts. The S.P.G., for instance, reported:

"In 1870 the Rev. B.C. Chowdhury, a native in charge of the mission, described his professed converts as moralized and as claiming from the Church: work, free schools, gratuities of clothing and money, pensions for their widows, and feasts at the great church seasons. In his opinion too much has been done for them in this respect in the past through mistaken kindness."

Another S.P.G. missionary stated that the converts at Howrah refused to attend Church because pecuniary provision had been withdrawn. The C.L.S. at this time pointed out that many Bengalis, to gain financial help, posed as inquirers, and toured the various missions.

In 1900, a B.M.S. missionary expressed himself thus:—

"I have learned by years of experience that to afford persons even temporarily, food shelter and clothes..... even in the case of genuine believers is more or less to weaken and demoralise them." ¹

We close this subject with excerpts from a report made by a deputy of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in England after he had visited his Church’s Mission in Bengal:—

"It is disappointing to find that of the thirty-seven adult native members on the roll (Church), all except four or five are in some way financially dependent on the Mission. ..... One cannot help asking whether the whole policy of assuming financial obligation for the converts is not radically wrong.... to my mind it is..... We cannot hope for a very robust type of Christian to be reared under such conditions..... I think it were wiser not to press for profession of faith at all until it be made tolerably clear that such profession does not imply financial support from the Mission." ²

3. THE TRAINING OF CONVERTS

As the number of converts increased, missionaries became increasingly aware of the need for trained Bengali pastors and ministers.

"The immediate future of all missionary work in this country depends upon the supply of competent and faithful agents." ³

Missionaries were beginning to realise, regretfully in some cases, that trained Bengalis were able to minister to Bengali congregations much more effectively than they. At Krishnagar, the C.M.S. missionaries had such a conclusion forced upon them:

1. B.M.S. Report, 1900.
2. B.C.E. Report, 1900.
"The Committee fully concurs in the conclusion to which the missionaries are brought, that there needs a change of system in the Krishnagar mission, by a fuller organisation and employment of native agency. Upon the first awakening in Krishnagar, the district was arranged in divisions upon the principle of parishes in England; an European missionary with his house, his church and his schools was placed in each division. The main hope of deepening and extending the work consisted in the direct influence and ministrations of the European missionary upon the native converts. This hope has, after 29 years, proved a failure." 1

In 1868, therefore, Mr. Welland of the C.M.S. began a small class for the training of a Bengali clergy. 2 Ten years later, the C.M.S. sent Mr. Blackett from England with the special object of training Bengali pastors and evangelists. Under his direction the Cathedral Mission Divinity School was opened in 1879 to give a denominational theological training to Bengali Christians. 3 By 1885 this College had sent out twenty workers all of whom had:

"A good knowledge of the Bible, Prayer Book, Creeds and articles, and Hindu and Mohammedan controversy." 4

Several of the other Missions in Bengal made provision in this period for the theological training of their own converts who were interested in the ministry.

Three problems arose in connection with the training of Bengali pastors. (1). Both the Church of Scotland Mission and the Free Church of Scotland Mission which gave their highly-educated converts a thorough training for the ministry found that several of them, after completing their studies, accepted well-paid Government posts instead of entering the ministry. 5 There seems

1. C.M.S. Report, 1860. 4. ibid., 1889.
4. Free Church Record, 1859.
little doubt that many converts were dissatisfied with the salary offered them as agents of the Missions; and several of them felt that since they were doing almost exactly the same work as European missionaries, they were entitled to a similar salary. Furthermore, the supply of well-educated Bengali ministers was less than the general demand; and missionaries were not averse to offering higher salaries to such ministers if they would leave the Mission which had trained them, and join their particular Mission. This meant that the Mission which had gone to all the trouble and expense of training ministers, had either to raise their salaries to the level of competing offers, or lose them. The churches of Bengal, with one or two exceptions, were not able, or willing, to support pastors financially; and the responsibility for such support became that of the Missionary Society.

The missionaries of Bengal, in a splendid attempt to meet the problem of the need for Bengali pastors by training men, created a more serious problem by accepting the financial responsibility of maintaining them as pastors. This meant that not only were Bengali churches allowed to escape what was their obvious duty and deprived of a privilege, but also that Bengali pastors demanded a salary, not in keeping with what the church could afford to pay, but in keeping with what the Mission could afford. Thus pastors and churches alike were dependent upon the Missionary Societies.

2. Free Church Foreign Missions Report, 1866.
THE CHURCH IN BENGAL DURING THE PERIOD 1857-1905

We noted that in the last year of the third period, 1857, missionaries were lamenting the spirit of dependence upon Foreign Missions manifested by the Bengali Church. In this period we find that determined efforts were made to encourage the spirit of self-reliance; and in many cases such efforts were rewarded with success. Duff reported in 1861 that the Bengali Presbyterian Church formed at Calcutta had agreed to pay half their minister's salary, the Foreign Missions Committee paying the other half; and in 1865 this Church became self-supporting.¹ The L.M.S. Bengali Church at Bhowanipore undertook in 1862 to pay the salary of an ordained Bengali minister.² In 1870, one of Duff's converts, the Rev. K.C. Banerji formed an association of Bengalis for the purpose of creating one Church for Bengal. This Church was to be organised more on lines in harmony with Oriental ideas than after the model of Western churches; individual churches were to manage their own affairs, and great emphasis was laid on the mode of baptism which was to be by immersion.³ In 1874 a Bengali Christian merchant raised a fund to employ a Bengali evangelist who was to be independent of missionary societies.⁴ The C.M.S. in 1880 formed local Church Committees whom they hoped to train in the management of church affairs; and in 1881 this Society organised the C.M.S. Native Church Council which consisted of Bengali

¹ Free Church Record, August, 1865.
² Ibid., August, 1874.
³ L.M.S. Report, 1862.
⁴ Richter, History of Missions in India, p. 458.
pastors, unordained agents in charge of churches, and lay delegates appointed by Church committees. It was hoped that this Council would stimulate self-support in the churches, train Bengalis to conduct their own church affairs, and deepen the spiritual life of the congregations.\(^1\) By 1884 these C.M.S. churches were making some progress in the direction of self-management.\(^2\) The B.M.S. reported in 1887 that five of their churches were self-supporting.\(^3\) In 1890 all the L.M.S. Bengali churches formed a union for mutual help and inspiration.\(^4\) In 1900 there was formed the Indian Baptist Missionary Society, the money for the support of which was raised in India, the agents were Indians, and the Society was entirely managed by Indians.\(^5\)

Every Mission in Bengal during this period had as its policy the development of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating churches. The splendid efforts made by missionaries in keeping with this policy were untiring, and it seems surprising that while in many instances, such as recorded above, success was achieved, the churches of Bengal on the whole remained dependent upon the Missionary Societies.

In explanation of this situation, certain facts must be kept in mind:

1. Many Bengali congregations were unable to afford the upkeep of the expensive church buildings built for their use by

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2. Church Missionary Intelligencer, January, 1884.
3. B.M.S. Report, 1887.
4. L.M.S. Report, 1890.
Missionary Societies. A Bengali Christian expressed his views on the subject thus:—

"The erection of brick-built places of worship so very expensive on the rice-fields of Bengal was a great mistake. Such buildings can never be kept in repair by the people for whose benefit they were intended, nor would they ever have thought of erecting them, had the matter been left to themselves. Early this month, the Committee of the Bengal Auxiliary to the L.M.S. had placed before it a letter from the pastor of the South Churches connected with the Mission in which he stated that the chapel at Gangrai—a brick-built place—was in a most dilapidated condition, and required a thorough repair, the estimated cost being Rupees 800 only. The total amount of contributions paid by the congregation worshipping in the place during 1871 was Rupees 28 anas 5 pies 9." 1

The Society named by the Bengali gentleman, the L.M.S., admitted in 1893 that certain congregations found it difficult to keep the Church buildings in repair. 2 Another Society, the B.M.S., reported in 1872 that a brick church was in need of repair to the extent of Rupees 1000 but the local congregation was able to raise only one-twentieth of that amount. 3 Instances such as these became common in the period.

(2). Bengali congregations were unable to pay their pastors the high salaries which they had been receiving from the Societies. Some congregations had foreseen this difficulty when the question of self-support was first urged upon them by missionaries; and they had suggested to the missionaries that the salaries of pastors paid by the Missions should be reduced to an amount more within reach of the paying power of the congregations. In most instances, however, missionaries were unwilling to reduce

3. Missionary Herald, April, 1872.
salaries, as in their view, they were already small. Later in the period, however, missionaries were beginning to ask:

"Will they (the Bengali villagers) ever be willing, and do we ever want them to be willing to pay their clergy an income which is at least five or six times as large as the average parishoner?" 1

It was this difficulty which proved a strong hindrance to the development of self-supporting churches.

"The introduction of a plan of paying the preachers in charge of the village churches a monthly salary in rupees, annas and pies was a most ill-advised measure; and its consequences are regretted by almost every missionary of the present day. It has, to a very large extent, hindered the success of the efforts which, within the last ten or twelve years have been made to make these churches self-supporting." 2

(3). Bengali pastors who had become accustomed to a regular and fixed salary from the Missions, were not keen at the prospect of being placed upon the uncertain resources of local congregations.

(4). It was difficult to expect Bengali congregations, - many of them poor and struggling, - to give financially to the utmost, so long as there were in Bengal Missions, which, to all appearances, had abundant financial resources. This was the period of expansion. Some of the Societies which in this period had commenced missionary operations in Bengal embarked upon building schemes entailing the expenditure of thousands of pounds: the Presbyterian Church of England Mission built expensive houses, mission halls, churches, schools, and a hospital; 3 the Wesleyans, in

1. C.M.S. Report 1897.
every place where there was a missionary, built a chapel, a mission-house, a school and houses for the teachers and evangelists;\(^1\) in 1892 the Oxford Mission had property worth Rupees 130,000, and in 1903 the missionaries erected a church at Barisal costing over Rupees 30,000.\(^2\)

It was difficult in the face of these magnificent and costly schemes to persuade Bengali Christians that Missionary Societies considered the mite which they contributed as important and necessary.

It is evident, then, that the very system missionaries had created by which Bengali congregations worshipped in Church buildings which they themselves would never have erected, and whose upkeep was for them impossible, were ministered to by pastors whom they had not appointed and whose salaries they could not possibly pay, and whose whole religious life and thought was supervised by missionaries, was not the ideal system on which to build a self-directing Bengali Church.

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

The period 1857-1905 closed with the greatest political agitation ever known in Bengal. For some years previous to 1905, the Lieutenant-governor of Bengal had felt that it was impossible for one man successfully to administer the province of Bengal which, at that time, comprised 189,000 square miles with a population of nearly 80 millions. He proposed in 1903 to the Viceroy, Lord

\(^1\) W.M.M.S. Reports, 1884, 1886, 1895.
\(^2\) O.M. Reports, 1892, 1903.
Curzon, that Bengal be partitioned. In 1905 the Government of India announced that the Divisions of Dacca, Chittagong, and Rajshahi were to be separated from the Calcutta government, and a new province called "Eastern Bengal and Assam" formed under a Lieutenant-governor with the capital at Dacca.

"The arrangement, contrary to expectation, provoked intense and passionate hostility in Calcutta and throughout Bengal, where a cry was raised that the Bengali nation was being maliciously torn asunder." 1

This hostility took the form of the "swadeshi" movement which had as its design the boycott of foreign goods and their replacement by swadeshi, that is, native goods; but even more serious was the hatred aroused in the hearts of Bengalis towards Englishmen, whom they considered to be responsible for dividing their mother-land.

"It was a religious duty to get rid of the foreigner. The man who was executed for murdering an Englishman should be regarded as a martyr to his mother-land." 2

Because of the partition of Bengal, and the results which followed in its train, Bengal missionaries after 1905 found themselves in an atmosphere charged with hostility and hatred. What effect this had upon their work will be shown in the next period.


This period opened with the suppression of a mutiny which had constituted a most serious threat to British rule in India and closed in the midst of unprecedented political turmoil provoked

1. Smith, Oxford History of India, p.774.
2. Cambridge Shorter History of India, p.871.
by the partition of Bengal. Yet the years 1857-1905 saw the greatest expansion of missionary work Bengal had known. New Missionary Societies enthusiastically joined with those already established in the great cause of winning Bengal for Christ. In village schools, in streets, in market-places, in homes, in zenanas, in hospitals, in hostels, in dispensaries, in high schools, in colleges, Christ was proclaimed as the world’s Saviour, and there were many conversions. It was missionaries and Bengali agents employed by them, however, who evangelised; and the responsibility of the Bengali Church in this matter was unfortunately pushed into the background. In some departments, converts were few, as in higher educational work; but the affiliation of Mission schools to Calcutta University had undoubtedly affected their missionary character. The more sympathetic attitude adopted by missionaries to non-Christian religions seems not to have affected their zeal for seeking to win the devotees of such religions to Christ.

In dealing with converts, missionaries recognised that the former policy of separating them from their families was not wise; and it is unfortunate that they did not take the same view concerning the policy of helping converts financially, the continuance of which was creating a spirit of dependence.

It was the Bengali Church, however, which provided missionaries with their greatest problem, for though they determined upon a policy of making the churches of Bengal self-supporting and self-directing, by which missionaries meant that such churches
would assume in full the responsibilities thus far undertaken in their behalf by the missionary societies,—they found, with several exceptions, that their policy did not meet with general success.

And this, after all, is the regrettable feature of the period 1857–1905,—that while the Missions flourished and expanded, they were creating, as we have already noted, the very conditions which made it impossible for the Bengali Church to become strong and indigenous.
The Missions and Missionary Societies whose policy and methods we examined in the preceding period continued their labours in Bengal during the present period which commenced in 1905. The era of expansion was, however, at an end because of two circumstances over which the Bengal missionaries had no control: the alarming political situation in Bengal and the decided hostility on the part of Bengalis to foreigners placed severe restrictions on missionary work; and the funds for expansion were no longer available to the extent they had been during the latter half of the 19th century, for many Missions were facing financial problems due to a serious decrease in contributions. Financial difficulties, however, had the good effect of bringing about a greater degree of cooperation among different Missions, such as, to give only a few examples, the union of the Church of Scotland Mission work in Calcutta with that of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission in 1908; the opening in 1910 of a United College for training Bengali women teachers in which three Missionary Societies were associated with the L.M.S.; and in 1918, the endeavour to make Serampore College a centre of united effort in higher theological study by changing the College constitution so that on its Senate and Council other Churches and Missions would be represented, and its degrees made available to the whole

1. Women's work was not included in the union. Ogilvie, Indian Pilgrimage, p. 82.
Church in India.¹

The distinguishing feature of 20th century Missions has been the emergence of a spirit of inquiry concerning missionary problems, and the desire to discuss such problems with a view to their solution. In this century there have been three World Missionary Conferences, — Edinburgh, Jerusalem, and Tambaram;² numerous area conferences, as the Continuation Conferences which followed the Edinburgh Conference; many provincial conferences; several commissions to investigate specific problems, as the Lindsay Commission on Christian Higher Education in India,³ and the American Laymen's Commission;⁴ and a number of deputations to examine problems connected with their own Society, as the C.M.S. Deputation in 1921.

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¹. The right conferred on Serampore College by the King of Denmark to grant degrees in the second period of our study had never been made use of by the College authorities.
². Full reports of these Conferences have been published.
³. This Commission was sent to India by the International Missionary Council to examine the whole question of Christian higher education. The Chairman of the Commission was Dr. A.D. Lindsay. The report of the Commission was published in 1951 under the title, Christian Higher Education in India.
⁴. The Laymen's Commission was appointed by a group of American laymen who were much interested in Missions, and who wondered whether the work of Missions should not be more efficiently organised. The Commission visited various Mission stations in the Orient, and their report was published in 1932 under the title, Re-thinking Missions. The Report of this Commission caused rather a sensation in missionary circles in America, but in this country it seems to have aroused little interest.
In the realm of the printed word, there has been throughout this century the discussion of problems in missionary magazines, as the valuable International Review of Missions, in the periodicals of every Missionary Society, and in books by missionary statesmen as J.H. Oldham, William Paton, H. Kraemer, Nicol Macnicol, and John Mott. And finally there has been the academic discussion of problems in worthy institutions as the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, and the School of Missions, Hartford, Connecticut.

Of all the problems thus discussed, three are of vital interest to our study of Missions in Bengal, namely, the policy of Foreign Missions respecting non-Christian religions, missionary higher education, and the Indian Church.

Before examining these at length it is necessary to have fully in mind the situation in which Bengal missionaries found themselves because of the political agitation in Bengal, as this has a bearing on the problems.

BENGAL MISSIONARIES AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

The partition of Bengal in 1905, as we saw at the close of the preceding period, created among Bengalis hostility to everything foreign. This was manifested, not only in a boycott of all foreign goods, but also in an attempt to suppress the efforts of missionaries in schools, colleges, and open-air evangelism. Christianity was regarded in Bengal as a foreign religion: and the Swadeshi movement went so far as to employ lecturers to go over the province to create hostility to Christianity. Even in
the case of Bengali Christian evangelists, prejudice was stirred up because it was known they were in receipt of foreign pay.¹

Missionaries had therefore to work among a people whose mind had now turned away from religion and become engrossed in the political struggle. The wave of Nationalism which swept over the world after the World War 1914-1918 increased this engrossment, and the result is well described by Macnicol:—

"What has happened is that nationalism has entered into possession of the educated mind of India and has taken the place of religion if indeed we should not rather say it has itself become a religion."²

Missionaries began to realise that Christianity was altogether outside the political aspirations of the Indians, who looked upon it as something which would stand or fall with the fortunes of British rule in India; and they began to consider how Christianity might be made less exotic and more indigenous. We thus have in the early 20th century greater attempts than ever before to make the Church of Christ in Bengal take root in Indian soil by encouraging Bengali Christians to take a larger share in its development and organisation.

The political situation had also the effect of making missionaries more cautious in their utterances concerning the Hindu religion, for it was now inexpedient to denounce that religion in public as had been the practice of many missionaries in the past.

But the longings among the peoples of India for political

² India in the Dark Wood, p. 23.
freedom stimulated a strong desire among Bengali Christians, especially those who were well-educated, to be independent of Missionary Societies in their Church life.

"The influence of movements toward the realisation of Indian aspirations in the political sphere is being felt in the Indian Church and Christian community and there is much active discussion of such questions as the relation of the Missionary Society and its staff to the local Indian Church organisation." ¹

To sum up, the political agitation in Bengal aroused the antagonism of Bengalis to missionaries as a foreign race, to Christianity as a foreign religion, and to Bengali Christian evangelists as being in receipt of foreign pay; and though it proved a definite hindrance to missionary work, it made missionaries appreciate that Christianity was still an exotic which ought to be made indigenous, and created in Bengali Christians the desire for responsibility in the affairs of their own Church.

POLICY RESPECTING NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS IN THIS PERIOD

In the periods of Bengal missionary history which we have thus far examined, we found that up till the last half of the 19th century, missionaries, in general, held non-Christian religions to be of satanic origin, and believed that all followers of such religions were condemned to eternal punishment. Towards the end of the 19th century, however, a more sympathetic attitude was manifested to non-Christian religions.

In this present century most missionaries have had a different outlook from that of their predecessors in the preceding century. The Hindu is no longer looked upon as a heathen, and his religion, ²

¹. B.M.S. Report 1918.
philosophy, and social life ignored as of no account.

"The impression with which modern missions started their career, namely, that this universe of living non-Christian religions was adequately conceived by taking it to be a vast degrading and decaying section of the spiritual life of mankind, steeped in darkness and error, has turned out to be utterly erroneous." 1

On the contrary, the present religious state of non-Christians is declared to be the result of:—

"Not the blindness of ignorance but the distortion of inadequate knowledge." 2

The same writer, Lucas, describes the older theology as conceiving India to be a ship on the rocks, the missionary as the lifeboatman to pick up survivors, and all whom he failed to reach as doomed to eternal destruction. But to us, he declares, India is a salvageable ship run aground, and our endeavours are to bring the ship into port with all safely aboard. 3

The newer thought places emphasis on the salvation of the man rather than the soul, on life rather than death, on earth rather than heaven, and the group rather than the individual.

There is in this conception, of course, a vital place for conversion. The American Laymen's Commission, however, felt that missionaries ought to associate themselves with the best elements in non-Christian religions. They urged:—

"The necessity that the modern mission make a positive effort first of all to know and understand the religions around it, then to recognise and associate itself with whatever kindred elements there are in them." 4

They felt that the idea of conversion ought to be avoided, and

2. Lucas, The Empire of Christ, p. 12
3. Ibid., p. 105.
4. Re-Thinking Missions, p. 33.
conceived the sharing of religious experience to be the missionary's task.

Kraemer disposes of the idea of sharing religious experience as "the offspring of a fundamental religious confusion" ¹ and emphasises the fact that the Christian Church "has not only the right but also the duty to take conversion and evangelism as prime necessities for mankind".²

There are therefore three main conceptions of non-Christian religions: (1). They are false, and their followers ought to be warned that their only hope of salvation is in Christ; (2). There is truth in them but not enough to lead to God: Christianity is to be advocated as the best religion, or the crown of non-Christian religions; (3). All religions are paths to God, so Christians ought to seek the best in other religions, at the same time sharing with them the best in Christianity.

Personally, our study of non-Christian religions leads us to the conclusion that in spite of good elements which are undoubtedly in each of them, they are fundamentally false because they offer to man a way of salvation based on his own merits. This we feel to be in opposition to the teaching of the New Testament that the way of salvation is through Christ, and through Him alone. We therefore cannot accept the hazy suggestion that non-Christian religions lead to God. On the other hand, while we recognise that judgment and the wrath of God are part of the Christian message, we do not think that Christian missionaries

². ibid., p.295.
are thereby entitled to denounce the errors of non-Christian religions. It is interesting to note that Carey and Duff, who held strong convictions about the falsity of Hinduism, avoided carefully the adoption of a disdainful and condemnatory attitude towards that religion and its devotees.

In our opinion, then, a missionary in this matter should have two convictions: that there is no way of salvation in non-Christian religions; and that Christ is the Saviour of the world.

**POLICY RESPECTING HIGHER EDUCATION IN THIS PERIOD**

As we noted in the period 1830-1857, Duff conceived the idea of reaching the high-caste people of Calcutta by means of an English education, and of winning them for Christ through definite instruction in the doctrines of the Bible which was to be the chief text-book. Through the educational method of evangelism, Duff was successful in making converts to Christianity from several of Calcutta's noblest Hindu families. We found, however, in the period 1857-1905, that the affiliation of Christian colleges to Calcutta University was proving a hindrance rather than a help to them because students were more interested in passing the University examinations than receiving Christian instruction. Moreover the 1904 Act had tightened even further the control of Government over the University, and of the University over the affiliated colleges. In this period, therefore, Christian colleges had more and more to conform to University regulations. The Lindsay Commission states that the 1904 Act compelled
Christian colleges:-

"To concentrate their main energies upon fulfilling the conditions which would satisfy the requirements of the University, and what the majority of the students, whose fees became an increasingly important consideration, demanded." 1

The result of conformity to University requirements was that Christian colleges, which had been the pioneers in English education, and which for many years had been the greatest influence in determining higher educational policy, lost the initiative.

"They have been caught up in a system which has proved to be too strong for many of them, and they now find themselves following plans and obeying standards which are not really their own." 2

Many missionaries now began to wonder whether affiliation to the University, though it secured Government financial aid, and gave recognition to their students, was as much of a help to Christian colleges as they had at first hoped. The Laymen's Commission expressed the opinion:-

"The question is still an open one as to whether grants-in-aid and recognition have been a greater harm or good to Indian Mission Schools." 3

The Lindsay Commission which made a special study of this whole question declared:-

"The chief impression that we got is that if nothing can be done to mend matters, the alliance between Christian colleges and the Government and University system, while it has of course given the colleges great opportunities for service, has, on the whole been bought at too great a price.... They have largely lost control of the content of their education. They have had to give their religious

3. Re-Thinking Missions, p.125.
teaching and exercise their religious influence in an atmosphere largely perverted by the necessity of examinations."

A very decided change in the character of Missionary colleges has thus been brought about through conformity to requirements and regulations imposed by an outside body. The nature of this change becomes apparent when we learn that from the years 1920 to 1930, the total number of baptisms from the 38 Christian colleges visited by the Lindsay Commission was probably not more than a dozen. 

It is this sad state of affairs which has called forth the criticism that the educational policy initiated by Alexander Duff was unsound. The Bishop of Madras, for instance, expressed the opinion:--

"The experience of the last fifty years has shown that the ideas which inspired Dr. Duff's work were in the main fallacious....Christianity is not as Dr. Duff anticipated first capturing the well-to-do and educated classes of the towns and cities and then permeating down to the poor and uneducated classes in the villages; on the contrary it is capturing the poor and uneducated classes in the village and through them is revealing its power to the classes above."  

More recently, a somewhat similar criticism has been made by Bishop Pickett:--

"We are convinced that their (the early missionaries) mistake lay in thinking that the Brahmans held the key to the mind and heart of India, a mistake from which a correct understanding of the Gospel they proclaimed, and the moving of the Spirit of God in the history of the Church, would have saved them."  

1. Christian Higher Education in India, p.121.  
2. ibid., p.107.  
No one who has read Duff's India and India Missions should have any doubts about his understanding either of the Gospel or of Church history. So far as the Gospel is concerned, Duff understood its message to be for all, - the high castes as well as the low castes; and it was because in his day the existing methods of missionary work were not reaching the upper classes that he devoted himself to that cause. So far as Church history is concerned, Duff recognised that missionaries and the friends of Missions almost exclusively appealed to the era of the early propagation of Christianity for their models in policy and methods, and he knew that they were constantly raising the question, - Why make so much ado about highly-trained and gifted men to be ministers of the Gospel in India? Were not the apostles illiterate?

Duff answered:

"It is not difficult to perceive the reason why the apostles though illiterate did succeed; and why ordinary ministers when illiterate cannot. The former were endowed with miraculous power - the latter are not.....In the absence of miraculous gifts and power our main substitute is an extensive and sanctified learning." 1

Duff did not feel himself bound, as did some of his critics, to only one period in Church history, - the era of the early Christians; and he draws attention to the Reformation of the 16th century, asking:

"Shall we deny that the finger of God was there?.....The Revolution effected by the Reformers was, in the vastness of its extent and influential bearings on the destinies of mankind, next to the first promulgation of Christianity, the most important in the history of the world. Surely there can be nothing derogatory in our contemplating

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1. India and India Missions, p.362.
it in order to discover what may be copied? Why look always for our patterns to an age, the greater part of whose doings we cannot imitate because they were miraculous; and not rather to an age, almost all whose doings we may imitate because none of them were miraculous?" 1

Duff therefore examines the history of the Reformation, and points out that all the leading reformers and their disciples were not only learned, but notoriously the most learned men of their age; 2 and he concludes:

"Those therefore who would reject the employment of wealth, rank, power, or learning, in advancing missions, merely because these were not employed in the spread of primitive Christianity, - when, at the same time they cannot provide the substitute of miracles, - act as vainly as those who would reject the use of medicine, when, at the same time, they have no substitute in the miraculous gift of healing." 3

We do not admit, therefore, either that the ideas which inspired Duff's work were in the main fallacious, or that he lacked a correct understanding of the Gospel and Church history.

We recognise, however, that much difficulty has arisen from the assumption that 20th century Christian higher education represents Duff's policy in education. This is only partly true. The chief aim of missionary higher education, according to Duff, was to win the students for Christ, but nowadays:

"It is certain that to many of their pupils and pupils' parents and to most external observers, these institutions have presented themselves as offering the same attractions and following the same aims as Government schools and colleges." 4

Duff made the Bible the supreme text-book, - it is certainly not so regarded nowadays; Duff controlled the content of

1. Duff, India and India Missions, p.365.
2. Ibid., p.367. 3. Ibid., p.369
education in his school, - now the University controls it; he was unhindered by any external regulations, - Mission schools are bound nowadays to observe many such regulations. Present-day Christian education has to some extent, therefore, departed from the principles of Duff, and though it is rendering splendid service in the field of education and in character building,¹ it has been forced by affiliation to the University and the acceptance of Government grants-in-aid into a compromising position which has meant the loss of its missionary character.

It is in view of this that the suggestion has come from several quarters that Christian colleges should no longer educate non-Christians but devote their energies exclusively to Indian Christians. We feel, however, that Christian colleges have an unique opportunity for reaching high-caste non-Christians; but much more effective use of this opportunity will have to be made. These are difficult days for Christian colleges; but we trust that the gifted missionaries who direct the colleges may be wisely guided in the adoption of a policy which will restore them once again to a position of leadership and distinction, and make them institutions which will, as in Duff's day, give to the Church of India gifted, well-educated leaders.

¹ The Lindsay Commission was of the opinion that Christian colleges do not have the pre-eminence they once had in setting an unmistakable stamp of character upon students which distinguished them from students of other colleges. Christian Higher Education in India, p.110
An even greater problem than that of missionary higher education is the relation of Missions to the Bengali Church, and more precisely, the fact that in this present period many Bengali churches are still dependent upon Missions to regulate their affairs, to aid them financially, and to do, on their behalf, the work of evangelism; and we have noted in preceding periods how the policy of missionaries brought about this condition.

The state of dependence existing in the Indian Church is admitted by missionaries:—

"The Church is like an infant a foot and a half in height. This small infant loves its cradle, and is given its feeding bottle by its English benefactors. Out of the cradle it cannot even walk without crutches. These are the missionaries and the Western money." 1

"The thing that keeps haunting me all the time is that I know if we missionaries were to pull out from here, nothing will be left......Every man with any leadership is on the pay-roll of the Mission." 2

Attention has been drawn to this condition of dependence by Missionary Deputations and Commissions:—

"Unless some definite steps are taken to withdraw the control which the Society still exercises over the congregations and Churches, there will be dangerous em-bitterment." 3

"The general situation is one of excessive and long-continued dependence upon mission grants." 4

And the Indians have themselves admitted that a state of dependence exists:—

2. Quoted by Dr. Merrill in Re-Thinking Missions, p.34.
4. Re-Thinking Missions, p.88
"One great hindrance in the way of the Indian Church coming to her own is the evil tradition of dependence on foreign missions that has grown up and taken root among Indian Christians."  1

Many writers think that the Western and denominational aspect of the Indian Church is a problem which should be tackled by missionaries as a necessary prelude to the bringing about of independence. Personally, we feel that too much is made of this problem by missionaries, and we do not think it wise on their part to initiate schemes of Church union for Bengali churches. It is not possible for Western missionaries to make known the Christian message except in a Western form; and there is therefore no need for self-reproach on this score. The Western and denominational aspect of the Bengali Church is a matter which may well be left to the Bengali Christians in the sure hope that:

"In the course of time, as the Christian faith expresses itself through the medium of their native genius and character, new and distinctive forms will be developed." 2

The problem of the dependence of the Indian Church upon Foreign Missions is one in the solving of which missionaries rather than the Indians must take the initiative; and it is a matter for satisfaction that missionaries generally have appreciated this. During the present century numerous suggestions have been made as to how the independence of the Indian Church may best be accomplished. Lucas suggests as complete a severance as possible between Mission and Church. 3 The C.M.S. Delegation, 1921, said that Indian clergymen should be related to the Diocese and

3. Our Task in India, p. 121.
not to the Missionary Society, and that when the Indian Church was fully organised, the Society should resign into its hands the responsibility for employing workers towards whose salaries the Mission would give grants-in-aid.\(^1\) Mott suggests devolution not only as the guiding principle, but as a clearly defined goal with fixed stages and periods when definite functions and powers are to be handed over to the Indian Church.\(^2\) Pickett thinks that only where group or mass movements to Christianity have taken place are independent churches possible.\(^3\) The Laymen's Commission recommends that the Indian Church be given a chance to develop an autonomous life unhampered by external authority.\(^4\) Garfield Williams thinks that there can be no real devolution of authority until the Indian Church is self-supporting.\(^5\)

We have given here only a few excerpts from the mass of material which has been written on the relation of the Indian Church to the Missions, to show that though a state of dependence still exists, the Societies are keenly alive to the situation, and are devising remedies, - this is a most excellent sign.

\(^1\) C.M.S. Deputation Report, 1921, p.106.
\(^2\) The Present-Day Summons, p.153.
\(^3\) Christ's way to India's Heart, p.34.
\(^4\) Re-Thinking Missions, p.92.
\(^5\) International Review of Missions, 1923, p.341.
In conclusion, may we not hope that the missionaries of Bengal, - the province where the Serampore Trio by their wise policy towards the East India Company made possible the opening of Bengal, and of all India, to Christian missionaries; where William Carey by his brilliant policy of concentrating on translating the Bible into every Indian language possible, laid the foundation upon which missionaries throughout India built; where Alexander Duff by his daring policy of using English education as a means of evangelism opened a door to the high castes of Bengal, and of all India, - may, under the hand of God, lead the way for their fellow-missionaries throughout India by making every church in Bengal with which they are connected self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating.
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