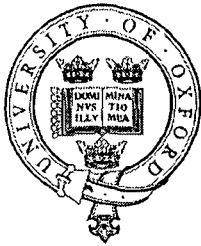


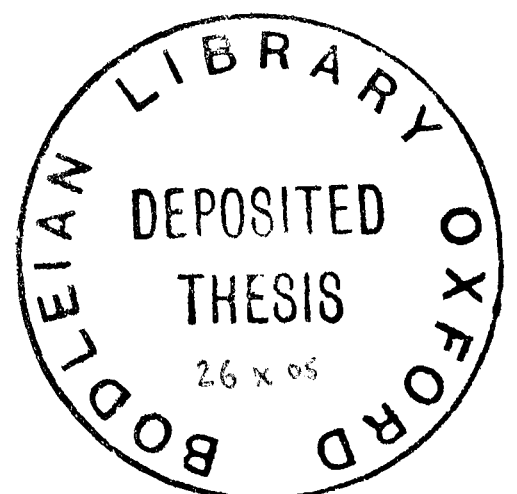
Missionary Education, Knowledge and North Indian Society,
c. 1880-1915

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[2005] (LTS 10.viii.05)



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Acknowledgements

This project stemmed from a curious realisation that most of my Indian friends and colleagues had graduated from mission schools and were able to quote Bible passages better than most self-professed Christians. Combined with an interest in the very current topic of 'colonial knowledge', Indian religions and educational sociology, this encouraged me to ponder on how they could absorb such influence into their identity, whilst having attended a (theoretically) proselytising institution. This got me thinking about education, religion and their relations to forms of colonial knowledge. This could link what is an established and sophisticated social history of India with what is an already lively historiographical debate and new-found role for religion in modern historiography.

This study is mainly concerned with northern India and the United Provinces in particular. But it also incorporates other Hindi and Urdu-speaking areas, such as Delhi, and the Central Provinces. It will also consider select parts of the Punjab, Kashmir and Bengal. It examines religious debate and scholarly discourse at both a northern and eastern level; it will also incorporate examples in other parts of India.

A number of librarians and archivists have provided invaluable assistance during the course of this project. I would like to thank the Overseas Research Student Award Scheme (ORS), the Beit Commonwealth Fund at Oxford, the benefactors of Wheaton College (Massachusetts), the governments of India and Uttar Pradesh, the staff of the Indian Institute, the Rhodes House Library, the Uttar Pradesh State Archives and Secretariat Library, the National Archives of India, the SOAS and British Libraries, and the Birmingham University Library. In India I would like to especially thank those in Delhi and Lucknow for facilitating access to archives and their unwavering hospitality: Ram Advani, Asif Ali, Abdullah Gagra, Saleem Kidwai, Amitabh Pandey, Vibhuti Rai, Dr. Sandianagar, Rakesh Shukla, Alok Sinha, Nikita Sud, and Gautam and Reshmi Thaukar. The comments and suggestions from papers given in both Oxford and Cambridge proved invaluable in hammering out final arguments and clarifications. An enormous intellectual debt is owed to my supervisor, David Washbrook, whose scholarship and ebullience have been an inspiration in my study of India's history. My fellow graduate students in Oxford and Cambridge have provided an intellectually stimulating environment the past four years: Nandini Chatterjee, Sanchari Dutta, Chris Harding, Angma Jhala, Shruti Kapila, Yasmin Khan, Satoshi Mizutani, Alexander Morrison and Vanita Sharma. I would especially like to thank Chris Bayly for his constructive comments and unwavering support. Many thanks are also due to Shahid Amin, Judith Brown, Raj Chandarvarkar, Vipin Chandra, Francis Clooney, Michael Dodson, Bob Frykenberg, Nandini Goptu, Mark Harrison, John McLeod, Shayman Mukherjee, Francesca Orsini, Tapan Raychaudhuri, Sanjay Seth, Ian Talbot, and Tom Trautmann for their valuable comments and inspirations, in addition to numerous other individuals with whom I have discussed this project. And of course, this is for my parents, who have done everything possible to enable me to complete this.

H.J.A. Bellenoit
Oxford, March, 2005

Glossary

Advaita	school of Hindu philosophy which believes in unity of all things, monism, rather than division between spiritual and worldly.
Agarwal	a north Indian merchant caste.
Arya Samaj	organisation founded as a Hindu revivalist/reformist body.
Ashrama	stage of a Hindu in his life.
Ashuddh	unclean or polluted.
Avatara	incarnation; an incarnate is an <i>avatar</i> .
Babu	a (often derogatory) term used to describe educated Bengalis in Government employment.
Bania	Hindu merchant caste of north India.
Begum	an ex-King's wife.
Bhadralok	'respectable people', usually referring to English-educated Bengalis.
Bhajan	a song of religious content in Hinduism.
Bhakti	devotion to God (Hinduism).
Bhangi	sweeper, untouchable.
Brahmacharya	celibacy.
Brahman	member of Hindu priestly caste; highest and purest in the <i>varna</i> scheme.
Brahmo Samaj	Hindu reformist organisation founded in nineteenth century.
Chamar	sweeper caste of north India's 'untouchable' population.
Chaukidar	a watchman.
Chela	a pupil.
Chitpavan	caste title of Maharashtra Brahmans with tradition of elite service under Maratha dynasts.
Dacoitee	gang robbery.
Darshan	the sight or view of a holy person, object or place, which bestows a blessing on a viewer; one gives or receives darshan.
Dharma	righteousness (Hinduism); loosely 'religion'.
Dhoti	loin cloth worn by men.
Dom	considered 'untouchable'.
Dvija	lit., 'twice-born'.
Dvaita	dualism; the notion that the worldly is distinct from the spiritual.
Gotra	clan or sub-caste.
Gujar	a pastoralist and agriculturalist caste of north India.
Guru	an Indian teacher or mentor.
Hakeem	a doctor.
Halkabandi	an administrative circle.
Ishwara	in Hinduism, a personal God, also known as <i>Bhagvan</i> .
Izzat	honour.
Jat	a middle agricultural caste of north India.
Jati	sub-caste, or birth.
Jyotish	Hindu astrology.

Kafir	infidel, or non-believer in Islam.
Kallar	a pastoralist and military caste of north India.
Karma	the ethical law of causation.
Kayastha	north Indian writer caste.
Kazi	a Muslim judge: under the British a registrar in a city.
Khatti	north Indian mercantile and administrative caste.
Kotwal	city magistrate: a police chief.
Kshatriya	one of four varnas, a warrior caste.
Lokika	describes Brahmins who follow secular, i.e. non-priestly callings.
Madrasah	Islamic Seminary.
Mahar	an 'unclean' labouring caste in Maharashtra.
Maktab	Islamic Primary School for boys.
Malis	gardeners.
Mandir	temple, usually Hindu.
Masjid	mosque.
Math	monastery.
Maulvi	a Muslim cleric.
Maya	illusion.
Mela	a religious gathering in Hinduism.
Mithar	a north Indian sweeper caste, esp. in the Banaras area.
Mleccha	a barbarian, or outsider.
Mohadharma	a false religion.
Mufti	an exponent of law in a Muslim city.
Muhtasib	superintendent of markets and morals.
Munshi	an Indian language instructor, usually employed by the British.
Mushairah	a poetic competition.
Nava vidha	lit., 'new knowledge', or the New Dispensation of the Brahmo Samaj.
Nawab	deputy to the Mughal Emperor.
Nyaya	system of Hindu logic and philosophy.
Panchayat	a system of local village government.
Pandit	a Hindu teacher, usually Brahmin.
Parsi	Zoroastrian in India, mostly concentrated about Bombay.
Pathshala	Hindu indigenous School.
Pir	Muslim mystical adepts of Sufism.
Prayaschitta	atonement, usually associated with returning from sea travel.
Purana	cosmologies and divine lessons of medieval Hinduism.
Purdah	custom of veiling and sheltering women from public, practised primarily among Muslims, but also by particular Hindu castes.
Ram	divine Hindu warrior-king.
Raj	lit., 'rule', usually referring to British colonial rule.
Rajput	north Indian military and royal and warrior caste.
Sabha	a meeting.
Sadhu	Hindu ascetic, wandering holy man.
Samaj	society, association.
Samsara	cycle of rebirths.
Sanatani	orthodox Hindu.
Santan dharm	lit., 'the eternal religion', i.e., Hinduism.
Sardar	a village chief.

Sarkar	government.
Sati	widow-burning.
Sewa	service.
Shastrartha	traditional public scholarly debate.
Shaivite	a devotee of the deity Lord Shiva.
Shiva	major Hindu god.
Shudra	the lowest caste in Hinduism.
Shuddi	act of reconverting back to Hinduism.
Sufi	mystical and esoteric knowledge within Islam.
Swadeshi	lit. 'own country', also Indian.
Tahsil	a sub-district.
Talqudar	wealthy landowners of the UP area, primarily in Oudh.
Thakurani	a village headwoman.
Vaishnava	Hindus giving particular veneration to Vishnu, and who believe in distinction between soul and Divine.
Vaishya	caste third in rank of the <i>varna</i> system, usually commercial.
Vakil	a servant.
Varna	lit. 'colour', or the idealised fourfold rank of society .
Vedas	India's oldest classical religious scriptures, c.1500-1000 BC.
Yamalok	dwelling of the dead, hell.
Zila	government-run village school.
Zamindar	a landowner.

Abbreviations

BUL	Birmingham University Library, Birmingham
CLR	Copies of Letters Received
CMD	Cambridge Mission to Delhi
CMS	Church Mission Society
CP	Central Provinces
CSSH	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
CIS	<i>Contributions to Indian Sociology</i>
Ed. Files	Educational Files
Ed. Procds.	Educational Proceedings
GIA	Grant-in-Aid
GOI	Government of India
HD	Home Department
H.S.	High School
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
LMS	London Missionary Society
LR	Letters Received
MAS	<i>Modern Asian Studies</i>
NAI	National Archives of India, New Delhi
NWP&O	North West Provinces of Agra and Oudh (before 1902)
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library
RHL	Rhodes House Library, Oxford
SOASL	School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
SVN	Selections from Vernacular Newspapers (United Provinces)
UP	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (after 1902)
UPSRR	Uttar Pradesh Secretariat Research Room, Lucknow
UPSA	Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow

Note on Transliteration and word choices

English translations of south Asian words have been in constant flux since the eighteenth century. I have tried to be consistent, and will employ the transliteration of South Asian words as they were used during the period under review save those which are ‘corrupt’ survivals. The phrase ‘non-Christian’ is used only in quotations from records of the period under review, and only in longer passages. It has usually been replaced with ‘Hindu and Muslim’, understanding that its usage inherently possesses a negative and condescending connotation. ‘Truth’ is also put in quotations with the full understanding that missionary definitions of truth were inherently condescending. ‘Missionary’ and ‘educationist’ are used interchangeably, and in conjunction, to avoid repetition. The terms ‘east’ and ‘west’ will be used in lower-case (except when quoted), understanding that although there are values and cultures which are predominately eastern and western, they are by no means monolithic. GIA and ‘grant’ are also used interchangeably. ‘Government’, ‘Education

Department', and 'Department' are all used, understanding that educational matters were part of the Government apparatus.

'Missionary Education, Knowledge and North Indian Society,
c.1880-1915'

Hayden J.A. Bellenoit, St. Antony's College

D.Phil in Modern History, Michaelmas Term, 2004 *6^e 2005*

This dissertation is a critical examination of education via what I have termed the 'educational enterprise' run by Anglican Christian missions in north India c.1880-1915. It will focus in particular on the Gangetic plain, parts of Bengal, the Punjab and Central Provinces. The example of the United Provinces will be used to give context to missionary-Government relations, but will engage with arguments in upper and eastern India (especially Bengal) which are relevant to this research. The network of schools, their aims, orientation, and the degrees to which they were dependent upon Indian agency will all be considered. The first chapter begins with a review of the literature on colonial knowledge and Christian missions, and gives a brief review of religious debate and discourse in pre-British India. It then establishes the Protestant Christian theological context of the early-mid nineteenth century and delineates its development from a pugnacious confrontational one into a positivist and universal theology towards the late nineteenth century. Chapter II establishes the moral and economic context of education in late nineteenth century UP, accounting for religious instruction, the economic rationale for subsidising mission schools, the relationship between the two. It will further define the relationship between missions and Government. Chapter III defines the means and ends of mission schools, considers the degree to which they were dependent upon Indian agency and the impact of religious dialogue upon 'representations' of India. The reception and contestation of both religious and secular knowledge are dealt with in Chapter IV. Indian contestations of Orientalist and Christocentric scholarship receive particular attention. The development of a secular and religiously-plural educational sphere, as a by-product of missionary education, will be investigated in Chapter V. It considers the devaluation of the curriculum, investigates student hostels, Indian nationalism and their contribution to constructive nationalism. The infrastructural shortcomings of education will be addressed in Chapter VI, and ascertain the degree to which the enterprise reproduced Indian, European, and Christian values. Chapter VII will conclude with a review and offer insights into the relationships between Orientalism, religion and colonial Indian society.

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This dissertation is a critical examination of education via what I have termed the 'educational enterprise' run by Christian missions in north India c.1880-1915. It will focus in particular on the Gangetic plain, parts of Bengal, the Punjab and Central Provinces. The example of the United Provinces will be used to give context to missionary-Government relations, but will engage with arguments in upper and eastern India (especially Bengal) which are relevant to this research. It explores the network of schools, their aims, orientation, and the degrees to which they were dependent upon Indian agency. This dissertation seeks to demonstrate that the impartation of knowledge, rather than serving as a hegemonic and dominating colonial undertaking, was internally contradictory, fragmented, and subject to Indian agency and contestation. It argues that the very term 'colonial knowledge', since it presupposes a degree of Indian passivity, is insufficient in characterising power relations.

Chapter I begins with a review of the literature on both colonial knowledge and Anglican Christian missions in South Asia. It then briefly reviews religious debate and discourse in pre-British India, to demonstrate that missionary efforts at debate and discourse differed only in degree from their predecessors. It then establishes the Protestant Christian theological context of the early-mid nineteenth century and delineates its development from a pugnacious and confrontational enterprise into a positivist, universal and accommodating theology towards the late nineteenth century. Missionaries in India went from trying to deconstruct Hinduism and Islam via western scholarship and learning, to relegating these pedagogic approaches as ineffective. Fulfilment ideology and its relationship to western education are discussed. Anglican missionary educationists utilised Fulfilment to employ a form of constructive Orientalism which sought to build upon India's existing religious traditions.

Chapter II establishes the moral and economic context of education in late nineteenth century UP. The colonial state, increasingly concerned with avoiding any inflammation of communal tension within the educational arena, subsidised mission schools since they served as a more neutral form of religious education. Government's own removal from

Indian society and preconceived notions of Indian religion and morality precluded it from conceptualising an Indian morality which was modern and humanistic. Mission schools were also subsidised because they relieved the Education Department of its own financial penury. Anglican mission schools were cheaper and less of a drain on an already strained treasury. The colonial state pursued a colonial project in rhetoric, but lacked the funds to back it up. Chapter II will further define the relationship between missions and Government. All these factors established the relationship between missionaries and the colonial state, which was characterised by expediency and necessity rather than genuine sympathy.

Chapter III defines the means and ends of mission schools, by investigating the process of education in the classroom. These mission schools aimed to be vibrant centres of spiritual and religious discourse; this was to distinguish their institutions from Government's. The role of conversion and the degree to which Indians exercised agency over schools will be considered. Hasty conversions were eschewed by teachers since they not only compromised their schools' aims, but they also endangered the legitimacy and approval required from Indian society; baptisms emptied out schools and compromised the trust required from parents. In the process of engaging with Indian religious systems, missionaries fashioned their own representations of India. They did so in ways which were different from dominant colonial and Orientalist perceptions. They located more 'Christian' morals and characteristics in Indian religious systems and students than in Christianity and Europeans. This led schools and teachers to engender hybrid forms of morality which were products of Indian and European interaction.

The reception and contestation of both religious and secular European knowledge are delineated in Chapter IV. It will account for Indian readings of both Christocentric scholarship, western texts, and their relationship. Missionary educationists sought to engage with Hinduism through the lines of Fulfilment. This quasi-Darwinian trajectory guided Christian and European scholars in their attempts to read Christianity into Hinduism. They attempted to make forced connections between Christianity and Hinduism through the tenet of *bhakti* (devotion). Krishna was likened to Jesus and the *Bhagavad Gita* to the Gospel. These scholars argued that Hinduism was significantly influenced by early Christianity in northern India, and that any affinities between the two faiths was a result of Hindu adaptation and borrowing. Yet Indians were not passive victims in this debate. Both popular scholars and students contested the terms of debate which missionaries sought to impose; they utilised both Indian and European modes of analysis. Indian scholars argued that Hinduism, in particular Krishna's divinity and devotion as a religious and spiritual practice, had

developed independently of Christianity. Some even demonstrated that Christianity was more influenced by Indian religious traditions rather than vice-versa.

Indians also contested the western canon as proof of Christian and European superiority, and that Indian thought already possessed traditions of logic and reason. Popular scholars argued that European scholarship was neither symmetrical with Christianity nor was it the exclusive harbinger of rationalism. Newton's findings, in particular, were traced back centuries to Indian rather than European traditions. Students' readings of their courses, in particular, showed that a western curriculum supposedly inundated with Christian truths had little effect upon their own supposed 'superstitious' religious convictions. They utilised both Indian and western epistemes to confound the influence of the western canon. As a result, education became less characterised by pedagogy and metaphysics as a means of propagating Christian influence. Affective knowledge, human relationships and intercourse came to characterise mission schools' attempts to impress their students. This complicated the authority of the text.

The pervasive secular and theistic atmosphere of the enterprise will be investigated in Chapter V. It considers pedagogy in light of the devaluation of the curriculum's importance and the increasing significance attached to human relationships. Consequently, mission schools employed student hostels as a means of exercising this very influence. These residencies flourished after 1900. They were also sites of constructive nationalism. Anglican missionaries sought to maximise their bearing upon a rising generation of students and engaged in subtle forms of nation-building. This was done purely out of selfish and Christocentric motives. These included micro-exercises in self-government and administration, the formation of social service (*sewa*) groups, downplaying an increasing Hindu-Muslim divide, and challenged 'traditional' caste practices. The chapter then proceeds to explore the larger relationship between missionaries and the British Raj by establishing its context and limits. Educationists' own forms of constructive nationalism will then be investigated. They did this in two ways. Missionaries could be negative in their criticisms of British colonial and political policies, especially in the sphere of education. Missionaries defended students from charges of 'sedition', dominant racist ideas, and British apprehension towards students' political aspirations. Missionaries were also positive in their constructivism. They encouraged the expansion of university access, social service groups, and political discussion and participation amongst their students. Teachers and wardens also de-emphasised the hindrance of Indian plurality to its nationhood, whilst propagating and championing India's religious diversity, as a means of missionary influence.

Consequently, mission schools and hostels were strikingly secular. This was not secularism in the French or agnostic sense, but it was a humanistic and religiously-plural form held together by a theism which mission schools and hostels engendered. Missionaries enlivened this process through their desire to maximise their influence upon students. Students also contributed. The moralities they brought into schools were not so much unwavering and revivalist as they were theistic, encompassing and religiously-plural.

The infrastructural shortcomings of education will be addressed in Chapter VI, which critically evaluates the functioning of education as an enterprise. It will ascertain the degree to which schools' financial penury hindered their functioning as institutions. Specifically, it establishes the relationship between mission finances, the state Government, and the degree to which the religious characteristics of mission schools were marginalised. The receipt of Government aid forced schools to spend most of their time preparing for examinations and adhering to Departmental standards. This ensured that Bible instruction was either phased out or removed altogether. Examinations also encouraged both rote memorisation and the hiring of more agnostic Europeans than mission schools desired. Both of these developments ensured that the requisites for religious speculation and critical thinking would be as elusive as the converts for which missions' home audiences hoped. Yet Government-affiliated credibility was necessary in order to maintain the credibility and reputation of their schools. Institutions which failed to either pass students or continue to receive grants were deemed inferior by Indians. These developments also secularised mission schools and served to underscore their humanistic and theistic orientation.

This section will then proceed to account for the compositions of schools' staff and student bodies. Missionaries attached importance to personal influence and 'Christian' example, but even these were wanting; more than 75% of all teaching staff were either Hindu or Muslim. Student demographics, moreover, fared even worse—roughly 95% of students were non-Christians. Thus, the requisite atmosphere for mission schools' very *raison d'être* was compromised. This ensured that the reproduction of authority through the text was largely irrelevant. Mission schools were also Indianised to a remarkable degree. Many headmasters and principals were either Hindu or Muslim. Bible lessons were also administered by Hindus and Muslims; European missionaries were usually unable to give these as a result of an overstretched bureaucracy and paramount examination preparations.

Yet this was only the tip of the iceberg. Students' material concerns and hopes for future employment dominated the educational enterprise. There was a fundamental difference between how missionaries and students defined 'religion' and 'spirituality'. Hindu students

attached greater importance to ritualistic Hinduism whilst missionaries were concerned with inner conviction and belief. Schools which hampered students' attainment of degrees and possible employment were subject to the vagaries of student temperament. Students demonstrated and boycotted schools which did not, in their eyes, meet their expectations. It was not just educationists who noticed this strong material component and religious indifference—numerous Indians observed similarly. Yet the striking worldliness and materialism of educated Indian society did not necessarily mean that students were irreligious. The demand for education emanated from a desire for general and moral-humanistic education, rather than anything explicitly religious. This was a significant contribution to the process of Indian secularisation. Students, vernacular newspapers and western-educated Indians all testified to the moral and humanistic benefits of mission schools. In the process, supposedly 'archaic' and 'traditional' Indian practices were refashioned as 'modern'. Mission schools tended to reproduce Indian ethos as often as they did British and Christian ones. These schools also received a significant amount of patronage from Indians themselves. Many schools were bankrolled by maharajas and pundits. Indian elites supported and encouraged the growth of mission education, and even persuaded hesitant and underfunded missionaries to open new schools and courses. Consequently, these schools and hostels tended to perpetuate caste dominance and distinction. Thus, education did not reproduce just the values of a ruling, colonial elite—it was a qualified one which was as Indian as it was British.

Chapter VII offers a review of issues concerning education and colonial knowledge, larger developments of religious antagonism and revivalism. It then proceeds to discuss the selfishness of the Anglican enterprise, and the limits of its secular character. Lastly the chapter concludes with a brief discussion of Orientalism as defined by Edward Said and its relationship to religion and missionary activity in a colonial context.

The purpose of this research is to examine the diffusion of both secular and religious knowledge through what I have termed the 'educational enterprise' run by Anglican Christian missions in north India c.1880-1915. It aims to contribute to the literature on 'colonial knowledge', Indian education and religion in modern South Asia. It will define education's means, ends, impact upon Indian society and the interdependency between Government, mission schools, and Indians. It then goes on to explore issues which would have a bearing upon both the efficacy of the enterprise and a western curriculum. It further proceeds to examine the impartation of religious and secular knowledge, and their relationship. The development of a secular atmosphere within the enterprise will then be delineated, primarily as a by-product of missionary and Indian interaction. Lastly, this research will examine the shortcomings and limits of the educational enterprise and consider the indispensability of Indian contributions.

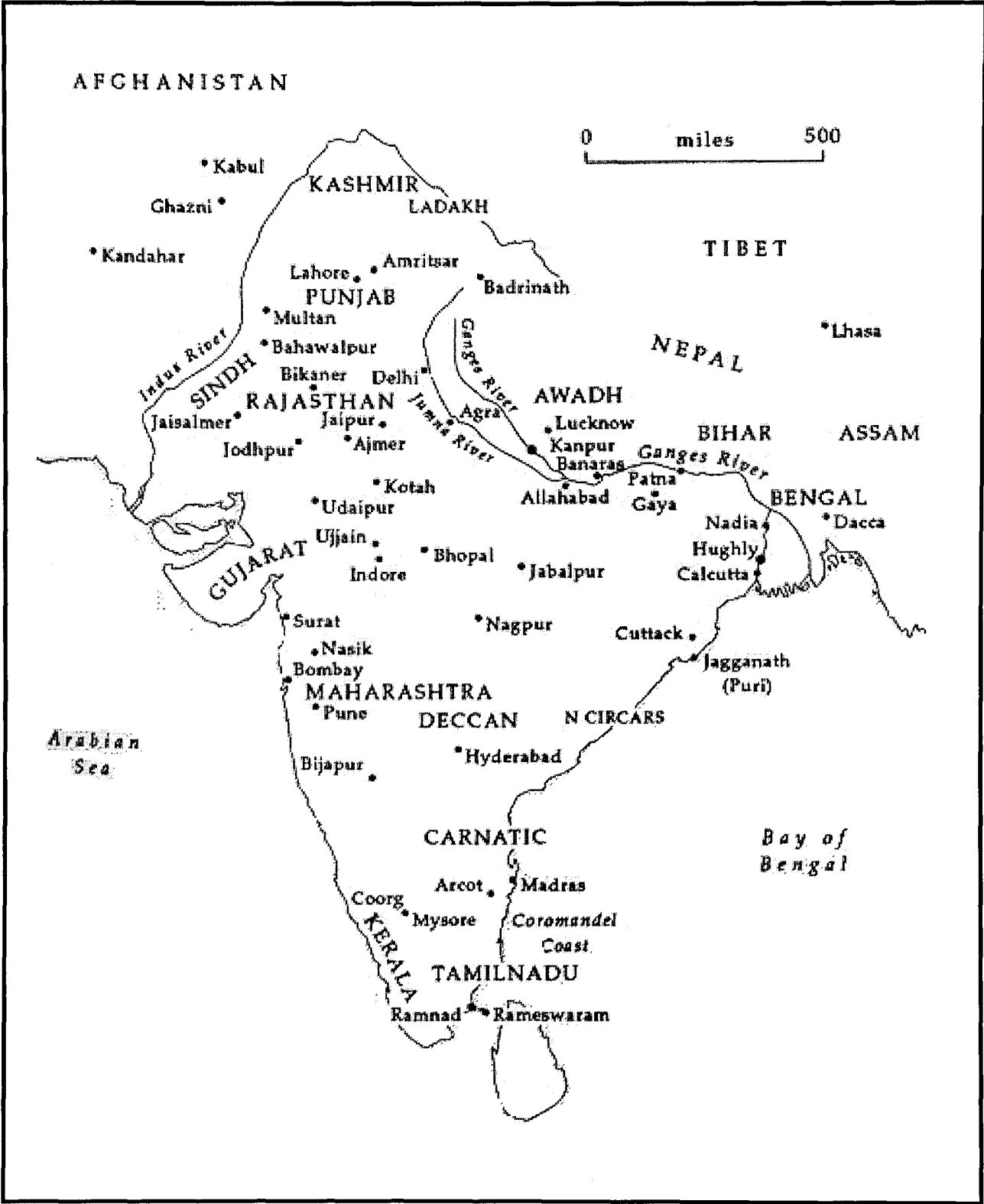
'Colonial knowledge' and education in the literature

This research, at a larger level, is concerned with 'colonial knowledge'. Although it will not engage in specifics with regard to teaching methodologies, it will consider the role of pedagogy in the context of a functioning enterprise and infrastructure. Colonial knowledge itself is a vague and somewhat enigmatic term. Due to the topic's currency, the literature will only be given a brief perusal.

Scholars have attempted to give colonial knowledge shape through different approaches. At one end of the spectrum, some have tended to characterise it as both an Indian and British contribution. They have tended to emphasise Indian agency as often as British weakness and ignorance. Scholars such as Eugene Irschick have argued that perceptions of caste and its culture in South India were a process of dialogue between Indians and Europeans.¹ Tom Trautmann,² for his part, has argued similarly. He has stressed the cooperative nature of knowledge construction with regard to history. Norbert

¹ E. Irschick, *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795-1895* (Berkeley, 1994);

² T. Trautmann, 'Inventing the History of South India', D. Ali, ed., *Invoking the Past: the Uses of History in South Asia* (London, 1999).



Map 1. The Indian Subcontinent, c. 1900
From C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*

Peabody has argued that notions of caste and classification as forms of ‘colonial knowledge’, such as census records, existed before the British and that forms of objectification cannot be seen as unique to colonialism.³ Chris Bayly’s⁴ impressive survey of the ‘information order’ of north India has demonstrated that British knowledge of India was limited, wanting and dependent upon pre-colonial precedents and Indian agency.

At the other end of the spectrum, however, others argue that knowledge is one-sided and have stressed its ability to dominate. Knowledge constructed and collected by the British was utilised to understand and subjugate India. These scholars have tended to see Indians as passive victims, who lack historical agency. The late Bernard Cohn made this case with respect to language.⁵ He argued that British knowledge and usage of Indian languages were utilised to exert power and control over Indians. Nicholas Dirks has recently argued that caste as it exists today is largely a result of the manner in which both its rigidity and legitimacy were constructed. Both the colonial state and missionaries utilised caste as a way to understand and ‘order’ India.⁶ Ronald Inden has argued that larger Orientalist interpretations made India an ‘other’, and were used to justify European superiority—its identity was ‘imagined’.⁷

Education, for its part, is another (and often overlooked) component of the wider literature on ‘colonial knowledge’. It is concerned with the diffusion of knowledge. As far back as the 1940s, B.K. Bohman-Behran, a Bombay-based scholar, argued that English education and the western curriculum were utilised by the British to epistemologically undermine Hinduism’s and Islam’s cultural and religious foundations. It was intricate part of an Anglicisation programme.⁸ Gauri Viswanathan has famously argued that English literature, as part of a western curriculum, acted as a façade for Christianity under the guise of English Civil society.⁹ Citing Macaulay and Alexander Duff, she posits that education was dominating and clandestinely hegemonic. Krishna Kumar¹⁰ has also argued that education was a colonial project. He maintains that the collaborative class, its ethos

³ N. Peabody, ‘Cents, Sense, Census: Human Inventories in Late Precolonial and Early Colonial India’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43, 4 (2001).

⁴ C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁵ B. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, 1996); ‘The Command of Language and the Language of Command,’ R. Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies VI: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (New Delhi, 1989).

⁶ N. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, 2001).

⁷ R. Inden, *Imagining India* (London, 1990).

⁸ B.K. Boman-Behram, *Educational Controversies of India: the Cultural Conquest of India under British Imperialism* (Bombay, 1943).

⁹ G. Viswanathan *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in Colonial India* (New York, 1989).

¹⁰ K. Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education: a Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi, 1991),

and the regimented method of textual impartation set up by the British constituted a rupture in India's history. Others, however, have come to different conclusions. Michael Dodson¹¹ has recently argued that western education as proof of superiority was not necessarily dominating. The superiority of 'useful knowledge', he demonstrates, was vigorously contested by the pundits of Banaras College.

Colonial knowledge therefore is a vibrant but somewhat enigmatic term. Scholars have added to its historiographical cornucopia, but have hitherto neglected to figure education into our larger understanding. Education, as a means of diffusing knowledge, can enrich and enliven our understandings of the sinews of both Indian and European knowledge systems and the manner in which they interacted in a colonial society. It would be one matter to champion the supposed 'modernising' effects of English education, and quite another to gauge its actual impact. The pronouncements of colonial statesmen are, after all, but poor and incomplete guides to effectively understanding how knowledge functions in a colonial society. The very idea that this knowledge was created neither means that it was effective, nor that Indians were passive and acquiescing subjects.

'Colonial knowledge' and Indian education can also both be given greater perspective and clarity through a study of missionaries. On closer inspection, they were relatively better acquainted with the intricacies of Indian society than the colonial state by the end of the nineteenth century. This was a period when the British relied more upon abstract and statistical intelligence rather than the chatter and human intelligence of India's streets, bazaars and school corridors.¹² Yet our historical literature has generally regarded missions as secondary in importance to British capital and economic change. Western scholars have also been averse to figuring missionaries into studies of Orientalism and the colonial encounter,¹³ usually dismissing them as overzealous bombasts. This has mired our historiography. Their experiences in the colonial encounter were more intimate than 'official' colonialism and Anglo-India and British knowledge. This is precisely why their value as historical actors should not be overlooked. Dismissing missionaries on account of their purported aims deprives our scholarship of a useful window into which we can look to understand the nature of change in late colonial India.

¹¹ M.S. Dodson, 'Orientalism, Sanskrit scholarship, and Education in Colonial North India, c.1775-1875', unpub. PhD. diss., Cambridge University, 2003.

¹² C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996).

¹³ B. Douglas, 'Encounters with the Enemy? Academic Readings of Missionary Narratives on Melanesians,' *CSSH*, 43:1 (2001), pp. 37-64.

Education and Christianity in late nineteenth century India

Missionary activity, at the larger level, are parts of both modern South Asian and colonial history which are well-documented. But an exhaustive study of their educational endeavours, especially in relation to larger issues of colonial knowledge, is surprisingly absent. This dissertation seeks to connect these two realms of historical inquiry. It specifically aims to explore the connection between Christianity and western scholarship and to shed new light upon the tension between secularism and religiosity.

Missionary education has been given a decent hearing by scholars of South Asia. Kevin Eapen has shed light upon the indispensability of missions in establishing an educational infrastructure and how they seem to have run their own unofficial Education Department in Kerala.¹⁴ Others have shown that missions were instrumental in founding schools in Bihar¹⁵ and the princely state of Travancore.¹⁶ They often picked up where the colonial Government was unable. The nexus of mission education and Indian nationalism has also been explored. Andrew Mathew has argued that missions moved away from winning converts during the nineteenth century to attempting to influence the nascent nationalist movement.¹⁷ John Ingleby has demonstrated that missions were active in establishing educational infrastructures in northern India.¹⁸ More recent work has done much to expand our understanding of missionaries and their encounters with Indian society. Jeffrey Cox, for one, has questioned the conflation of colonialism and Christianity. He has shed light upon the ephemeral nature missionaries attached to the Raj. Missions in the Punjab took full advantage of Government grants in starting and running schools.¹⁹ This refreshing analysis has offered us new perspectives not only on the nature of social change in northern India, but also on the religious and Christian component of the 'civilising mission'.

This dissertation is not, however, a study of the history of missions as institutions but of knowledge and religion in South Asia. Past historians have tended to consider religion and missionaries irrelevant to social and colonial history, given the paucity of converts they managed to attract. Nothing could be further from the truth. Mission activity was a significant social factor in the shaping of modern India. Hindus and Muslims adapted the

¹⁴ K. Eapen, *Church Mission Society and Education in Kerala* (Kerala, 1985).

¹⁵ S. Pandey, *Education and Social Change in Bihar, 1900-1921* (Varanasi, 1975).

¹⁶ K. Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State: Travancore, 1858-1936* (New Delhi, 1998).

¹⁷ A. Mathew, *Christian Missions, Education and Nationalism: From Dominance to Compromise* (New Delhi, 1988).

¹⁸ J. Ingleby, *Missionaries, Education and India: Issues in Protestant Missionary Education in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New Delhi, 2000).

¹⁹ J. Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940* (Stanford, 2002).

rhetoric and practices of their antagonists, codified religious canons, and organised themselves along proselytising lines. These developments helped contribute to ‘modern’ and larger Hindu and Muslim identities in South Asia.

Religious debate and discussion between learned Indians and company scholars has also been well-studied. Less examined has been the missionary-scholar-Orientalist of the late nineteenth and early centuries. These missionaries engaged in a voluminous amount of discourse with pundits, moulvies and sannayasis. Missionaries engaged in the higher and multiple thoughts of Hinduism and its philosophy, discussing and investigating everything from the nature of God, incarnation, the afterlife and the transmigration of souls. Banaras was usually a focal point. Religious tracts and scriptures were exchanged, and pundits and missionaries would meet weeks later to discuss, in either seminar form or in the public arena of debate. Great and vibrant public discussions were generated, and at times even the hope of religious conversion was jettisoned completely. Missions realised that the only genuine way to convert someone was to convince rather than induce or coerce them. The period between the 1880s and 1910s was not just an era of religious and ideological conflict, but was also characterised by intense discourse and discussion, even if its means and ends were Christocentric.

Religious discussion and Indian knowledge in pre-colonial India

Inter-religious discourse, debate and scholarship were by no means entirely new to South Asia. Scholars, politicians and holy men, whether associated with colonialism or not, had for centuries engaged with Indian philosophies and religions, all with varying degree of intensity (and success). Mughal politicians such as Abdul Fazil,²⁰ Firuz Shah Tughluq²¹ and the mystic Kabir²² explored, categorised and at times unwittingly built bridges between supposedly irreconcilable religious systems. The Mughal emperor Jahangir held ecumenical debates with pundits,²³ whilst the Sufi Dara Shukoh was adept in Hindu theology and had the Upanishads translated into Persian during the mid-seventeenth century.²⁴ He also studied numerous Hindu canons and sought out commonalities between

²⁰ B. Chunder, *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India* (London, 1869), Vol. I., pp. 383-4.

²¹ ‘Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi’, *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XV (Hyderabad, 1952).

²² D. Lorenzen, *Kabir Legends and Ananta-Das’ Kabir Parachi* (Albany, 1991); M. Hedayetullah, *Kabir: the Apostle of Hindu Muslim Unity: Interaction of Hindu-Muslim Ideas in the Formation of the Bhakti Movement* (New Delhi, 1977).

²³ ‘Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri’, D. Price, tr., *Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir* (Calcutta, 1826), pp. 12-50.

²⁴ From Hasrat, ‘Dara Shikoh’, in W.T. De Bary, et. al., *Sources of Indian Tradition* (New York, 1958), pp. 507-8.

the world's major religious faiths. Shukoh conversed with pundits and *sannyasis* regularly, especially after he found the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic studies of God's nature to be 'compendious and enigmatical'.²⁵ Al-Burani's *Kitab-al-Hind* demonstrated an impressive knowledge not only of Hinduism but also of Judaism and Christianity.²⁶ Mirza Zulfigar (pen name 'Mobad') in his *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (school of religions) demonstrated an impressive knowledge of Christianity, Judaism and their similarities to Islam.²⁷ There was therefore already a long and established tradition when missionaries arrived. Missionary efforts differed only in degree from their predecessors; it was not the epistemic rupture which some scholars have suggested. The confrontational and ideological principles of religious debate,²⁸ although important, were by no means definitive of the interaction between Christianity, Islam and Hinduism. Religion was vigorously debated by Indians, but they were not just arguments and conflicts in ideology. Missionaries and Indian religious men explored nuanced commonalities between faiths. This exchange of religious knowledge would, in the end, have a bearing upon perceptions of Indian nationhood and its loci.

Moreover, missionaries and Europeans were not the first to point out and criticise supposedly irrational and superstitious features of Indian thought. They were but the latest in a stream of outside observers who sought to engage with schools of Hindu thought and sometimes became frustrated in the process. The Arab chronicler al-Burani had pointed out the supposed illogic of Indian thought, noting that of the religious beliefs and precepts of 'country' Hinduism, 'some of them are simply abominable'.²⁹ Other Arab³⁰ and Chinese³¹ travellers noted the sometimes 'baffling' conceptions of Hinduism centuries before formal European colonial rule. The British therefore encountered a society which was, *to some degree*, already labelled illogical and perplexing.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Also see S.L. Pandey, *Wither Indian Philosophy: Essays on Indian and Western Epistemology* (Allahabad, 1978), pp. 119-218.

²⁶ M.A. Ali, 'Muslims' perceptions of Judaism and Christianity in Colonial India', *MAS*, (33), 1 (1999), pp. 243-55.

²⁷ I. bin Nur Mohammed, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (Bombay, 1875).

²⁸ A. Copley, *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1997); R.F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on anti-Christian apologetics in Early Nineteenth Century India* (Vienna, 1981).

²⁹ E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India: an Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India* (London, 1887), p. 31.

³⁰ H.M. Eliot, J. Dowson, ed., *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians: the Muhammedan Period* (London, 1886), Vol. I, pp. 1-45, 47-83.

³¹ T. Walter, ed., *On Yuan Chwan's Travels in India, 629-645 A.D.* (London, 1904), pp. 147, 172, 362.

Useful and Godly knowledge: education and evangelism, c.1840s-1870s

At a larger level, missionaries differed from their predecessors in degree rather than in essence. One way was in their knowledge systems. They attached value to western scholarship which could necessarily 'prove' Christian superiority. They drew upon the corpus of western and classical scholarship, and not just their own theologies, to make their case. The debate over the symmetry between Christianity and western education was one which had grown increasingly vigorous during the nineteenth century. Between the 1830s and 1870s missionaries held to the view that western education was necessarily 'Christian' and would propagate such ethos accordingly, if not surreptitiously. During this period the symmetry between Christianity, western scholarship and European civilisation was championed.

Missionaries believed that education was a means whereby Christian values and examples could be secretly invoked. This was particularly true between the 1840s and 1870s. Godly and useful knowledge were seen as symmetrical in the colonial context, and government and Christian schools could impart such ethos through a western curriculum. European scholarship, already influenced by Christian doctrine, would thence be diffused amongst both Hindu and Muslim Indians. The solid and indisputable links between western science and Christianity would demonstrate 'truth', and shatter the foundations of Islam and Hinduism. This became acute immediately after the Indian Mutiny (1857-8), which witnessed an voluminous and bellicose evangelical reaction. One missionary educationist suggested that the Bible could 'be used in commenting on the literature of Europe...to be used as a reference when the pupils read Milton or Spenser'.³² Indians would be completely unaware of what was going on: 'no Hindoo would ever scent persecution, or the application of force to his conscious, in such a very distant and far-fetched connection of Government with religion as this, unless the idea were put into his head by our own advocates of an official and superfine neutrality'.³³ Revs. Henry Elliot and Henry Tucker both remarked that

he [the student] enters the school premises, becomes acquainted with mathematical science, with astronomy and geometry. Naturally, he loses confidence in his own religion when he finds that it contains so many ridiculous and impossible explanations. Propositions of Euclid and Sir Isaac Newton confute the fables of the Vedas and Puranas...their religion, therefore...is thus...taken from there unaware[ingly]...it is impossible, even if we wished it, to be absolutely 'neutral' in dealing with the false religions of India; for they are so intimately blended with false science that we cannot teach the simplest lessons of true science,

³² H.V. Elliot, *Special General Meeting of the Church Missionary Society at Exeter Hall* (London, 1858). p. 45.

³³ *The Times*, Leading Article, 19 November 1858.

without contradicting the false sciences contained in their religious books...and so far proving their religions themselves to be false.³⁴

Rev. Norman Macleod argued that the genius of Christianity lay in its flexibility. He believed that acquiring knowledge of Indian and Hindu civilisation would ease conversion: 'the fact is certain...that education itself has destroyed the old world [of the east] as a system of religious belief...as education of every kind advances, it prepares a wider field for the preacher, if the seed he sows as 'the Word' is to be 'understood' as to be received 'into the heart'.'³⁵

These beliefs were also shared by British officials and administrators. Hodgson Pratt, an inspector of Bengali schools, observed that 'in the Government schools, however, no apprehensions of the kind [of proselytising] ever enters the parent's head; but the students are daily learning to appreciate the Christian thoughts of Cowper, Pope, and Milton—indirect religious teaching by every source, without any warning whatsoever'.³⁶ Charles Trevelyan argued that 'by the time they [Indians] have acquired a mastery over the English language, under judicious and enlightened instructors, their minds are almost metamorphosed into the text and cast of a European youth, and they cannot help by expressing their utter contempt for Hindoo superstitions and prejudices'.³⁷

Christianity during this time was also closely and rhetorically intertwined with colonialism. Missions aimed to win adherents to both their temporal and spiritual empires. Charles Trevelyan again commented that 'we shall exchange profitable subjects for still more profitable allies...we recollect that our literature is deeply impregnated with the spirit of our beneficent religion'.³⁸ Echoing Macaulay's Educational Minute of 1835, it was believed that 'so far as the Christian teacher rightly educates the heathen mind, he not only fulfils the great commands of his Divine Master, but also incidentally aids and supports the British rule'.³⁹ Alexander Duff maintained that 'Christianity has never taught rulers to oppress, so it will never teach subjects to rebel'.⁴⁰ The Chaplain of Bombay, Rev. George P. Badger, saw the benefits to be gained through education. Even though he thought that educating Indians would not have the same effects as it would upon

³⁴ Elliot, p. 67; J.H. Mitchell, *Indian Missions viewed in Connection with the Mutiny and other recent events* (London, 1859); H.C. Tucker, *A few words on teaching the Bible in Government Schools in India* (London, 1859), p. 16.

³⁵ N. Macleod, *Address of Christian Missions to India* (Edinburgh, 1868). pp.19-33.

³⁶ H.C. Tucker, *A few words on teaching the Bible in Government Schools in India* (London, 1859). p. 16.

³⁷ C.E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London, 1838). p. 219.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 195. He compared Russia with India: 'the languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar', p. 44.

³⁹ *Review of a letter addressed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company* (London, 1858), p. 9.

⁴⁰ A. Duff, *The Indian Rebellion, Letters* (London, 1858). p. 161.

Europeans, it would still cement them to British rule. It would encourage them to think, act, and exhibit behaviour which would lead one to think they were Christian—they might not be so in creed, but certainly in mentality and behaviour.⁴¹ A resident of Lucknow, J.L. Archer, believed that Christianity would precede the introduction of European civilisation, and that there was little to no antagonism between the two.⁴²

Doubts and further theological developments, c. 1880s-1920

Yet missionary convictions, especially British Protestant ones, about the symmetry between Christianity and western scholarship had changed markedly by the 1880s. They no longer championed the ‘deconstructive’ or clandestine effects of western canons upon Hinduism. Indians had by now already begun to challenge their symmetry. Protestant theology by the twentieth century became more universal, humanistic and sophisticated in its outlook. It had come under the influence of Positivist and civic ideals.⁴³ It was also a period in which the tumultuous debates amongst Evangelicals, Anglo-Catholics and Broad Church followers over the confrontational approaches required by missionaries in India were increasingly questioned.⁴⁴ The dominant strain of thought, by the 1880s, was that of ‘Fulfilment theory’. This doctrine, which had grown organically over the course of the nineteenth century, came to its culmination in John Farquhar’s *The Crown of Hinduism*.⁴⁵ Roughly put, it was a belief that Christianity had to complete the world’s remaining faiths in order to fall in accordance with the very words of the Gospel: ‘I have come not to destroy but to fulfil’. This had its origins in Rev. Henry Rogers’s *The Eclipse of Faith*. He argued that science and scholarship would not destroy non-Christian religious beliefs, but would illuminate the Divine; to remain agnostic would be to seek refuge in the ‘Paradise of Fools’.⁴⁶ Understanding the wonders of biology, physics, and human psychology would all help to understand the glory of a Divine Creator, whence all mankind sprang. This mentality was also stoutly (but not always admittedly) theist and universalistic in nature.

⁴¹ G.P. Badger, *Government in its relations with Education and Christianity in India* (London, 1858), p. 22. Although a sceptic in believing that education could ‘enlighten’ Indians, he did believe that it was only Christianity which could achieve those ends with some degree of marked success. He that in order to truly better the masses in India ‘the missionary must, in my opinion, precede the schoolmaster’, p. 22.

⁴² J.L. Archer, *Indian Mutinies Accounted For* (London, 1857), pp. 14-5.

⁴³ C. Cashdollar, *The Transformation in Theology, 1830-1890: Positivism and Protestant Thought in Britain and America* (Princeton, 1989).

⁴⁴ G. Beckerlegge, ‘Professor Max Muller and the Missionary Cause’, in J. Wolffe, ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain, Vol. V: Culture and Empire* (Manchester, 1997), p. 187.

⁴⁵ J.N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism* (London, 1913).

⁴⁶ H. Rogers, *The Eclipse of Faith* (London, 1861). pp. 312-6.

Europeans (in actuality Protestant Europeans), the first to embrace ‘true’ Christianity in its totality, therefore had a duty to fulfil and engage with the world’s remaining faiths. What missionaries had to do was to demonstrate that Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism were not falsehoods but aspirations after what was called ‘truth’. This was not terribly different from the *nava vidha* (new knowledge) or the New Dispensation of the Brahmo Samaj, which claimed to have received the ‘fulfilling’ seal of the world’s faiths from God. This idea was alluded to by Max Muller when he relayed to the Conference of World Religions in Chicago in 1893 that ‘the points on which the great religions differ are far less numerous, and certainly far less important than are the points on which they all agree’.⁴⁷ Christianity, missionaries maintained, was the highest and final expressions of truth. Fulfilment accepted the glimmering of truth in other faiths but ultimately insisted that they needed to be corrected. It was undoubtedly influenced by Darwinian theory, with its model that religions partially evolved, and because they originated from one original source, they all contained some degree of inherent truth.

‘Truth’, as missionaries condescendingly termed it, may be in the world’s other religions, but they ultimately needed to be corrected. Missionaries often argued that they ‘[found] truth, though greatly disfigured’.⁴⁸ The missionary, noted Edmund Willis, ought to ‘recognise all that is good and true in their own [religious] systems’.⁴⁹ George Westcott wrote that he had been

doing what I can to study Hindu reform movements with a view to discovering how best we may make the Gospel truth acceptable to educated Indians without prejudice by natural pride in their national literature and thought...an attempt to treat religious problems in a sympathetic spirit would, I am sure, be welcome to many educated Indians...showing sympathy with all that is best in Indian thought and belief, and showing that it has its Fulfilment in the Gospel.⁵⁰

One CMS teacher maintained that ‘if Christianity is ultimate, and is fit to be a universal religion, then it must be shown to be related to Buddhism, Brahmanism, Confucianism and others and perhaps all indigenous religions somewhat as it is to Judaism’.⁵¹ Hinduism, it was argued, possessed beams of truth in the *Rig Veda*, Upanishads, and the *Bhagavad Gita*. Krishna’s incarnation was compared to that of Jesus, whilst the message of the *Gita* was likened to the Gospel.

The ideology of Fulfilment, therefore, ultimately brought itself into the orbit of mission schools. Because of its recognition of the truths of the world’s religions, mission

⁴⁷ E.J. Sharpe, *Faith Meets Faith: Some Christian Attitudes to Hinduism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1977), p. 17.

⁴⁸ R. Longridge, *Missionary Lessons on India* (Oxford, 1900), p. 32.

⁴⁹ E. Willis, *Difficulties of Indian Conversion* (Oxford, n.d.), p. 14.

⁵⁰ CLR, Westcott to Montgomery, 2 November 1908, pp. 503-4, RHL.

⁵¹ ‘Miscellaneous Pamphlet’, p. 10, G2/I7/P2, BUL.

schools' approaches to Indian knowledge systems were constructive. They hoped to generate a particular type of spiritual inquiry which would compare students' own religious and spiritual tenets with Christianity's. Missionaries believed that the higher classes of Indian society would be amenable to such discourse. Informed by a hardened post-Mutiny religious atmosphere, mission schools could not be overly-vocal religious propagators and proselytisers. They had to relate their faith to that of their students. Students were thus to be shown 'the facts', and decide for themselves regarding the 'truth' which was presented. Fulfilment has been interpreted by some scholars as being a religious copy of the condescending and Eurocentric western liberalism of the 1800s.⁵² Yet this misses the point. It had an ultimate bearing upon the diffusion of western and 'useful knowledge'. It moreover did not prevent students and scholars from either contesting the terms of debate or participating in them.

The societies most involved in education in the North-western Provinces (latter United Provinces) of Agra and Oudh were the Church Missionary Society (CMS), London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). The former two were more evangelical in orientation, whilst the SPG was itself more representative of the 'High Church' tradition in Anglicanism, hence having more in common with the Catholic Church. These societies differed in their stances on doctrine and especially the use of ritualism in the Christian mass. Yet despite these differences, there was a marked degree of congruence in both their attitudes and practice in their dealings with Indian students and their religious traditions. For instance, the rather minute differences between societies over the degree to which they planned on accommodating Indian religions in their efforts to propagate Christianity did not manifest themselves on the ground. Often enough, missionaries from different societies actually filled-in for teachers at other societies' schools. These mission teachers' and headmasters' experiences in India, moreover, ended up being defined more by their homogeneity rather than the somewhat heterogeneous attitudes of the societies as institutions and as representatives of differing theological stances.

Aims and outline of this research

This dissertation therefore will critically examine the impartation of knowledge through Anglican mission schools in north India and contribute to the ongoing debate over 'colonial knowledge'. Yet at the same time it is fully aware that 'missionaries' is a vague term, given

⁵² G. Studdert-Kennedy, *Providence and the Raj: Imperial Mission and Missionary Imperialism* (New Delhi, 1998).

the differences between societies such as the Catholics, Americans and Scots, and that this study is by no means representative of latter nineteenth century missionaries on the whole. It merely aims to shed light upon those societies which were most active in education in late colonial north India, mainly the CMS, LMS and SPG. It also hopes to delineate the developments of and changes in missionary engagements with Indian religious systems. Chapter II establishes the moral and economic context of education in late nineteenth century UP, accounting for religious instruction, the economic rationale for subsidising mission schools and the relationship between the two. It will further define the relationship between missions and Government. Chapter III defines the means and ends of mission schools, considers the degree to which they were dependent upon Indian agency and the impact of religious discourse upon 'representations' of India. The reception and contestation of both religious and secular knowledge are dealt with in Chapter IV. Indian contestations of Orientalist and Christocentric scholarship receive particular attention. The development of a secular and religiously-plural educational sphere, as a by-product of missionary and Indian interaction, will be investigated in Chapter V. It considers the devaluation of the curriculum, investigates student hostels and Indian nationalism. The infrastructural shortcomings of education will be addressed in Chapter VI, and ascertain the degree to which the enterprise reproduced Indian, European, and Christian values. Chapter VII will conclude with a review and argue that the impartation of knowledge, rather than serving as a hegemonic and dominating colonial undertaking, was internally contradictory, fragmented, and subject to Indian agency and contestation.

At a larger level, this study will seek to suggest that 'colonial knowledge' is perhaps insufficient in characterising power relations in colonial India. Our historical literature has, to a degree, borne witness to particular ethnic and religious-centric histories. Yet this is overly-simplistic. This has tended to deny the overlapping realms of religion, and to conflate religions with either nations or peoples. A history of missionaries should therefore be seen not as a reassertion of Eurocentricism, but as an effort to restore Indian historical agency and add further historical understanding to religion in South Asia. Missionaries, precisely because they intimately transcended boundaries of religion, offer a unique insight into change and interaction in colonial Indian society. This has only recently been begun to be appreciated by historians. It is also hoped that an exploration of the interaction between Anglican mission schools and their Hindu and Muslim students will help enrich our understanding of the context of the emergence of a pan-Indian nationalism.

Missionary education in northern India, it must be stressed, did not exist in a vacuum. It was intricately related to larger questions of morality and religion. The state's own decision to subsidise mission schools was greatly informed by 'communalism' and issues of religious education, in line with an increasing propensity to see India as 'traditional' and 'religious'. Yet this also demonstrated a great deal of the colonial state's ignorance, and left an 'information gap' in knowledge of Indian religions and morality. This precluded the possibility of a more theistic and, at times, humanistic morality, and would greatly inform the state's decision to subsidise mission schools. This chapter argues that mission schools were sought out as a neutral imparter of knowledge and religious instruction. They would neither be agnostic nor would they directly contribute to Hindu-Muslim tensions in the educational arena. Yet the UP Government also gave financial backing to Anglican mission schools because they would alleviate an already tenuous state of finances. Secondary and higher education in particular was particularly expensive, and the Education Department could not have met the demand for such instruction without seeking recourse to private initiative.

These factors combined to greatly inform the UP Government's decision to outsource secondary and higher education. The willingness to heavily subsidise these mission schools was more a product of very real predicaments of financial penury and their own coloured perceptions of Indian morality and religion. It would be simplistic to say that there was indirect and clandestine collaboration between missions and government. Government aid was important, for schools' reception of grants would ultimately have an irrevocable bearing upon both the diffusion of 'useful knowledge' and its ability to serve as part of a colonial project.

Morality and religion: predicaments and context of colonial knowledge, c.1880-1910s

The Department's dealings with moral and religious instruction ultimately brought itself into the realm of mission schools. Worries over communalism in the educational arena



Map 2. The Gangetic Plain
From C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*

guaranteed that mission schools would be part of any educational policy. Yet the state approached issues of religion and morality with regard to education with a particular amount of ignorance. Officials and administrators simply did not know students well enough to gauge their feelings and sentiments, and instead relied on statistical surveys and the testimonies of subordinate officials. The famed Punjab ethnographer Denzil Ibbetson admitted that ‘our knowledge of the customs and belief of the people among whom we dwell [is] nothing compared to our ignorance’.¹ Robert Needham Cust referred to the masses of Indian students ‘of whose aspiration and of whose genius we are utterly ignorant’.² Official British attitudes and knowledge tended to be more removed, less intimate and more insouciant in cultural and human knowledge.³ This can partly account for many of the confrontations and misunderstandings that occurred towards the latter nineteenth century over, for example, temple management and the laying of sewage and water pipes. Official and Anglo-Indian knowledge of the pulse and inner workings of Indian society was undoubtedly limited, especially when it came to education and students. E.M. Forster⁴ noted how Major Callendar was blind to the growing social networking amongst western-educated Indians and was convinced that caste and ‘tradition’ would initially prevent such associations. Yet this was not so much an Orientalist text as it was an accurate depiction of the limits of the colonial state’s understanding of Indian society, and the degree to which the British increasingly perceived it as religious and traditional.

The tendency to view Indian society as religious informed the Government’s dealings with moral and religious education. They were markedly simplistic and quick to generalise. This precluded the possibility of a theistic Indian morality which was not defined by ‘tradition’ and ‘Hinduism’. When British administrators and statesmen such as Sir Alfred Croft discarded the Brahmo Samaj’s theism as the ‘new wine of western evolutionary science poured into the old bottles of Hindu philosophy’,⁵ they spoke just as much out of their actual condescension as of their own ignorance. One UP Government report stated that ‘religion and morality, which should go hand in hand are in this country

¹ D. Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography: Being Extracts from the Panjab Census Report of 1881, Treating of Religion, Language and Caste* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 2.

² R. Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays: Written from the Year 1847 to 1887* (London, 1887), p. 152.

³ K.H. Prior, ‘The British Administration of Hinduism in North India, 1780-1900’, unpub. PhD. diss., Cambridge University 1990; P. McGinn, ‘Governance and Resistance in North Indian Towns, 1860-1900’, unpub. PhD. diss., Cambridge University, 1993, pp. 232-44; C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁴ E.M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (London, 1924), p. 72.

⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, Sir A. Croft, 28 October 1888, NAI.

too often inevitably separated'.⁶ One official argued that critics of the Government's policy of religious neutrality and secularism were making too fine a distinction between civic and religious morality: 'there is some distinction between school discipline and moral training, though in some aspects the former is so closely allied to moral training as to cover a part of the same ground'.⁷

Education officials and administrators, on the whole, were very much weary about emerging communalism and Hindu-Muslim antagonism. They wished to minimise these. This informed their thinking to a considerable degree, and was largely influenced by an increasing tendency to view Indian society as inherently and sometimes 'fanatically' religious. This informed an increasing sense of British conservatism and reactionism in post-Mutiny India.⁸ Hindus and Muslims, it seemed, had different educational priorities. It was feared that sanctioning either a Hindu or Muslim initiative would feed communal rivalry. The UP Government was already fearful of overly antagonising and marginalising those members of the *Ashraf* class who witnessed their share of Government employment rapidly decline after the 1860s.⁹ This greatly informed the deliberations during the Mayo Commission during the 1870s which dealt with Muslim educational issues.

Of course, there were differences between Hindus and Muslims when it came to religion's role in the classroom. Muslim educational initiatives tended to be more religiously-oriented. A debate surfaced in the United Provinces over the possible introduction of religious and moral instruction in Government schools. Nawab Mustafa Hussein of Amhora sent to the Education Department a proposal for religious instruction in state-schools out side of classroom hours. The agitation for religious education had emanated primarily from Muslims, but also groups such as the Hindu Mahasabha. Muslims had started petitioning the Government back in 1890 under the leadership of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan for religious instruction.¹⁰ The Nawab drew up a proposal for pupils to receive *maktab* and *madrasah*-style instruction in Government schools within prescribed instruction hours.¹¹ He insisted that pupils, ever since the advent of western education in India, had been yearning to recover the religious instruction of the *maktab*

⁶ *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1907), p. 67.

⁷ D-Series, 117a, Excerpt from 'NWP and Oudh Gazette, 1896', RHL.

⁸ T. Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt* (Princeton, 1965), *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1995).

⁹ F.C.R. Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923* (London, 1974).

¹⁰ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 1-4, No. 65-67, 1890, S. Khan to NWP & O Gov. Sec., 23 July 1889, OIOC; A.R. Khan, *the All-Indian Muslim Educational Conference: its Contribution to the Cultural Developments of Indian Muslims, 1886-1947* (Oxford, 2001).

¹¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 235, 1908, UPSA.

and the *madrasah*. A flurry of correspondence between the Nawab, district inspectors and the Director of Public Instruction ensued. When the petition was released in 1890, the Director, Charles White was wholly against the idea.¹² The Nawab, claiming to represent the interests of Muslims in the United Provinces, reasoned that Hindu and other non-Muslim students would welcome a return to more ‘traditional’ and ‘Indian’ forms of pedagogy. Nawab Abdul Latif,¹³ the Secretary of the Mohammedan Literary Society, observed that Muslims were more likely to avail themselves of religious instruction, whereas Hindus generally did not. Latif was averse to the introduction of an agnostic and secular moral textbook, but he confided that this was more suitable for Hindus.¹⁴ Most Hindu students gave up their religious teaching and devoted their entire attention to secular instruction. He lamented that ‘the minds of students are so filled with secular studies that religion drops out of their view.’¹⁵ Thomas Holderness later observed that ‘the matter of religious education was taken up by Mohammedans...it is merely a matter of rivalry with the Hindus’.¹⁶ In fact the Muslim Educational Conference was so intent on having religious instruction in Government schools and during school hours, that they even petitioned the Director of Public Instruction to amend the rules of the 1854 Educational Despatch.¹⁷ The measure was supported by particular Muslim organisations, primarily the Muslim Educational Conference of 1912, whilst Hindu groups though it was inappropriate to introduce such instruction.¹⁸

Hindu educational initiatives, on the other hand, tended to be more secular in nature. Examples of indigenous Hindu schools were cited by the 1882 Education Commission: five out of every six schools were found to be purely secular.¹⁹ At the Commission Tata Ram reported that many indigenous Hindu schools were now using the very ‘secular’ Government school textbooks, and with much enthusiasm.²⁰ Thomas Holderness, a previous Director, also observed that ‘there is practically no desire among educated Hindus to teach or create [classes in religion]’.²¹ At the 1911 Educational Conference, Gopal Krishna Gokhale reported that in schools where religious instruction was given, the

¹² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 655, C. White, 1894, UPSA.

¹³ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, N. Latif to Bengal Government, 31 July 1888, NAI.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., T. Holderness, No. 655, 1894, UPSA.

¹⁷ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 296, 1896, UPSA.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Report by the North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh Provincial Committee with evidence taken Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission* (Calcutta, 1884), pp. 86-8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 655, 1894, T. Holderness, UPSA.

Bhagavad Gita was taught not as a religious text but as a moral one.²² Students with whom he was familiar were enthusiastic about it not so much because of its glorification of Hinduism, but because it championed civic and humanistic moralities.²³ Pandit Sundar Lal, another delegate, observed that in colleges religious instruction for Hindu boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one could only be imparted along theistic lines. To instruct them in the tenets of Hindu cosmology and mysticism in the *pathshalas* would provoke either a backlash or general indifference at best; students were more concerned with examinations.²⁴ One delegate, Subramani Aiyar, observed that religious instruction would never be effective, or even demanded, so long as it was not part of an examinable curriculum: 'the [religious] teaching was not a success, because religion is not a subject for examination and hence it does not pay the students to attend such classes'.²⁵ The student drive for advancement was recognised by many, who suggested that it might even be made a university subject; only then would students willingly devote adequate time to it. Charles de la Fosse stated that 'Hindus consider that the home is the proper place in which religion should be taught'.²⁶

Other Hindus observed similarly. The Secretary of the British Indian Association, Mohan Mukherjee, corroborated these findings, urging that it was 'a matter of doubtful expediency to think of introducing religious education in Indian schools and colleges when the tendency of modern times everywhere is to secularise education'.²⁷ The Bihar Landholders' Society, which had many times spoke and written on educational issues, was against systematic religious instruction. But it was in favour of general instruction in ethics and secular forms of morality.²⁸ Their secretary, Prashad Sen, observed that even pundits who taught at their *tols* (schools) cared little for their *chelas* (students). Instructors received higher pay and were content merely with that.²⁹ Even if the opportunity was there, Prasad believed that it 'would recommend itself to a few'.³⁰

The Education Department nevertheless went on to entertain the idea of encouraging religious instruction outside of prescribed school hours. But it found that, outside of Amroha, such opportunities fell on deaf ears. The Nawab's plea turned up to be

²² *Papers Regarding the Educational Conference, Allahabad, February 1911* (Calcutta, 1911), p. 16, UPSRR.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 235, 1908, C. de la Fosse, UPSA.

²⁷ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, M. Mukherjee, 2 March 1888, NAI.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, P.P.H., 29 July 1889, NAI.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, P. Sen, 20 April 1888, NAI.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

unrepresentative of the larger Muslim community. There was but one successful trial run of religious instruction after school hours in the Government high school in Amroha.³¹ Yet even this was short-lived. Charles de la Fosse observed that

as to the inquiry to what extent advantage has been taken of the liberty to give religious instruction, I find occasional but scanty references to the subjects in the quinquennial report in the chapter on moral instruction. At the present time the liberty to give religious instruction is not availed of in any Government or District Board school...all are to the same effect, namely, that the circular was practically a dead letter.³²

Thomas Lewis the following year admitted that Indians' desire for explicitly religious education was by and large wanting. He maintained that such a scheme for religious instruction would be out of the question, even if all of India were Christian!³³

Hindus and Muslims, on close inspection, had different perceptions over the role of religion in the classroom. The Education Department was keen to avoid any inflammation of religious communalism in this respect. The Department felt that religious instruction would exacerbate religious sensitivities which would 'intensify religious differences, which are already a source of some difficulty to the administration',³⁴ and would 'strengthen prejudices which are inconsistent with the intellectual progress of the country'.³⁵ Thomas Lewis accused Muslims of inflaming communal tensions—they were fully aware that Hindus preferred to keep matters of religion at home.³⁶ He commented that 'the feeling between the two sects, bitter as it often is, would unquestionably be still more embittered if we were to venture upon the rash experiment of providing religious education'.³⁷

The Education Department was also fearful about imparting an agnostic and secular 'natural religion and morality'. This greatly coloured their perceptions of Indian morality. It was feared that attempting to impress upon students a vague, secular moral textbook would cause more problems than it would solve. It would also open the Government to charges of agnosticism; Godless secularism might also be construed as a deviation from Queen Victoria's Proclamation (1858). Education officials were convinced that agnostic instruction would be an affront to Indian religious sensibilities. The 1882 Education Commission was weary of 'hurting the susceptibilities of of orthodox men holding a

³¹ A.R. Khan, *the All-Indian Muslim Educational Conference: its Contribution to the Cultural Developments of Indian Muslims, 1886-1947* (Oxford, 2001).

³² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 655, 1894, C. de la Fosse, UPSA.

³³ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. T11, 1895, Lewis to UP Gov. Sec., 16 May 1895, OIOC.

³⁴ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 203, 1888, W.C. Bennett, 18 July 1888, UPSA.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 655, 1894, T. Holderness, UPSA.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, T. Lewis, UPSA.

particular religious view'.³⁸ The possibility of more general and utilitarian forms of Indian morality were precluded: 'no more fatal blow could be struck by the State at the morality and religion of its subjects than by teaching the children at schools the principles of what their admirers are pleased to call natural religion or natural morality'.³⁹ One official argued that it was 'impracticable in practise to give effect to it without the danger of religious scruples',⁴⁰ whilst another official termed such instruction 'utilitarianism under a thin disguise'.⁴¹

The idea of issuing a textbook based upon 'natural religion', although entertained shortly, was quickly abandoned. Natural religion and morality might be politically convenient and avoid inflaming communal tensions, but it also had the potential to offend Indian religious sentiment. Some officials argued that, although in theory a good idea, natural religion was 'merely utilitarianism, with a vague and indefinable religious sanction...[this] would not be to maintain the principle of religious neutrality..[it] might be misconstrued into an attack on all supernatural religion'.⁴²

Departmental anxieties over communal tension, therefore, ensured that mission schools would be needed in addressing issues of moral and religious instruction. The Department was weary of aggressively pushing through with measures to prescribe religious instruction, yet at the same time understood that it needed to counter Indian and missionary claims that Government education was 'Godless', agnostic, and secular. Their schools offered a neutral form of religious education, which, whilst neither Hindu nor Islamic, was more importantly not agnostic.

Apart from their necessity, mission schools also offered a more 'personal' education. Propagating missionaries knew their students at a more personal and intimate level and associated with Indian society to a degree which was unthinkable in Anglo-Indian and administrative circles. One Government official commented that 'the extent to which a student acquires a moral tone...seems to me to depend chiefly upon the personal character of the teacher'.⁴³ An association with an English gentleman was 'more likely to produce a good tone than the most assiduous perusal of a textbook'.⁴⁴ When Queen's College, Banaras, needed to choose a new head instructor, Robert Smeaton argued that a

³⁸ *Report by the NWP and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence taken Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission* (Calcutta, 1884), p. 177.

³⁹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 203, 1888, W. Boutflower, UPSA.

⁴⁰ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 129, 1896, 'J.B.T.', 5 May 1889, UPSA.

⁴¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 203, 1888, 'A.C.L.', UPSA.

⁴² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 3, 1887, J. Reid, 9 July 1884, UPSA.

⁴³ HD, Ed. Files, No. 36-39, 1888, J.B.P., 2 January 1887, NAI.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, A.R.S., 2 January 1887, NAI.

personable European gentleman would have more of an impression than any moral text.⁴⁵ F.W. Thomas admitted that ‘to expect much from the mere use of a textbook would be absurd’.⁴⁶ The way to influence pupils was through a teacher’s character. The Education Department realised that missionaries could do much more in this respect than paid Government employees. Officials were convinced that ‘the careful selection and training of teachers provide the most effectual method of establishing a good moral tone in a school’.⁴⁷ What was desired was the formation of student character, and submission to authority. Another inspector, P.C. Moomuzdar, reported that ‘in training the youthful mind, personal influence has much more effect than mere textbooks’.⁴⁸

The student hostel, another way of exercising personal influence, also informed Government willingness to subsidise mission schools. Charles de la Fosse believed that student hostels were the best way to morally influence Indian students.⁴⁹ Such hostels were to be encouraged and aided generously. Some officials even recommended that residence for secondary and higher education be made compulsory. Lawrence Stuart thought that accommodation was the means to widen educational access. It was cheaper, and in this respect the Department should be exceptionally generous. He maintained that ‘there are few objects on which expenditure can be made more advantageously’.⁵⁰ William Boutflower, another educational official, suggested that ‘the students of Arts Colleges, who are enjoying the great benefits of University education, should be required as a rule to reside in licensed hostels’.⁵¹ Classrooms were not the best ways to morally influence students. This could only be achieved through the residence system. Edward White, another educational official, reasoned that education should bear ‘upon the indirect influence which may be exerted on the feelings and intellect of the students’.⁵² A colleague, Stephen Gough, maintained that ‘everything would depend upon the influence and character’,⁵³ and that ‘the rod and the sermon are probably equally inefficient as teachers of real morality...boys must see its effect in actual life’.⁵⁴ The Shimla Educational Conference (1901) ruled that influencing and disciplining students was to be achieved

⁴⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 36-37, 1890, Robert Smeaton, 28 March 1890, NAI.

⁴⁶ F.W. Thomas, *History and Prospects of British Education in India* (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 125.

⁴⁷ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 3, June 1893, p. 62, UPSA.

⁴⁸ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, P.C. Moomuzdar to Col. J.C. Ardagh, 2 July 1889, NAI.

⁴⁹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 845a, 1908, C. de la Fosse, UPSA.

⁵⁰ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 7, 1911, L. Stuart, UPSA.

⁵¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 385a, 11/1893, W. Boutflower, UPSA.

⁵² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 203, 1888, W. Boutflower, UPSA.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, S. Gough, UPSA.

⁵⁴ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, , Memo, 31 December 1887, NAI.

through, in order of importance, teacher influence, hostels, biographies and the social life of school.⁵⁵

Mission schools, even more importantly, could also set an example of private initiative. Informed by their own myopia and a desire to avoid communal and religious antagonism, the Education Department held that the solution lay in the initiatives of the people of India to revitalise their own systems of religious instruction. This was significant, for it would become the premise upon which to subsidise such education. Mission schools were to be set as an example to spur Hindu and Muslim organisations to open schools of their own, on an aided footing. In a speech at Allahabad University, the Director of Public Instruction stated that ‘the weakening of religious faith is one of the greatest calamities that can befall a man or people...[but] it is to the people themselves that we must look for help’.⁵⁶

Financial penury and Indian demand for education, c. 1860s-1910s

Moral and religious factors alone were not enough of an impetus to seek assistance. The United Provinces’ finances were characterised by incessant penury and lacked the revenues and general funds to undertake extensive educational endeavours. They also had difficulty in meeting Indian demand for instruction. This equally informed the decision to subsidise secondary and higher education, as much as did the wrangling questions of morality and religious instruction. The colonial state may have pursued a colonial education project in rhetoric,⁵⁷ but when it came to backing such talk up with the funds needed to give shape to such ambitions, it looked more compromised rather than concrete. Sir Lee-Warner himself admitted that if education was truly a colonial project then the British would have lavished unlimited amounts of money on schools and colleges across India and the Empire.⁵⁸

On closer inspection, education schooling were henpecked by concerns of the very real and very financial. The UP Government, from the 1860s up until around the 1910s, was in a chronic state of financial precariousness.⁵⁹ Annual reports were laden with references to inadequate funds for the educational endeavours which other provinces, such

⁵⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 42-47, 1903, Note No. 140, H.W. Orange, 3 July 1903, NAI.

⁵⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 56, 1893, UPSA.

⁵⁷ K. Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi, 1991); G. Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in Colonial India* (New York, 1989).

⁵⁸ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, Sir Lee-Warner, 8 July 1888, NAI.

⁵⁹ See F.C.R. Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces’ Muslims, 1860-1923* (London, 1974), esp. pp. 39-66.

as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, were more able to afford. The Bombay Presidency, as a case in point, earmarked Rs. 245 per thousand of the population; the United Provinces mustered a mere Rs. 80.⁶⁰ One official commented that ‘the root of the evil unquestionably is the utter inadequacy the educational allotments and their smallness in comparison with the sums spent on the same objects in other parts of India’.⁶¹ The Government of India observed that they were ‘well aware of their backwardness in the matter of education and how unfavourably their expenditure upon it compares with that in other provinces’.⁶² The Shimla Educational Conference (1901), and the subsequent Universities Act (1904), which called for the centralisation of university and secondary education, was found to be costly to implement in UP. The Education Department proposed taking over 39 different high schools in accordance with orders from the Indian Government. But the plan was eventually shelved on the premise that it was financially impossible.⁶³ The quality of Government education was poor because of the meagre allotments it was given. John Nesfield, testifying before the Educational Committee of 1882, exclaimed ‘what hope is there of reaching the heart or brain of a man who is educated at the cost of four rupees a year’?⁶⁴ The Department was forced to request Rs. 6 lakhs from the Indian Government, as a result of its own indigence.⁶⁵

The Government’s financial shortcomings greatly informed its dealings with mission education. When it came to choosing particular public projects, the choice made was greatly informed by its final cost. In Dehra Dun, for instance, the Education Department was faced with the question of whether to lease a plot of land to the American Presbyterian Mission for the purposes of a school. An old *tahsili* building was leased, and the Government praised the ‘noble educational work’ of the mission.⁶⁶ But the Department was very keen to maintain that the willingness to lease the land was driven by finance—the cost to the UP Government was nil, upon both state and municipal funds, whilst there was a net social gain.⁶⁷ There had been a plan to construct a railway through

⁶⁰ *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1905), p. 4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶² HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, Sec. of State for India to F.E. Taylor, 15 September 1908, NAI.

⁶³ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 138, 1910, F.E. Taylor, 15 May 1908, UPSA.

⁶⁴ Testimony of J.C. Nesfield before 1882 Educational Commission, *Report by the NWP and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission* (Calcutta, 1884), pp. 272-3.

⁶⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, H.W. Orange, 27 November 1908, NAI.

⁶⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 968, 1895, L.A. Tweedy to A.H. Harrington, 1 March 1894, UPSA.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

this very area, but Government realised that a school would cost nothing, and the railway, which was not needed as much, would have entailed a massive financial outlay.⁶⁸

There were more intricate and specific reasons for the Department's own financial woes. Education in UP was unduly expensive. The per-pupil price of education was higher than in any other Indian province. Students in UP cost more to educate, but this did not necessarily mean that they received commensurate funding. Per student expenditure in UP was half of that in Madras and the Punjab, and one-third of that in Bombay,⁶⁹ whilst the costs of educating a student in UP were usually three times greater

Table 1: Costs of Educating a Single Pupil under Public Instruction in UP, Bengal, and Madras Presidency, 1910:⁷⁰

Province	University	Secondary	Primary
Bengal	Rs. 153	18.3	2.7
Madras	Rs. 204	20.9	4.1
UP	Rs. 221	38	9.2

Table 2: Per-capita expenditure on education, Various Provinces of British India, 1904:⁷¹

Bombay	Madras	Bengal	Punjab	UP
Rs. 308	Rs. 208	Rs. 160	Rs. 152	Rs. 96

In the Banaras district, for instance, the one Government-run high school cost Rs. 24,357 per annum to administer, whereas a comparable aided one cost a mere Rs. 9,012.⁷² The cost of educating a child in a Government high school, moreover, was Rs. 19.2 p.a., whilst in an aided schools is was Rs. 11.8.⁷³

There were a few reasons why instruction was so expensive in UP. Education in the United Provinces was so expensive at a per-capita level mainly due to the large population, which necessitated that a disproportionally larger inspecting staff be employed to make sure that schools were efficient and under competent management. Secondary education, in particular, was expensive due to the fact that in in UP high schools studies were bifurcated. This entailed more inspection and more frequent examinations, as recommended per the 1882 Education Commission.⁷⁴ With the impetus given to the promotion of primary education after the 1882 Commission, the annual costs of Rs. 9.2

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, E.J. Winter, n.d., UPSA.
⁶⁹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 71-132, 1902, T.C. Lewis, n.d., NAI.
⁷⁰ Author's calculations, from *United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Annual Report on Public Instruction* (Allahabad, 1910), p. 3a; *Madras Presidency Report on Public Instruction* (Madras, 1910), pp. 34-7, *Bengal Report on Public Instruction* (Calcutta, 1910), pp. 7, 13, 16-7.
⁷¹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, NAI; D-Series, 117a, Excerpt from the NWP & O Gazette, 11 January 1896, RHL.
⁷² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 80, 1908, C. de la Fosse, UPSA.
⁷³ 'Analysis of educational Codes in British India', 7 March 1912, E/AC/1/589A, BUL.
⁷⁴ HD, Ed. Files, No. 71-132, 1902, L.M. Thornton to GOI, 24 March 1900, NAI.

were far more palatable than those disproportionately higher ones involved with secondary and higher instruction. This was crucial for aided mission schools, which by law would have to charge fees lower than that of Government and would thus defray per-capita and aggregate costs.

The Education Department was also saddled with a top-heavy with bureaucracy. Less money was spent on actual instruction and more on inspection. Inspecting staffs constituted the single largest category of expenditure in the education budget

Table 3: Inspecting Staff Ratios in Selected Provinces in British India, 1897:⁷⁵

Province	Pupils to Inspecting Staff	Schools to Inspecting Staff
Madras	10,971	385
Bengal	7,914	152
Bombay	6,112	247
Punjab	6,118	202
United Provinces	3,992	139

Funds were also running thin due to the fact that the UP Government had a comparatively firmer grip on education than in other provinces. In terms of Government grants as percentages of total expenditure, other provinces, such as Bengal and Madras, allowed a greater degree of devolution; they had relatively more funds for alternative educational expenditures. The UP Government was under such duress because it spent less in percentage terms on aided schools. This meant that it was spending its money inefficiently

Table 4: Composition of GIA schools and pupils in the UP, Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies, 1910:⁷⁶

Province	Bengal	Bombay	Madras	UP
GIA Schools	34,251	2,459	15,652	4,276
Total Schools	44,613	13,017	30,296	10,884
GIA Schools as %	77	24	52	39
GIA Pupils	1,139,367	136,810	639,094	170,964
Total Pupils	1,463,828	787,665	1,179,048	573,402
GIA Pupils as %	78	22	54	30

Table 5: Composition of GIA expenditure in the UP, Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies, 1910:⁷⁷

⁷⁵ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 213a, 1910, UPSA.

⁷⁶ Author's calculations, from *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1910-1911* (Calcutta, 1911), pp. iv-vii; *Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency, Year 1910-1911* (Bombay, 1911), p. 9, *Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1909-1910* (Madras, 1910), pp. 36-7, *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 4a-7a.

⁷⁷ Author's calculations, from *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1910-1911* (Calcutta, 1911), pp. ii-iii, *Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency, Year 1910-1911* (Bombay, 1911), pp. 10-1, *Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1909-1910* (Madras, 1910), pp. 42-4, *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 10a-13a.

Province	Bengal	Bombay	Madras	UP
Total Expend.	10,973,348	12,400,111	11,939, 280	9,339,223
GIA Expend.	8,936,762	3,210,719	5,340,791	2,825,793
GIA as %	81	44	45	30

Richard Griffiths termed such costs the ‘unavoidable excesses of expenditure’.⁷⁸ The demand for education, especially in English, was far outstripping supply. It could only be saved by a financial windfall: ‘the situation is growing desperate and nothing but a plentiful supply of money for educational purposes of all kinds can mend it’.⁷⁹

The educational system administered by the UP Government was also under-funded in terms of the amount of fee income derived from student attendance. This was particularly important, for it ensured that the Department’s finances would be subject to the vagaries of land-derived revenue, which were themselves subject to famine, drought and flooding, rather than the revenues available from an increasing student population. Roughly eighty percent of UP’s population were involved in agriculture. Fee-derived revenues would consequently not only be small but also volatile. In fact, one-fifth of all pupils had their fees waved by the Government on the account of poverty.⁸⁰ The Director of Public Instruction, Charles de la Fosse, thought that the system was untenable and facing an inevitable financial catastrophe: ‘the whole fabric of higher education so laboriously built up may [soon] crumble and collapse by a continual sapping of the foundations in this way’.⁸¹ The income it derived from fee paying students was small. Compared to other provinces, students in UP schools were less likely to pay full fees and for higher forms of Government-run education:

Table 6: Incomes Derived from Fees in Various Provinces of British India, 1887.⁸²

Province	% of Income from Fees To Total Expenditure (Gov).	% of Income from Fees To Total Expenditure (GIA)
Madras	42.8	47.8
Bengal	44.9	34.5
Bombay	44.7	28.3
Punjab	10.2	6.5
United Provinces	7.7	2.9

Table 7: Fees in Gov. and GIA Colleges in British India, 1884-8.⁸³

Province	Gov. College	GIA College
Bengal	80	45
Bombay	83	58
Madras	62	47
United Provinces	45	27
Punjab	21	24

⁷⁸ NWP & O Ed. Procds., P/1279, R. Griffiths, May 1879, p. 61, OIOC.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ HD, Ed. Files, No. 71-132, 1902, T.C. Lewis, n.d., NAI.

⁸¹ *United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Annual Report on Public Instruction* (Allahabad, 1910), p. 3.

⁸² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 3, 1887, p. 26, UPSA.

⁸³ HD, Ed. Files, No. 49-75, 1889, November 1888, NAI.

Raising fees in high schools was also dangerous since the demand for secondary education was highly elastic—any unpopular increase would have a negative effect upon the Department's net fee income.⁸⁴ Colleges and high schools also charged lower fees compared to other provinces, thus ensuring that the system was perpetually underfunded. The inadequate fee income fiscally parched the Education Department, and they required substantial assistance from the Indian Government.⁸⁵ During the 1887 fiscal year, as a case point, the Department had taken in a paltry Rs. 58,000 in receipts, whilst incurring expenditures of Rs. 410,000.⁸⁶ The problem was recurrent between 1880 and 1910, and was recognised by the UP Government Secretary, Lawrence Thornton.⁸⁷ William Morris observed that 'we spend from public funds on English secondary education as much as we do from fees, whereas Bombay spends about half, and Madras and Bengal about one third'.⁸⁸ Thomas Lewis remarked that the UP Government was exceptionally liberal in aided expenditures considering its already pitiful state of revenues.⁸⁹

In addition to these previous reasons, the Education Department also spent most of its educational funds on primary rather than secondary and higher education. Richard Griffiths recommended that 'instruction in English can be obtained, if required, at one of the aided schools'.⁹⁰ This area was relatively untouched by missionaries, who were more dominant in the realms of secondary and higher education. The 1882 Education Commission urged the UP Government to do more in the way of GIA outlays to secondary and higher educational institutions. Yet even by then it was spending more in percentage terms on primary education than any other province in British India

Table 8: Composition of Educational Expenditures, FY 1881-2.⁹¹

Province	University	Secondary	Primary
Bengal	26.7%	33.7	29.1
Bombay	20	29	39.1
NWP & Oudh	8.6	18.6	53

Table 9: Provincial Educational expenditure on Primary Education, 1905-6.⁹²

	UP	Bombay	Madras	Punjab	Bengal
Expenditure	1,977,200	1,879,828	1,457,519	676,047	667,000

⁸⁴ HD, Ed. Files, No. 71-132, 1902, L.M. Thornton to GOI, 24 March 1900, NAI.

⁸⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, H. Stuart to F.E. Taylor, 25 January 1909, NAI.

⁸⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 203, 1884, R. Stuart, UPSA; the figures for the following year were Rs. 56,000 and Rs. 391,000, respectively.

⁸⁷ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 7a, 1896, UPSA.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, W.S. Marris, UPSA.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, T. Lewis, UPSA; NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 7a, 1896, UPSA.

⁹⁰ NWP & O Ed. Procds., P/1280, R. Griffiths, p. 41, OIOC.

⁹¹ *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1882), p. 2.

⁹² HD, Ed. Files, No. 85-94, 1907, S.M., 22 August 1907, NAI.

High Schools and Colleges in Bengal, for instance, were given a larger share of educational funds than the United Provinces.⁹³ This divergence from other provinces was emblematic of a specific policy on the part of the UP Government, which grew weary of proliferating high schools and colleges and student political consciousness. Lawrence Thornton stated that creating more colleges and high schools was ‘not comparable with that of lifting a larger portion of the population out of total ignorance’.⁹⁴ District Boards, because of the newly-revitalised priority in funding primary education (especially after 1904), found supporting Government high schools extremely costly. Thus, the UP Government took over the management and financial responsibilities of these schools, leaving the Boards with more money to fund primary schools.⁹⁵ The provision of boys’ primary education would remain the chief responsibility of the Education Department. There was hesitancy in allowing missionaries to provide primary education, fearful of the charge that Government was not adhering to religious neutrality by allowing missionaries to proselytise in schools. This was reflected in the number of schools which it kept under its control: by 1910 out of 6,385 state-run institutions, 5,376 were primary vernacular schools for boys.⁹⁶

Ideologically speaking, the UP administration was also informed by particular mid-Victorian ethos of *laissez-faire* governance, which ensured that any substantial educational undertakings would be done through private initiative. This brought them into a disagreement with Indians over the very role of the state in regard to education. Government believed that education was an investment which should be undertaken by the people, whereas Indians thought that it was an inalienable right to which they were entitled; a form of welfare which the state had largely failed to provide. Lawrence Stuart argued that ‘parents should understand clearly that they cannot demand secondary education as a right, but can only claim that Government should bear a reasonable proportion of its cost’.⁹⁷ A member of the Financial Department, E.M. Cook, asserted that they were being asked to provide services for which there were no funds. Only those who earnestly wanted such education could ensure it was expanded

it might also be pointed out that Government is now spending on secondary education the utmost it can afford and that if people want more schools to be opened...there is only one way to do it, and that if they

⁹³ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, NAI.

⁹⁴ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 213a/3, 1903, L.M. Thornton, UPSA.

⁹⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, NAI.

⁹⁶ *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1910), pp. 4a-9a.

⁹⁷ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 314, 1910, L. Stuart, UPSA.

don't like taking the pill that is offered them they should cease to complain if Government refuses to overcrowd its schools with scholars.⁹⁸

Cook begged local zamindars to contribute funds towards buildings and land, which he believed would be more politic and legitimate than a foreign government doing so.⁹⁹ All Government could do, he maintained, was to set up one 'model school' in each administrative district to set a general standard. Thereafter, it was up to the forces of the market and private enterprise to pave the path further

the correct principle, in His Honour's opinion, is that Government should not attempt to do more than set a standard; that it cannot and should not attempt to provide a complete system of state secondary education, and that having established a sufficient number of schools to serve as models, it should encourage private enterprise to supply such further schools as may be required.¹⁰⁰

But even this at times was not feasible. District boards, which were given greater degrees of financial autonomy towards 1900 and which ran many of the primary and state-run institutions, were so strapped for cash that they could just barely afford to pay for basic repairs and upkeep.¹⁰¹ Stuart's descriptions of the state of some schools left little to inspire. Basic school supplies such as desks, chalkboards and notepads were so inadequate and antiquated that 'the present equipment hardly deserves the name'.¹⁰²

On the surface, there were many cases which demonstrated the degree to which Indian agency itself had started to direct the course of educational developments. Officials were overtaken by large volumes of demand and a booming enrolment which showed no signs of abating. Allahabad University had become so stretched to capacity that it had to seek assistance from the Bengal Government¹⁰³ in order to find university places for qualified students. Charles de la Fosse observed that many schools were 'full to overflowing',¹⁰⁴ whilst J. Hewitt even admitted that 'at present what we are failing to do is to meet the demand for education at colleges by youths who have actually matriculated'.¹⁰⁵ There was a sense of urgency in this matter. Failing to act quickly would seriously tarnish the Government's image: private initiative was urgently needed. The Judicial Secretary to the UP Government, S.P. O'Donnell, argued that 'there is a constant

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, E.M. Cook, UPSA.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 320, 1908, C. de la Fosse, UPSA.

¹⁰¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 7, 1911, L. Stuart, UPSA.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 278, 1909, C. de la Fosse, UPSA.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, J. Hewitt, UPSA.

outcry about boys being turned away from existing schools...it would therefore be advantageous and politic to make considerable grants-in-aid without delay'.¹⁰⁶

Yet the required funds to meet this strong Indian demand were neither forthcoming nor adequate. The political agenda¹⁰⁷ of education, from another angle, was hollow and underfunded. One grant from Imperial Revenues ended up being only about one-third of what was requested: the Indian Government sanctioned only Rs. 1,519,000 out of Rs. 4,186,000.¹⁰⁸ The Jubilee high school in Lucknow, which the Education Department tried to raise as a model school, was unable to expand into new buildings at a time when the threat of overcrowding was serious. Despite the school's desperate pleas for funds, the Department was 'quite unable to find funds [as our] own budget is completely drained of savings'.¹⁰⁹ In 1910 it had to make a special appeal to the Government of India for funds to meet demand.¹¹⁰ S.P. O'Donnell stated that 'the object we would like to spend it on is grants to aided high schools to enable them to increase their accommodation. The demand for Anglo-Vernacular education has greatly increased lately, and the schools are hard out to find room for all those who present themselves'.¹¹¹ Even though the expansion of education was marked by 1910, the statistics of enrolled pupils and expenditure were but façades for underlying financial instability and tenuousness. In 1910 the fee-generated revenues were so low that the question of raising fees in secondary Anglo-Vernacular schools was brought up. It was believed that enrolment might have to be cut and students who were of adequate capability would have to be refused entry. But instead of implementing such a scheme, officials decided that were the Department to raise fees, there would be a general outcry.

Externally, pressure to further devolve educational authority also came from the Government of India. Calcutta actually ruled that in terms of educational solvency, 'the most manifest transgressor is the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh'.¹¹² The Education Department, in the middle of the financial crunch resulting from the 1909 planned transfer of secondary education, was pressured by the Indian Government to spend more on Grants-in-Aid and to furthermore devote all available funds for that very purpose.¹¹³ The Secretary of State for India observed that 'aided

¹⁰⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 7, 1911, S.P. O'Donnell, UPSA.

¹⁰⁷ K. Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi, 1991).

¹⁰⁸ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 7, 1911, UPSA.

¹⁰⁹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 320, 1908, C. de la Fosse, UPSA.

¹¹⁰ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 7, 1911, L. Stuart, UPSA.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, S.P. O'Donnell, UPSA.

¹¹² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 655, 1894, UPSA.

¹¹³ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, Sec. of State for India to F.E. Taylor, 15 September 1908, NAI.

schools which are fulfilling a real want, should be much more liberally treated'.¹¹⁴ Even as early as 1887, it was argued that state governments should 'be made to increase the number of aided schools in which religious instruction may be given freely'.¹¹⁵ He cited the costs of taking over all the district high schools, at Rs. 400,138 p.a., as unfavourable compared to boosting GIA outlays to Rs. 200,000 annually.¹¹⁶

Mission schools and the devolution of educational responsibilities

Throughout, this chapter has argued that the state's concerns over religion and financial penury were vexing and could only be solved with the help of private initiative. Anglican mission societies, for their part, were the most numerous and evidently willing to answer the calls of the state. They would be able to not only take on a burden that was fiscally infeasible for the UP Government, but could also absolve the Education Department of their unpronounced responsibility for religion and moral instruction. These societies could impart religious instruction as a means of reaching otherwise inaccessible segments of Indian society. Yet they did not necessarily have the aims and ethos as Government and high colonial policy. Educational theorists and sociologists, long informed by Gramscian notions of hegemony and notions of 'ruling ethos', have tended to see the educational arena as a site of conflict between the representation of ruling elites and subalterns.¹¹⁷ Yet too often these ethos are taken to be monolithic. The outsourcing of secondary and higher education to mission societies, as will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters, represented a compromise of such representations.

The decision to subsidise mission schools exculpated the Government and the Department from questions of religious instruction. Officials would not have to worry about offending the religious sensibilities of Indians, for parents who sent their children understood that the school would be run by an explicitly proselytising agency. The Department eventually found that the only way to effectively impart religious and moral instruction was to rely on private enterprise. Aided institutions, because of their abilities to draw from funds elsewhere, were the perfect solution for a Department which was aptly charged with running an educational system termed the most 'backward' in British India.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, Memo, 31 December 1887, NAI.

¹¹⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, Sec. of State for India to F.E. Taylor, 15 September 1908, NAI.

¹¹⁷ P. Bourdieu, J.C. Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London, 1977), pp. 199-201; also see T.S. Papkewitz, M. Brennan, eds., *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education* (New York, 1998); P.G. Altbach, G.P. Kelly, eds., *Education and Colonialism* (New York, 1978); B. Bernstein, 'On the classification and framing of educational knowledge', in M. Young, ed., *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education* (London, 1971).

Politically, the Education Department understood that they were solving one of their most persistent problems. Their educational system was described as one which ‘has always depended and probably always will depend very much upon private effort’.¹¹⁸ Richard Griffiths stated that ‘aided instruction is on the whole fairly efficient and decidedly cheap, and it is to be hoped that in time it will to a great extent take the place of the more expensive Government education’.¹¹⁹ Another official argued that ‘the question of religious teaching finds its best if not its only solution in an extension of the system of grants-in-aid and the gradual withdrawal of Government from the direct management of schools and colleges’.¹²⁰ The Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad, J.W. Hose, observed that ‘the cheapest...method of starting a school as an experiment is to start it as an aided school...if it fails, we have lost nothing permanent. If it succeeds, we have a school that costs less than a [district] board school’.¹²¹ Others lauded the fact that mission schools were ‘free to combine religious training with secular instruction’,¹²² and that they did much to supplement Government efforts.¹²³ Whatever could not be done by the state was a field for private enterprise.¹²⁴ By the 1920s missionaries were so dominant it led Arthur Mayhew to concede that their abandonment of schools was inconceivable.¹²⁵ The government educationist Roper Lethbridge also admitted that mission high schools and colleges filled a void left over by the Government.¹²⁶

The Educational Review of 1882, for example, had already begun to take the question of devolution to mission societies very seriously for the NWP and Oudh. Testimony was given by numerous district inspectors and teachers, and the responses to a tentative devolution of responsibility were mixed. Missionaries, naturally, favoured more schools so that they could pursue educational activities. Education officials wanted to withdraw state effort in areas where missionary bodies could fill a void. Dehra Dun, Pilibhit, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Basti and Ballia were cited as examples.¹²⁷ Missionaries were eager to involve themselves, suggesting that ‘Government should withdraw in all

¹¹⁸ *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1910), p. 2.

¹¹⁹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., P/1279, R. Griffiths, p. 37, OIOC.

¹²⁰ HD, Ed. Files, No. 36-39, 1888, C.V.A., 26 December 1887, NAI.

¹²¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 131a, 1906, J.W. Hose, UPSA.

¹²² D-Series, 117a, Excerpt from ‘NWP and Oudh Gazette, 1896’, RHL.

¹²³ R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India: a Plea for the State Colleges* (London, 1882), p. 99.

¹²⁴ *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1904), p. 27.

¹²⁵ A. Mayhew, *The Education of India* (London, 1926), p. 261.

¹²⁶ R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India* (London, 1882), p. 99.

¹²⁷ *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1910), p. 122.

cases [of education] where private Missionary effort is willing to step in'.¹²⁸ C. Robertson, the Secretary to the NWP Government, spelt out the state's policy: 'to extend primary education as widely as possible, to encourage higher education among those who wish it, and who are prepared to sacrifice something for it, and to foster the aided system, under which in time the Government may be able to withdraw from that direct interference which is at present so essential to the progress of education'.¹²⁹ The Commission recommended the further extension of aid to private efforts willing to undertake secondary and higher English education. Missionaries saw an opportunity, yet understood at the same time that their forays into primary education would not be welcomed by both Government and Indian parents.¹³⁰

And in this respect mission societies, who were the most active, carried the main burden. The Education Department, between 1880 and 1915 undertook a substantial devolution of power. Here, education was not so much a monopoly of the state¹³¹ as it was a subsidised and infrastructurally-tenuous enterprise which very much depended upon private contributions and initiatives. By 1910 Government grants had become so marked that it was the single largest component of expenditure; more was being spent every year. In 1910, Rs. 894,966 was spent on aided schools, whilst Rs. 474.772 was spent on Governmental instruction charges.¹³² In UP, missionary societies were essentially the only bodies which took up the offer of the state. Richard Griffith, Director of Public Instruction, thought that it was 'not surprising, especially in a province where English thought and English actions have as yet affected the community so little, that the only persons who have responded to the appeals of the state have been the Missionaries'.¹³³

Aided schools, which would be subsidised for the secular component of the education they would give, would be able, by the virtue of their private society status, to impart religious instruction without the taint of being associated with Government. They could be given aid for the secular instruction they imparted, so long as the Government did not explicitly support the religious component. Religious neutrality, at least in theory, could therefore be maintained. In a very clever act of bureaucratic and legalistic manoeuvring, the UP Government was able to tackle two issues with one grant. J. Reid suggested that

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, notes, p. 16.

¹³⁰ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1883-4, pp. 77-8, BUL.

¹³¹ N. Kumar, *Lessons from School: the History of Education in Banaras* (New Delhi, 2000), esp. pp. 13-6.

¹³² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 158, 1911, Statistical Returns, UPSA.

¹³³ *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1882), p. 428.

‘religious teaching may, indirectly and very properly, be encouraged by the recognition and aid of the secular Departments of denominational institutions by the State’,¹³⁴ whilst another official argued that ‘in aided schools, religious instruction might be freely given and should be encouraged’.¹³⁵ S. Butler, the UP Government Secretary noted that most aided schools were missionary-run.¹³⁶ He believed that ‘the best, if not the only solution to the problem [of moral instruction] is to be found in the development of aided schools and colleges in which religious teaching may, without difficulty, be combined with secular instruction’.¹³⁷ Another official wanted to immediately give ‘encouragement to aided schools and colleges in which religious instruction is prominently recognised’.¹³⁸ Sir Charles Elliot, speaking at the CMS anniversary ball, admitted that in India ‘the missionary societies have solved the problem for us...[they] fill a want which the Government is unable to provide’.¹³⁹

Anglican mission schools ended up becoming the primary beneficiaries. They dominated the rolls of aided schools at the secondary and higher levels. In 1880, twelve out of twenty-two high schools received Government grants. Between 1879 and 1910, the number of aided institutions increased one hundred fold, from 361¹⁴⁰ to an astonishing 4,276.¹⁴¹

Table 10: GIA Schools and Missionary Dominance, 1912:¹⁴²

School	Gov. Schools	Mission-run & Aided
Colleges	9	38
High Schools	59	248
Primary	6018	4350

Table 11: Recognised Schools in British India, 1910-11:¹⁴³

	Gov.	Missions	Total
Arts Colleges	28	53	136
2 nd Schools	740	1,785	3,285
Primary	24,715	5,194	112,930

¹³⁴ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 3, 1887, J. Reid, 9 July 1884, UPSA.

¹³⁵ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 213a, 1901, T. Lewis, UPSA.

¹³⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 23-24, 1906, S.H. Butler, 1 September 1905, NAI.

¹³⁷ D-Series, 117a, Excerpt from ‘NWP and Oudh Gazette, 1896’, RHL.

¹³⁸ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 203, 1888, E. White, UPSA.

¹³⁹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1896-7, p. 172.

¹⁴⁰ *North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh Annual Report on Public Instruction* (Allahabad, 1879), pp. 2-3, Appendix.

¹⁴¹ *United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Annual Report on Public Instruction* (Allahabad, 1910), pp. 4a-5a. This was also due to the vast expansion of primary schools in UP after 1900, and the Education Department’s increasing tendency to put these schools on a GIA footing, usually under non-missionary management, to minimise overall expenditures.

¹⁴² *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1912), pp. 4a-8a.

¹⁴³ ‘Analysis of educational Codes in British India’, 7 March 1912, E/AC/1/589A, BUL.

Between 1880 and 1915 Anglican missionaries came to dominate the ranks of secondary and higher education in the United Provinces. By 1910, 22 out of 30 Arts colleges, and 156 out of 566 secondary institutions were given Grants-in-Aid; missions ran most of these institutions. This was also reflected in the composition of Upper High Schools. By 1882, there were just as many aided High Schools (27) as there were Government ones, and more aided English Middle Schools than state schools (45 vs. 43).¹⁴⁴ Mission schools became so dominant that *pathshalas* and *maktabs* were close to extinct.¹⁴⁵ Grants to mission societies became more and more common after the 1870s. It was probably the only way to guarantee that education was expanded and that an attempt was made to bring the United Provinces closer to the standards of other provinces. It was noted that ‘in no other province, it would seem, has private liberality of recent years done so much for education’.¹⁴⁶ In terms of total outlays, funds to aided institutions increased from 25%¹⁴⁷ of all outlays in 1879 to nearly 60% thirty years later.¹⁴⁸

Missions also led the way in female education. American-led societies, mainly the Methodist and Presbyterian Missions, devoted more of their efforts towards female and primary education, especially for low-caste children. They took advantage of the Government’s call for more girls’ schools. Officials admitted that they were the only ones who possessed the necessary patience.¹⁴⁹ By 1879 they were running 78 out of the 122 aided lower schools for girls in the Provinces.¹⁵⁰ Only nine schools were under Government management through district boards.¹⁵¹ As early as 1880 the Education Department began to recognise the value of engaging missionary societies to impart instruction. S.H. Butler argued that they must rely on aided schools for any real extension of female education, mainly on financial grounds.¹⁵² With Charles Robertson, they both remarked that ‘this branch of education may be left to be dealt with by the mission agencies...it is obvious that a State scheme of education for girls—even the most elementary kind—would be apt to fail unless a suitable intermediary agency between the

¹⁴⁴ 1882 Educational Report (Calcutta, 1884). p. 7.

¹⁴⁵ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 3, 1887, ‘A.C.L.’, 9 August 1894, UPSA.

¹⁴⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 23-24, 1906, UP Gov. Sec., 1 September 1905, NAI.

¹⁴⁷ Author’s calculations, from *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1879), p. 4, Appendix. These calculations subtracted private contributions (‘endowments’) from revenues, in order to gain a more accurate picture of the Government’s expenditure.

¹⁴⁸ *General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1910), pp. 10a-12a.

¹⁴⁹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., P/1279, H.S. Reid, pp. 11-3, OIOC.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, ‘Budget of the Grant-in-Aid in Private Schools’, p. 47, OIOC.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 332a/11, 1903, S.H. Butler, UPSA.

Government and the classes interested could be found'.¹⁵³ Henry Reid commented similarly, that 'almost the only really, prosperous native girls schools are those in large stations superintended by the ladies of several missionary societies'.¹⁵⁴

Most female educational efforts were directed towards Zenana education, which witnessed substantial growth during the latter nineteenth century. Missionaries were running schools which the Education Department claimed it could not afford to. William Boutflower remarked that 'it is of course well known that in addition to teaching girls in school missionary societies carry on a great deal of education in Zenanas',¹⁵⁵ noting that 'we have no agency at present with which to work except the missionary societies'.¹⁵⁶ Thomas Holderness observed that the Education Department ought, as a fiscal and moral imperative, to 'deal liberally with any school which makes an honest effort to impart...female education,' since mission societies had themselves lavished large sums of money on educational institutions.¹⁵⁷ There was an initial amount of weariness at allowing missionaries to enter the homes of 'respectable' Indian families. But this eventually gave way, realising that it was thrifty for the Government to answer Indian calls for the state to provide women's education.¹⁵⁸ Harcourt Butler believed that the Department 'should be firm as to this'.¹⁵⁹ By 1908 it was more than clear that this was the policy for the UP Government to take: 'it should be left for private enterprise to start them, but they should be liberally aided with both buildings and maintenance grants'.¹⁶⁰ And this was reflected in the number of girls under instruction. In districts over 50,000 people, by 1910 there were 4,177 girls in aided schools compared to 1,162 in those run by Government.¹⁶¹

At the same time and more politically, Government was also aware of the need to establish more boarding houses for an ever expanding student population. Demand for hostels was felt acutely UP more so than in any other province.¹⁶² In this respect, they sought an extensive amount of help from private enterprise. One Departmental official observed that 'the State already bears a disproportionate share of the expenditure on higher education, and the obligation of providing boarding houses where they do not exist is one which local Governments and Administration are naturally loathe to accept. It is an

¹⁵³ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 38, 1880, C. Robertson to GOI, 8 April 1880, OIOC.

¹⁵⁴ NWP & O Ed. Procds., P/1279, H.S. Reid, p. 38, OIOC.

¹⁵⁵ *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1896), p. 48.

¹⁵⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 332a, 1903, W.N. Boutflower, UPSA.

¹⁵⁷ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 929, 1896, T. Holderness, UPSA.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 332a/11, 1903, S.H. Butler, UPSA.

¹⁶⁰ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 154, 1908, C. de la Fosse, 20 May 1908, UPSA.

¹⁶¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 254, 1910, L. Stuart, 2 December 1911, UPSA.

¹⁶² HD, Ed. Files, No. 47-61, 1901, M. Boutflower, NAI.

appropriate object for private liberality which should be encouraged'.¹⁶³ Charles de la Fosse, speaking at Allahabad University, claimed that the influence of the schoolmaster and professor 'must not be limited to the classrooms', if education was to have a genuine effect.¹⁶⁴ Yet the expansion of the residential system in UP had to be provided 'by private liberality, and not from state funds'.¹⁶⁵

Yet hostels had a political purpose as well. They were seen as necessary to counter what many saw as unruly habits and 'seditious' student tendencies. This, more so than classroom pedagogy, resembled education's political agenda. Officials believed that student activism and political thinking required their supervision, and that hostels would do much to keep tabs on students.¹⁶⁶ Educational officials believed that students away from home developed a laxity in morals. Here again the Government 'imagined' a problem and created their own preconceived interpretation of morality. This was coloured by a political need to monitor students and locate 'sedition' and 'subversion', and merged with general complaints that agnostic education fostered student 'rebelliousness'. This led Departmental officials to sometimes see this as student immorality. This 'moral vacuum' could therefore be filled by student residences, be they either mission or Government-run. Lord Curzon himself admitted that the main purpose of the hostel was to 'keep young Indian students straight'.¹⁶⁷

Economically, the Department also constructed legislation to purposefully induce and stimulate private initiative. This was to further relieve an already strained budget. Mission schools and other aided institutions could not legally charge fees in excess of 75% of those charged at comparable Government schools. This was a mechanism devised to attract students to such schools and to lure private societies into starting and managing schools. William Bennett, a secretary to the NWP Government, wrote that 'it should be the aim of [the] Department to make secondary education more and more independent of government assistance, and to concentrate its efforts on the advancement of primary education'.¹⁶⁸ T.C. Lewis, argued that English education in the provinces was relatively cheap for private societies to administer. This should serve as an incentive to private societies and incentives to establish, run and administer English and Anglo-Vernacular

¹⁶³ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 58, 1893, UPSA.

¹⁶⁴ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 235, 1908, UPSA.

¹⁶⁵ D-Series, 117a, Excerpt from the NWP & O Gazette, 11 January 1896, RHL.

¹⁶⁶ *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1900), p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1908-9, p. 119.

¹⁶⁸ *General Report on Public Instruction in the North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), W.C. Bennett, in Notes, p. 2.

schools.¹⁶⁹ He argued that Government should adopt a policy of ‘offering special advantages and therefore a special stimulus to private enterprise’.¹⁷⁰

Another idea entertained was to encourage aided institutions to conform to the curriculum and administration of state-run schools. This would streamline the curriculum and facilitate administrative and managerial devolution. One official reasoned that ‘the more nearly the status of Government is assimilated to that of aided institutions, the easier it will be hereafter to transfer them to local bodies on the grant-in-aid system’.¹⁷¹ One official stated ‘that in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for English be preferably on the grant-in-aid footing’,¹⁷² so long as Government controlled the curriculum and set standards for efficiency.

In light of this free-market and laissez-faire approach to education, legislation was also constructed to make Government control as strong as possible. UP officials may have envisioned mission schools as a means of exculpating their responsibility for moral and religious instruction, but they nevertheless guaranteed that this arrangement was not liable to abuse. The UP Government Secretary may have remarked that ‘the less the Department interferes with the details of aided management, the better’,¹⁷³ but this did not preclude Government from having the final say on many educational matters. There were conditions attached to receiving public funds. To obtain a full grant the school had to demonstrate that it was serving a secular purpose first and foremost; religious instruction was a secondary consideration. It also had to adhere to Department standards regarding teaching quality and coursework.¹⁷⁴ Missionary schools therefore had to eschew a large part of their religious orientation and even instruction.

Externally, Anglican mission societies were actively recruited to provide a service which the Education Department could not. But internally, missionaries had limited influence on general educational committees, university syndicates and policy-forming bodies. This further defined their relationship with Government, which was characterised more by necessity rather than genuine sympathy, and in which missionary services were solicited strictly on Government terms. One instance was the Examinations Committee for the University of Allahabad. Missionaries did have posts on the Boards of Studies but

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-7

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹⁷² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 3, 1887, ‘A.C.L.’, 9 August 1894, UPSA.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, W.C. Benett, UPSA.

¹⁷⁴ See *Report by the NWP and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence taken Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission* (Calcutta, 1884), pp. 87-110; these specifics and their significance are discussed in Chapter VI.

their numbers were sparse. Out of the fifteen subsections, ranging from English Literature to Sanskrit to Physics to Drawing & Surveying, missionaries accounted for only 12 out of 90 of the reviewers.¹⁷⁵ They were found on all the committees save History & Geography, Modern European Languages, Teaching, Indian Vernaculars (save Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit), Physics, Mathematics and Drawing & Surveying.¹⁷⁶

These missionary educationists also lacked genuine influence on the Allahabad University Syndicate. Sir Henry Cotton's assertion that university bodies were 'filled with missionaries'¹⁷⁷ was more uninformed than representative of reality. Henry Durrant of the CMS claimed that it is 'of utmost importance that the Society's aim and object in maintaining missionary educational institutions, that we should have representations on the Syndicate'.¹⁷⁸ Even before the passing of the University Act, which made it more difficult for missionaries to become members of the Syndicate, only five out of the sixty nominations were for missionaries.¹⁷⁹ George Westcott was led to observe that missionary interests 'have so far not been represented on this body by a missionary'.¹⁸⁰ The Principal of St. John's College, Rev. G. Partiger, petitioned the UP Government complaining that missionary interests had been excluded from the management of Allahabad University.¹⁸¹ And after Curzon's educational reforms only Rev. Arthur Crosthwaite of the CMS was elected to the Syndicate.¹⁸²

Missionary influence was also limited on the Provincial Textbook Committee (PTC). Here, missionaries were often marginalised and outnumbered by Hindus and Muslims. This Committee, for instance, was convened to address the issues of moral and religious instruction in UP schools. And with such great number of mission colleges and high schools in the provinces, it was only natural that missionary educationists would be given representation. But this was limited: they were given only five out of forty seats. On the meeting for 14 November 1907, there were only two present: Rev. Andrew Ewing, of the Allahabad Christian College, and William John, of the American Presbyterian Mission.¹⁸³ Their recommendations and attempts to have their texts approved however amounted to naught—they had only a single book approved. Some of the rejected titles included 'Child's Bible Narrative', Vols. I-III, 'Old Christmas', by William Irving, 'Geometry &

¹⁷⁵ Author's calculations, *Allahabad University Calendar, 1891* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 35-41, UPSRR.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-41.

¹⁷⁷ H.J.S. Cotton, *New India, or India in Transition* (London, 1885), pp. 153-4.

¹⁷⁸ H. Durrant to P.I. Jones, 23 July 1895, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁷⁹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 295, 1904, Fellows of Allahabad University, UPSA.

¹⁸⁰ D-Series, 117a, Westcott to Tucker, 8 January 1896, RHL.

¹⁸¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 140-148, 1890, OIOC.

¹⁸² NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 295, 1904, Fellows of Allahabad University, UPSA.

¹⁸³ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 56-61, 1908, Proceedings of PTC, UPSA.

How to Apply It', by Rev. T. Varley, 'Course of Study in Physiology & Hygiene', by the Christian Temperance Union of India, and 'A Grammar of Modern Hindi', by Edwin Greaves of the LMS.¹⁸⁴ In fact the only missionary book approved was 'Indian Readers 4 & 5', by the Christian Literature Society for India, which was only recommended as an alternative for mission schools who received Government grants.¹⁸⁵ These texts, plus two others, were the only ones put up for consideration compared to nearly two-hundred others.¹⁸⁶

Government-missionary tension: temporal and other-worldly authority

The Education Department found itself in a situation whereby the most effective way to relieve the education budget of its financial penury was to enlist the help of private initiative, of which Anglican missions were the most numerous and dominant. But at a larger level, missionary educationists and the Indian Government, notwithstanding their rather convenient arrangement, disagreed on many issues and points of tension did surface. Even though missionaries were needed to provide the bulk of secondary and higher education, it was more a relationship of convenience rather than of sympathy. The antagonism between colonial governments and missionaries have begun to be given more currency by historians,¹⁸⁷ who have begun to incorporate larger debates in British society over the necessary role of religion.¹⁸⁸ This is central, for it sets the context of Mission-Government relations in the educational realm. Anglican Missions were willing to provide a subsidised service, but they often found themselves in conflict with Government. The United Provinces after 1880 had seen its more evangelistically-enthusiastic and mission-favourable administrations¹⁸⁹ pass. Government was by now less sympathetic with evangelical activities. It usually acted out of ignorance of Indian attitudes towards mission schools and feared that any mission activity, no matter how secular or nominal, could upset Indian religious sentiment. Yet these were also disagreements over the importance attached to worldly authority. British officials and administrators were more concerned with their own worldly Raj rather than that of the next world. Sir Roper Lethbridge, who taught at Hooghly and Presidency Colleges, was

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ J. Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940* (Stanford, 2002).

¹⁸⁸ A.T. Embree, 'Christianity and the State in Victorian India: Confrontation and Collaboration', in R.W. David, R.J. Helmstadter, eds., *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society* (London, 1992).

¹⁸⁹ P. Penner, *The Patronage Bureaucracy in North India: the Robert M. Bird and James Thomason School, 1820-1870* (Delhi, 1986).

adamant in his insistence that higher education could never be given over to missions in totality. He maintained that 'it is neither honourable nor politic for the Government to adopt any measure that must tend to throw the highest education of India into the hands of a propaganda'.¹⁹⁰ William Crooke termed mission activity in UP a 'curiously powerful monotheistic propaganda',¹⁹¹ whilst others argued that converting Indians 'may be right and just [but] it may lose the Empire of India'.¹⁹²

Beneath the surface of this arrangement, missions and Government disagreed on many educational issues. The often clashed over such matters. One was over the level of fees mission schools could charge. A debate surfaced over the rates at which aided schools could levy fees. Government enforced lower tuition rates at aided schools to stimulate private enterprise. Mission schools, conversely, were constantly attempting to charge higher fees in order to put their schools on a sounder financial footing. As noted, aided institutions were by law not allowed to charge fees which were more than 75% of the equivalent at a comparable Government-run institution. Yet mission schools understood that they would also become prey to financial penury at such rates. Mission schoolteachers demanded that they should be given more flexibility in order to give their institutions some degree of financial security. The Education Department surveyed the opinions of missionaries involved in education, and it found that most of them wished to be given the right to charge higher fees. This, mission teachers argued, would allow the schools to be more fiscally solvent and enable the institutions to improve their overall performance.¹⁹³ The schools were very keen to preserve the autonomy they had hitherto exercised and wanted the Education Department to grant them more financial flexibility. But in the end, the Department retained the 75% law, arguing that the costs to private enterprise were greater than the benefits to be accrued to aided proselytising schools.¹⁹⁴

More subtle tensions manifested themselves during the proceedings of the 1882 Education Commission. Missionary educationists in north India sent a petition to the Indian Government over recommendation No. 25, Chapter VIII. This made religious instruction optional in an area where a mission school was the only one which could supply the educational needs of a community.¹⁹⁵ This was part of a larger debate which

¹⁹⁰ R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India: a Plea for the State Colleges* (London, 1882), p. 119.

¹⁹¹ W. Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India: Their History, Ethnology and Administration* (London, 1897), p. 244.

¹⁹² R. Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays: Written from the Year 1847 to 1887* (London, 1887), p. 79.

¹⁹³ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 314, 1910, UPSA.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 90-93, 1884, December 1884, NAI.

witnessed the passing of the ‘conscious clause’ after 1919.¹⁹⁶ The memorial argued that this would breach the 1854 Educational Despatch,¹⁹⁷ which stipulated that Government would not interfere with religion in educational matters. They cited the case of St. John’s College, Agra. The city’s residents petitioned the UP Government not to withdraw the College’s grant even though there was a secular Government school in the same city—Agra College.¹⁹⁸ Missionaries employed their usual argument that ‘no moral training is worthy of the name which does not rest on a religious basis’.¹⁹⁹ By 1915 the recommendation had not been implemented, as the Government could find few instances of genuine antagonism towards mission schools solely because they gave religious instruction. The tension between missionaries and the Government at this conference was palpable, especially when some officials suggested that higher education be handed over to Indians instead of missionaries.²⁰⁰

One case in particular characterised the true and not easily noticeable relationship between missionary educationists and Government. This was seen again in the issue over the Government grant to St. John’s College. The resolution of this issue demonstrated that the educational authorities were more concerned with worldly rather than other-worldly-matters. The Director of Public Instruction, Richard Griffiths, had deemed demand for instruction at St. John’s overly-inflated in proportion to its actual need. He argued that Agra College, in terms of secular education, already provided for the city’s needs and that ‘undue favour cannot with justice be shown to the latter, simply because it is kept up by the Church Missionary Society’.²⁰¹ But it emerged that the costs of Agra College to the UP Government were burdensome, and that it would be fiscally reckless to promote it at the expense of a CMS institution. Between 1879 and 1881, the cost of educating a single student rose from Rs. 228 to Rs. 485, accompanied with an overall decline in enrolment.²⁰² Andrew Mackenzie discovered that the costs of maintaining five state-colleges in UP cost the Government Rs. 101, 808, compared with subsidising many more mission colleges for Rs. 21,848.²⁰³ This was particularly true in Agra, where the annual costs to the UP Government for Agra and St. John’s Colleges were Rs. 15,500 and Rs.

¹⁹⁶ See W.E.S. Holland, *A Conscience Clause in Indian Schools and Colleges* (Calcutta, 1917) for a sampling of the missionary debate on this legislation.

¹⁹⁷ J.C. Aggarwal, *Educational Documents in India, 1813-1968* (New Delhi, 1967).

¹⁹⁸ HD, Ed. Files, No. 90-93, 1884, Memorial to Lord Ripon, December 1884, NAI; *CMS Intelligencer*, 1882, p. 227.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ F.W. Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India* (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 108-9.

²⁰¹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 30-52, 1882, R. Griffiths, 9 June 1881, NAI.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 24 February 1882, NAI.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

3,600, respectively.²⁰⁴ The Department insisted that, notwithstanding the cost savings, it would be politically suspect to close Agra College and ostentatiously support a mission-run institution. But more importantly it would also forfeit the Government of an annual yield on its endowment of Rs. 25,000.²⁰⁵ Political issues aside, the Department ended up transferring the institution to a local body, which ran it as an aided college. Government kept the yield from the annual endowment and was concurrently able to minimise expenditure.²⁰⁶

Government officials, for their part, were also sometimes hostile towards missionaries. This was often done out of ignorance and anxiety over the effects of their ‘proselytising’ activities upon ‘native sentiment’ and hence British rule. Their decisions were often unfounded and uninformed; decisions were made without even gauging Indian opinion. And missionaries were quick to point out the colonial state’s myopia. The UP Government in 1878 asked the LMS to cease administering Scripture Scholarships, to which they did not acquiesce. This prompted one missionary to liken stout British officials and administrators to cattle, arguing that the Bible ‘affects a good many government officials as a red flag does a bull’.²⁰⁷ Colonel Macdonald raised the question as to whether missionary education should be held in check by the Government, as it had the possibility to act more as a religious rather than an educational agency. He was concerned that Indians would resent proselytising activities and would necessarily make mission schools less popular. But his assessments were unfounded. This led one missionary to retort that

it was hardly necessary for Colonel Macdonald to raise the old question of missionary education as a proselytising agency, or to take up the position that Government is not bound to leave the Natives at the mercy of the Missionaries, when no complaints were before him, and when all the evidence went to show the popularity of Mission schools...and I add their very small success as proselytising agents.²⁰⁸

This mission teacher demonstrated that Indians were enthusiastic about his school and even patronised it with funds.²⁰⁹ Rev. K.C. Chatterjee pointed out that many of the CMS schools in Hashiapur were objected to by English officials.²¹⁰ Even though local residents welcomed their presence and educational activities,²¹¹ administrators and education

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, ‘J.G.’, 27 December 1881, NAI.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, ‘F.C.D.’, 5 July 1881, NAI.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ North India, Incoming Correspondence, 1878-90, Pamphlet on Scripture Scholarships, n.d., SOASL.

²⁰⁸ HD, Ed. Files, No. 25-32, 1882, NAI.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1882, p. 655.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

officials were fearful of possibly upsetting religious sensibilities and continually warned both mission teachers and Chatterjee to know their limits.²¹²

At times there could be more subtle forms of tension between Government and missions. They both had different priorities in the realms of temporal and spiritual authority. Andrew Monroe, the Inspector-General of Education in the Central Provinces, noted that at the Allahabad University Senate missionaries were in sharp disagreement with officialdom. One Departmental officer sneeringly remarked that of the missionaries on the Allahabad Syndicate 'not a few are traditionally disposed to be hostile to any constituted authority, especially if it takes the form of government'.²¹³ There was also tension between educational officials and the Syndicate, regarding the modes in which English would be taught.²¹⁴ In Almora, one mission school, being the only high school in the area, gave Bible instruction and prompted locals to complain to the Government about proselytisation. The Education Department asked the school to stop, and when they refused, Government built its own high school and effectively out-competed the mission school.²¹⁵ The CMS sought a grant for a Hindu hostel in Allahabad, which had been recognised as necessary in order to maintain missionary influence. But the Government gave a grant to a Hindu Hostel instead, much to the chagrin of local CMS workers.²¹⁶ When it came to 'traditional' Indian feelings towards caste, Government usually sided against missionaries. One mission school admitted 'unclean' castes into their schools and Brahmin students complained to Government that missionaries were unsettling caste-order. The Government sided with the protesters and supported a newfound school just down the road; the CMS schools lost half of its students in the process.²¹⁷ When Lord Salisbury spoke at the SPG hall in 1900, beseeching missionaries to stay out of Indian politics and to avoid discussing such matters with their students, it prompted one teacher to sarcastically retort that 'perhaps it is only to be expected when he took it upon himself to give the novel counsel to missionaries not to interfere in politics'.²¹⁸

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ HD, Ed. Files, No. 39-55, 1901, A. Monroe, 13 February 1899, NAI.

²¹⁴ J.B. Harrison, 'English as a University Subject in India and England: Calcutta, Allahabad, Benares, London, Cambridge and Oxford', in N. Crook, *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays on Education, Religion, History and Politics* (New Delhi, 1996).

²¹⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 47-61, 1901, M. Boutflower, NAI.

²¹⁶ G.H. Gill, 15 February 1901, Précis Book, G2/I6/P2, BUL.

²¹⁷ HD, Ed. Files, No. 29-40, 1885, Governor of Bombay, 3 October 1885, NAI.

²¹⁸ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1900, p. 548; *CMS Intelligencer*, 1901, p. 942.

Conclusion

Anglican mission schools were subsidised and given encouragement because of the moral and religious issues with which the Education Department had to concern itself. Such schools were seen not as collaborators but as neutral and hence non-communal imparters of knowledge. The colonial state may have professed a colonial project in education, but the realities of financial penury ensured that it did not always function accordingly. Outside sources would be needed to fill the ranks of secondary and higher education, since this was the most expensive in British India. Missionary and Government tension further defined their relationship, which was above all expedient and based on moral and economic necessity. They disagreed over the importance and significance of worldly authority. British officials and administrators were dominated by an anxiety that missionaries and their educational activities had the potential to upset Indian and 'traditional' religious sensibilities. Yet these fears were usually unfounded, and when they became acute, Government would side against missionaries.

The previous chapter established the parameters whereby the state sought recourse to Anglican missionary societies in order to provide secondary and higher education in the United Provinces. This chapter, more specifically, will define missionary education's aims and functioning in the classroom as part of the colonial encounter. These particulars have usually been neglected by scholars, who have tended to see mission education, save religious instruction, as either synonymous with that of Government or chiefly concerned merely with winning converts. More general studies of Indian education have been primarily institutional,¹ policy-based,² and political³ in their approach. Yet the functioning of education was far more complicated and nuanced than for which our literature has allowed. This section seeks to examine the actual process of pedagogy and enrich our historical literature on Indian education. It also hopes to offer a different perspective on colonial education which aims to move away from 'Orientalist', power-based⁴ and political approaches to western education. This chapter argues that Anglican mission schools did not and could not reproduce dominant western ethos and culture at the expense of Indians ones. Consequently, it will also account for missionary representations of India and offer an alternative to more well-known Orientalist understandings of the subcontinent. It will offer another perspective on the colonial encounter and demonstrate that it was not always defined by dominance and 'otherness'.

Education as an opportunity, affordable and distinct

Anglican missionary educationists, from early on, recognised that they were taking advantage of a Government handicap and understood that the Education Department

¹ S. Nurullah, J.P. Naik, *A History of Education in India During the British Period* (Bombay, 1951); S.N. Mukherjee, *History of Education in India* (Delhi, 1951); S.G. Ghose, *History of Education in Modern India, 1757-1986* (New Delhi, 1975), *History of Education in Medieval India, 1192-1757* (New Delhi, 2001).

² J.C. Aggarwal, *Educational Documents in India, 1813-1968* (New Delhi, 1967).

³ K. Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education: a Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi, 1991); S.Y. Shah, *Higher Education and Politics in Colonial India* (Delhi, 1996); M. Hasan, ed., *Knowledge, Power and Politics: Educational Institutions in India* (New Delhi, 1998).

⁴ G. Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in Colonial India* (New York, 1989); B.K. Boman-Behram, *Educational Controversies of India: the Cultural Conquest of India under British Imperialism* (Bombay, 1943); also see N. Kumar, *Lessons from Schools: the History of Education in Banaras* (New Delhi, 2000).

needed their services. To this they responded quickly. Moral training, by an avowedly secular and religiously neutral Government, was vexing enough as it was. One educationist observed with satisfaction that 'the Ed. Dept. feels the necessity of some moral training, but they do not know how to accomplish it. This instrument we missionaries possess, and it is well we are in a measure organised to meet its need'.⁵ George Westcott claimed similarly: 'mission schools can do a work which Government schools cannot'.⁶ General 'moral' education, more or less absent in Government schools, was one area where missions could provide an additional service. The *Church Times*, of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, stated that 'it is for other reasons that those engaged in missions work in India regard education as so important a branch of their work...mission schools can do a valuable service is recognised alike by parents and Government officials'.⁷ A deputation of three missionaries to the Government observed that officials would find it difficult to provide education in India without their help; these facts should be considered when negotiating with the Government. In particular, they understood that their contributions to general moral education were indispensable to the Department, for half of the educational work was being undertaken by missions.⁸ Thus, education in north India was not always a genuine representation of the values and ethos of the ruling elite,⁹ but was compromised and imparted by bodies with different aims and priorities.

Missionary education was also, above all things important to any mission, a relatively less expensive enterprise. By 1870, educational undertakings were less costly than those associated with more aggressive forms of evangelical activity. Mission societies were over-stretched and under-funded. It was not uncommon for missions to devote most of their energy and paperwork to educational matters, usually provoking questions not only from more evangelical sections within the missions but also reservations from the missions' home offices and prime benefactors. The mission accounts for the Aligarh District, for example, indicate that educational initiatives were vastly less expensive than more orthodox mission activities. Catechists cost the CMS Rs. 2,001, whilst multiple instructors' salaries amounted to Rs. 828.¹⁰ Richard Macdonald, on a tour of select parts of northern India, observed that 'compared to the general results produced they should not

⁵ 'CMS Lucknow, Report of the Evangelistic and Educational Work', 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁶ D-Series, 50, G. Westcott, 'Missionary Educational Work in NWP & O', p. 1, RHL.

⁷ CMD, 31, 'Church Times', 29 May 1908, pp. 1-2, RHL.

⁸ *Report of Rev. W. Bolton, A.W. Whitley, and Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Deputation to India* (London, 1907), pp. 219-23.

⁹ B. Bernstein, 'On the classification and framing of educational knowledge', in M. Young, ed., *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education* (London, 1971); P. Bourdieu, J.C. Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London, 1977).

¹⁰ Mission Accounts, 1890, G2/I7/O, BUL.

be considered costly. Their gross cost, too, is largely reduced by fees...and by grants earned from government under grant-in-aid rules'.¹¹

Educational outlays were also more effective in reaching people. The CMS Accounts for the Aligarh and Bulandeshahr Combined Districts tell of education's cost efficacy. The pay of a catechist amounted to Rs. 2,199, whilst for the same price they could run schools in Aligarh, Delhi, Dhanpur, Bulandeshahr, Sikanderabad, Chunar and Soron.¹² Rev. John Kennedy likened bazaar preaching to spraying water over a large area, with a few drops falling into jars. But in a mission school, one poured a steady stream directly into the bottles.¹³ William Hall even went so far as to call preaching a waste of money.¹⁴

Missionary education was a particular means of accessing educated Indian society. Different types of missionary labour had to correspond with different sections of Indian society: lower castes required more direct and aggressive approaches, whilst the upper segments of Indian society needed to be addressed in a way which was 'respectable'.¹⁵ They recognised that high caste and socially dominant groups, who would come to exercise the most influence in a future Indian nation, would spend little time in the bazaar to listen to the polemics of rambling foreigners. One missionary observed that

some object to men and money being spent on high class schools and colleges, where a large part of the time of course is devoted to secular subjects; but any one of us can see that if a Hindu came to England and wanted to influence the youth of the upper ranks of society, the way would not be to preach in the streets, but to open, if he could, a school like Eton or Rugby.¹⁶

These divisions of labour corresponded with existing social and sometimes religious divisions. This tapped into pre-existing networks of learned communities who saw education as a means to either consolidate or improve upon their own social standing. John Haythornwaite recognised this, and justified the money spent on educational missions towards these classes who 'are practically inaccessible to other forms of missionary influence'.¹⁷

Education was also seen as distinct for more pragmatic reasons. To have an ardent evangelist running a school, which had to abide by Departmental standards, was inimical to the institution. Rev. William Hall argued that 'to place an Evangelistic missionary in

¹¹ Report of R. Macdonald, 8 November 1904, Educational Auxiliary, E/C1/1, BUL.

¹² Aligarh and Bulandeshahr CMS Accounts, 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

¹³ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1903-4, p. 202.

¹⁴ W. Hall to H. Durrant, 11 July 1906, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁵ J. Haythornwaite, 'Educational Work of the CMS and the Need for more Educational Missions', *CMS Intelligencer*, April 1899, p. 975.

¹⁶ *CMS Gleaner*, 1879, p. 134.

¹⁷ J. Haythornwaite, 'Educational Work of the CMS and the Need for more Educational Missions', *CMS Intelligencer*, April 1899, p. 975.

charge of a college is to court failure, and the disapproval of the Educational authorities'.¹⁸ Missions required individuals who had to deal with a large amount of secular work. If a preacher could not maintain required standards of educational efficiency, then schools would lose their Government grants and the legitimacy required from Indian society.

Religion and spirituality in the mission school

Mission schools aimed to engage with their students at a deep and spiritual level, rather than presenting their own religious creed by diktat. Such a system would turn these institutions into centres of vibrant inter-religious discussion. Rather than just serve as affordable alternatives which would, by virtue of the syllabus, mimic the pedagogy of Government institutions, mission schools were to serve as centres of spiritual inquiry. Religion was voluntary and students were encouraged to question the religious; they were to conclude for themselves whether or not they should convert. These schools became increasingly familiar with Indian society at cultural, social and religious levels. Missionaries may have set the terms of religious exchange, but what mattered more was that students would be willing participants. This granted Indians a significant degree of agency, allowing them to decide for themselves, to undertake their own religious inquiries and draw their own conclusions. They were not simply passive bystanders in polemics against their identity.

Missionaries desired to make their schools centres of spiritual and religious discussion were informed by Fulfilment theory. The expatriates who ran these schools were constructive theologians. Educationists could not involve themselves in vitriolic religious discourse, for this was counterproductive to the schools' aims. Instead, they followed their own form of 'constructive Orientalism'.¹⁹ They also dismissed the prejudices and essentialisations of those who knew little of Indian religions and culture. These schools may have engaged in the impartation of both useful and Godly knowledge, but they strictly eschewed the utilitarian and Benthamite-inspired ethos of Government education.

Teachers hoped that interaction between students and teachers would generate religious inquiry and curiosity. By stimulating the higher faculties of the mind to ponder

¹⁸ W. Hall to H. Durrant, 23 May 1906, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁹ C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 224-9; M.S. Dodson, 'Re-Presented for Pandits: James Ballantyne, "Useful Knowledge", and Sanskrit Scholarship in Banaras College during the mid-Nineteenth Century', *MAS*, 36 (2), 2002.

upon the spiritual, students could interpret their own creed in relation to Christianity and the world's religions

the essential basis of the scheme is to form a centre where Christianity would be brought face-to-face with non-Christian systems, not in the way of antagonism, but the later studied with a view to discovering the best in them, and finding out what they contain which leads towards Christ and find their completion and consummation in Christianity. This is a splendid thing. I get to realise ever more and more that God has been revealing His Truth, in measure, in many ages, in many ways, in many lands. Everything [should] be done not to try and prove all non-Christian systems as absolute falsehoods, but groupings and aspirations after the truth of God.²⁰

This agenda may have been Christocentric and condescending, but it more importantly relied upon Indian religious epistemes and traditions to demonstrate that Fulfilment was indeed a means to an end. These schools were guided by their own form of constructive Orientalism. Knowledge, even if the tone and context of inquiry was set by missionaries, was shared and comparatively studied, rather than dictated or imparted by European agency alone. Missionary sympathy with and deeper understanding of India's religions was recognised by Government educational officials and administrators such as Roper Lethbridge²¹ and Denzel Ibbetson.²²

Yet schools were never very spiritual and religious from the onset. They spent most of their time dispelling rumours and misperceptions of Christianity rather than actively and positively engaging their students in religious discourse and Biblical pedagogy. A predominating attitude of religious tolerance was a precondition of the educational enterprise. Knowledge was no longer a destructive and central tool of evangelists: it was usually irrelevant. John Murdoch's belief that comparative religious studies would 'prove' Hinduism and Islam 'false'²³ was as overly-sanguine as it was aimed towards a wider mission-reading public. With misperceptions out of the way, missionaries hoped that schools would devote as much time as possible to the task of 'acquainting the higher classes of Indian youths with the principles of Christianity'.²⁴ Education at St. Stephen's College, for example, was to achieve such an objective.²⁵ This would be accomplished by setting a Christian example. Charles Sharpe reasoned that this was necessary to contrast the oft-questionable behaviour of colonial officers and administrators with a true example

²⁰ D-Series, 190, No. 1/56, Bishop of Lucknow to Montgomery, 15 July 1909, RHL.RHL.

²¹ R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India* (London, 1882), p. vi;

²² Denzel Ibbetson also held similar views; see HD, Ed. Files, No. 39-55, 1901, D. Ibbetson, 29 April 1899, NAI.

²³ J. Murdoch, *Report on Theological Education in India* (Madras, 1900).

²⁴ J. Haythornwaite to Fox, 20 November 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

²⁵ C.M. Millington, *Whether we be Many or Be Few: a History of the Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood* (Bangalore, 1999).

of their religion—this would combat prejudices amongst Christians, Hindus and Muslims.²⁶ Edward Oakley of Ramsay College, Andrew Baumann²⁷ and the principal of the LMS College in Banaras²⁸ all had more success in dispelling the rumours and misunderstandings of Christianity rather than in converting students and discussing even its basic tenets.²⁹ One teacher in *The Pioneer* wrote that although he did not want to degrade Hinduism and Islam, he admitted that ‘my present intention is not to champion the cause of Christianity’, since more time was spent redressing misperceptions and rumours.³⁰ Eleanor Macdonald admitted that education ‘does not necessarily make a boy or girl Christian, but it removes certain obstacles which otherwise seem almost insurmountable’.³¹ Teachers also spent a great deal of time reorienting rather than directing the terms of discourse. Students approached Christianity philosophically. Another missionary spent most of his efforts in aiming to ‘counteract the tendency, so prevalent in India, to look upon Christianity simply as a philosophy’.³² Even Charles de la Fosse, a Director of Public Instruction, observed that ‘it is almost impossible to discuss the topic [of religion] without descending into platitudes...every ounce of practise is worth a ton of theory’.³³

Mission schools went to considerable lengths to encourage and promote discourse amongst their students by hosting seminars, visiting lecturers and public talks. These programmes were seen as the most effectual means in the process. One teacher maintained that such lessons ‘raise[d] man and place[d] him in a better position to arrive at the truth when the desire to do so has been kindled in his heart’.³⁴ The main purpose behind the founding of St. John’s College was to serve as a school for the stimulation of religious discourse.³⁵ George Westcott wanted mission schools to generate an awareness of religion and spirituality through interaction between different religions; he aimed to organise an inter-faith conference which would include ‘the delivery of doctrines on religious questions to an audience of educated men’.³⁶ The Rev. J. Jones saw such

²⁶ CMD, 92, C.H.C. Sharp, Memo by the CMD on Mission Agents, March 1910, p. 13, RHL.

²⁷ A.W. Baumann, Annual Letters, 1889-9, p. 64, BUL.

²⁸ CWM, North India, Incoming Correspondence, 1883-4, Box 12, Hewlett to Thompson, 22 May 1886, SOASL.

²⁹ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1898, p. 89.

³⁰ CMD, 92, Reprint from ‘The Pioneer’, 12 December 1891, RHL.

³¹ E. Macdonald, ‘The Present Situation in the Education of Indian Women’, *The East and the West*, 1914, p. 311.

³² ‘India Notes’, *CMS Intelligencer*, September 1901, p. 685.

³³ *Papers Regarding the Educational Conference, Allahabad, February 1911* (Calcutta, 1911), p. 88, UPSRR.

³⁴ CMD, 31, ‘Church Times’, 29 May 1908, p. 1, RHL.

³⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1881-2, p. 77.

³⁶ CMD, 31, ‘Church Times’, 29 May 1908, p. 6, RHL.

discussion as right in line with Fulfilment Theory, to which he attached a mystical, divine inspiration.³⁷ The CMS, even though it had no presence whatsoever in Aligarh, sent educated missionaries to converse with students at the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College about religion, spirituality and the nature of God.³⁸

Indians themselves participated in these discourses and engaged in debate. They were not simply passive victims of a Christocentric trajectory.³⁹ Mission teachers and principals talked with their students about God, faith and spirituality. Rev. R.J. Bell asked one of his students if there was a missionary in Jubulpur, to which the student replied: 'yes, sir; and he is my best friend. I had him living in my house for some weeks, and we had many conversations on religious subjects'.⁴⁰ Robert Kennedy, of St. Andrew's College in Gorakpur, recalled one particular religious seminar held at the school. It was effectively a no-holds-barred question and answer session, where 'the chief differences between Christianity, Islam and Hinduism [were] lashed out'.⁴¹ Kennedy entertained questions, whilst asking many himself, constantly pressing his students to contemplate on the nature of God and theistic understanding. He marvelled at this speculation and saw this as one of the most exciting parts of his work. St. John's College regularly had moulvies and officials come from Haileybury College to speak on comparative religion.⁴² Evelyn Luce, writing on her work in Zenanas, found Muslim women very willing and ready to talk about Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity in comparative terms.⁴³ One St. Stephen's student, Sri Ram, himself a brilliant Urdu scholar, went on to engage in religious debate and discussions with the Delhi *ulama*.⁴⁴

Since mission schools were to serve as centres of spirituality and inter-faith discourse, a substantial amount of knowledge of India's religious traditions was necessary. This mandated that teachers would engage with India's religious epistemes and traditions. Missionary educationists, aside from their sometimes offensive rhetoric (usually to a home audience), were proficient in the theologies and philosophies of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. They familiarised themselves with the more intimate cultural and religious knowledge of Indian society which the colonial state began to

³⁷ J. Jones, 'Hindu Religious ideals as they Affect the Progress of Christianity in India', *The East and the West*, 1904, pp. 164-5.

³⁸ H. Durrant to W. Gray, 31 May 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL

³⁹ G. Studdert-Kennedy, *Providence and the Raj: Imperial Mission and Missionary Imperialism* (New Delhi, 1998).

⁴⁰ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1883-4, p. 99.

⁴¹ R.J. Kennedy, Annual Letters, 1910, p. 286, BUL.

⁴² *CMS Intelligencer*, 1883, p. 298.

⁴³ E. Luce to H. Durrant, 18 December 1897, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁴⁴ N. Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth* (New Delhi, 1987), p. 99.

forgo after the mid-nineteenth century. They corrected colonial officials and observers who tended to condescendingly speak of India's religions, arguing that these individuals were ignorant of reality. Referring to typical Orientalist rhetoric and charges that Indians were religiously fatalistic, one teacher frankly stated that 'we missionaries know better than that'.⁴⁵ The CMS even required all educational missionaries to undertake instruction in a course of comparative religion.⁴⁶ William Holland even claimed that the average missionary in northern India knew more about Hinduism than students themselves.⁴⁷

St. Stephen's College was one school in particular which was guided by such spiritual aims. They did much to challenge the notion of an essentially distinct and irreconcilable eastern and western moralities. In a memo regarding inter-faith discussions, Professor Stanton claimed that 'life for the teachers and taught would become an infinitely more valuable and attractive thing, and one more [sic] opportunity, perhaps the most central and hopeful...possible, would be given to East and West of really understanding each other'.⁴⁸ They also did much to counter the acute racism of the post-Mutiny era. Sir William Hunter observed that missionaries were the only Englishmen in India who received kindness when they were alive, and generated such regret when they passed away.⁴⁹ Another declared Kipling's east-west dictum a vacuous sham, for missionaries had formed amongst their students 'a brotherhood that has thrown East and West to the winds'.⁵⁰ William Holland believed that India had much to teach Europe and the west, and that India 'will bring to light depths of teaching in Him, whose existence we hardly suspect'.⁵¹ He was 'daily more thrilled by the thought of what India will contribute, with its sacred individuality and God-ordered history, to the perfect understanding of Christianity'.⁵²

These Anglican missionaries sought to engage their students by drawing particular attention to Hinduism's theistic leanings in order to 'prove' that their religious beliefs were not falsehoods but aspirations after truth. India's religious epistemes were therefore not deemed 'false' but were subjected to fashionable theories of evolution. It was ironic that those who cried out against the religious implications of Darwinist evolutionary theories employed such a scheme to engage in religious discussion and exchange. They

⁴⁵ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1896, p. 575.

⁴⁶ Minutes of UP Conference, 9 January 1905, Précis Book, G2I6/P2, BUL.

⁴⁷ W.E.S. Holland, Annual Letters, 1910, p. 282, BUL; W.G. Proctor, Annual Letters, 1899, p. 530, BUL.

⁴⁸ CMD, 34, 'Unknown' to Professor Stanton, 30 June 1902, RHL.

⁴⁹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1888-9, p. 74.

⁵⁰ CWM North India Report, D.E. Evans, SOASL.

⁵¹ Annual Report of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

⁵² W.E.S. Holland to A.B. Durrant, 4 June 1903, G2/I6/O, BUL.

pointed out verses in the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*, to demonstrate that Hinduism had a strong understanding of theism if not genuine monotheism. This would later contribute to a process which began to define mission schools by their theism and religious pluralism, rather than ostentatious Christianity.

Students, for their part, were also more amenable to theism. Educationists engaged with Indian religions in a constructive manner by utilising theism as a starting point for engagement. One of Edward Oakley's students told him that he had taken up the position of a pure theist, since it was 'the real position of all enlightened and educated men'.⁵³ Andrew Fraser, former Bishop of Bombay, argued that educationists must emphasise the theistic leanings of Hinduism to their students and express sympathy with them.⁵⁴ Thomas Slater cited that general knowledge of God as a single entity was becoming more 'refined and accurate', and that any form of Indian Christianity would undoubtedly have a Vedantic characteristic to it,⁵⁵ arguing that the great religions of the world 'do not differ materially in their essential principles and in their more important teachings,'⁵⁶ and that India's future creed would be largely based upon her own religious and moral traditions. George Westcott believed that mission schools were playing a role not in deconstructing Hinduism but in rediscovering it: 'those who have been in but a short time in India know how great an effort is being made [and] how much Christian thought is being read into the Vedas and other ancient Sanskrit writings, and they know again how largely this is due to the educational work of missions'.⁵⁷ Some missionaries even supported a pure (*pawitra*) Holi festival which propagated loving human emotions and theistic devotion.⁵⁸ Rev. Henry Squire of the CMS advocated a system which would start by recognising Hinduism and Islam not as false, but to first acknowledge and commend those religious systems for yearning towards truth: 'nor can I see anything sacrilegious in the attempt to set before [Hindu and Muslim] youths the truths that not only interpret to them before God and nature, but are also a response to the undefined yearnings which every soul is dimly conscious of'.⁵⁹

This constructive religious exchange also engendered theistic and, at times, humanistic moralities. One of the texts used in CMS schools entitled 'The Goal of the

⁵³ North India, Annual Reports, 1892, E.S. Oakley, SOASL.

⁵⁴ A. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 37-8.

⁵⁵ T.E. Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity* (London, 1903), pp. 18, 290.

⁵⁶ R. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol., II, (London, 1899), p. 119.

⁵⁷ D-Series, 50, G. Westcott, 'Missionary Educational Work in NWP & O', p. 14, RHL.

⁵⁸ J.C. Oman, *The Brahmins, Muslims and Theists of India* (London, 1907), pp. 256-7.

⁵⁹ H.C. Squire, 'Missionary Education for non-Christians', 11 January 1889, Acc. 53/Z2, p. 4, BUL.

Human Race' championed the slow revelation of God to all of mankind.⁶⁰ It argued, rather theistically, that a Supreme Being had been slowly revealing Himself over time. The world's other religions were not falsehoods, but yearnings for the Supreme which found their consummation in Christianity. William Gray argued that this was a useful book to put in the hand of educated Hindus and Muslims, as it would demonstrate that God was the same to everyone.⁶¹ Students also helped in fostering theistic and religiously-plural moralities. Lodgers at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad formed the 'Church of One God'. This was a theistic society which offered prayers to Ram, Krishna, Jesus and Mohammed.⁶²

Religious discussions in mission schools were strictly voluntary. Forcing students to engage in a discussion in which they might not have either an interest or a yearning would be contrary to the very *modus operandi* of a mission school. Rev. Henry Squire 'prefer[ed] the system, which founded and patiently carried on in schools and colleges, giving every encouragement to the [Hindu and Muslim] students in them voluntarily to attend religious instruction—not, as in the case of Christian students, requiring it of them, but by sympathy and personal influence, seeking to win them to enquiry and voluntary attendance'.⁶³ Extra-curricular religious sessions and gatherings were strictly optional for students. Most mission schools held religious and Bible seminars outside of classroom lessons. Edward Oakley, the Principal of Ramsay College in Almora, held religious sessions on Sundays, which were well-attended but voluntary. *The College* witnessed spirited discussions on Hinduism, Christianity and Islam, with a view to finding commonalities and dispelling misperceptions of these faiths.⁶⁴

Religious discussions, informed by Fulfilment, kept criticisms of other faiths rare. Schools were to present their message not through confrontation⁶⁵ but through discussion and discourse. The famed work by Rev. Karl Pfander, *Mizam ul-Haqq* (the balance of truth), a polemical critique of Islam, had by now no place in mission schools. One teacher wished to avoid confrontation and offence to Muslims by revising the book. This would include not only a change in the title, but also omitting the references to Mohammed being an epileptic and leaving out words which alluded to the Islamic faith as intolerant.⁶⁶ The harshest criticism of supposedly 'heathen' and 'bigoted' forms of

⁶⁰ W. Gray to G.B. Durrant, 20 January 1893, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

⁶¹ W. Gray to G.B. Durrant, 20 January 1893, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

⁶² W.E.S. Holland, 'The Aim of Educational Missions', *The East and the West*, 1912, pp. 82-3.

⁶³ H.C. Squire, 'Missionary Education for non-Christians', 11 January 1889, Acc. 53/Z2, p. 4, BUL.

⁶⁴ CWM, North India Report, 1892, E.S. Oakley, SOASL.

⁶⁵ A. Copley, *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1997).

⁶⁶ W. Gray to G.B. Durrant, 6 December 1894, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

faith usually came from recent Indian converts, who used these terms with an alarming frequency. At one public lecture on religion and morality, criticism of Hinduism came not from the missionary lecturer, but from Muslims in the crowd.⁶⁷ The few instances of European missionary criticism of India's religions were quickly rebutted by mission colleagues. One example was Mr. Lefroy, who wrote a tract on Islam which argued that it was primarily based upon the doctrinal pillar of God's infinite and unbending power. His colleague, Prof. Edward Cowell, interpreted this as insinuating that Muslims were all religious fanatics, and offered a quick rebuttal. Cowell responded, writing that he had unfairly and simplistically critiqued Islam, ignoring the role that Sufi mysticism played in moving Islam beyond the conception of God as 'just power'. He was in full sympathy with the *Babi* sect, which, according to him, was working to correct the 'faults' of Islam which missionaries pointed out. Cowell argued that 'I cannot allow that [Islam] is all wanting'.⁶⁸

Missionary educationists also sought to stimulate interest in religious discourse by offering Scripture Scholarships. This was the most acute, coercive and concrete theological encounter that students would have with Christianity. These prizes were attractive not because students were fixated upon money, but because the prizes offered were usually either monthly scholarships or cash prizes in excess of a year's fees. Yet these competitions were also an indication of the difficulty mission schools had in maintaining their institutions as spiritual centres of inquiry and discussion. At the CMS Anglo-Vernacular high school in Azamgarh, the Scripture Scholarship examination held in 1898 offered prizes of Rs. 15, 8 and 7, which covered five months of fees, or at least two and a half months.⁶⁹ At Jay Narain's School, the prizes in 1898 included a monthly scholarship of Rs. 4, 3 and a cash prize of Rs. 17; the former two covered the required fees and the latter was a substantial amount of money nonetheless.⁷⁰ At the Chunar Anglo-Vernacular School the prize was Rs. 15.⁷¹ Such examinations contained questions such as 'What special honour is given to Rahah in the Bible', 'Name the six cities of refuge, and state how they were situated among the tribes', and 'How does St Paul prove that both Jews and Gentiles are alike guilty before God'?⁷² At the CMS high school in Faizabad, the prizes offered during the 1891 school year included a Rs. 20 first cash prize, and two

⁶⁷ CWM, North India, Incoming Correspondence, 1878-90, 'A Significant Fact', 28 October 1878, SOASL.

⁶⁸ CMD, 34, E.B. Cowell to Lefroy, 26 November 1893, RHL.

⁶⁹ 'Annual Reports of CMS Banaras & Jay Narain's Free School', 1898, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 25, BUL.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁷¹ W.G. Proctor, Annual Letters, 1899, p 537, BUL.

⁷² *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1890-1, pp. 97-8.

monthly scholarships of Rs. 3.⁷³ The Missionary Educational Union's annual competition for 1901 gave a cash prize of Rs. 10 to a Hindu student, whilst a Muslim received a monthly scholarship of Rs. 2.⁷⁴ Missions sometimes held the competitions at Government schools, as the prizes were undoubtedly generous. One Hindu girl at Victoria high school won a scripture prize of Rs. 10, and her parents attended the function and listened attentively. Even though she never entertained the idea of converting, her parents were very proud and 'most ambitious for the child and so loyal to the school, even though they are Hindus'.⁷⁵

Another way in which to foster religious and spiritual inquiry was through English public lectures. The extension of the spiritual orientation and proclivities of mission schools outside their premises demonstrated the degree to which educationists were engaged with the spirituality of Indian society. These talks would be given to Indians attending either mission or Government schools. These were essential due to the already busy schedules which both students and teachers faced. Such speeches were usually delivered in auditoriums and led by either teachers or visiting missionaries.

The topics were wide-ranging and usually humanistic and theistic. They were representative more of a general form of morality rather than anything explicitly religious. At one level this was one way in which these Anglican schools gradually became more secular. Missionaries felt the best way to maintain the audience's attention was to speak on holistic topics in order to maximise the attention they commanded in a religiously-plural environment. They spoke on secular topics such as 'Inspiration', 'Conscience', and 'Memory'.⁷⁶ Such lectures were viewed as supplementary to the role of the teacher in the classroom. Rev. Henry Stern spoke to students in the hall of the CMS Gorakpur high school on 'The Problems of Life'.⁷⁷ Mr. Partger regularly spoke to students at St. John's Hindu Hostel on topics such as 'Theories as to the Origin of the Universe', 'The Attributes of God as Revealed in Nature', and 'The Constitution of Human Nature'.⁷⁸ Bishop Whitehead lectured students in Patna on the 'Brotherhood of Man'.⁷⁹ William Wilberforce spoke in Banaras on 'Temperance' and 'Man's Need of Religion'.⁸⁰ Rev. Begg spoke to students in Calcutta on 'Conscience', 'Theism', 'Knowledge of the Divine Matter', 'The Future State' and 'Bearing of Morality on the

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1891-2, p. 100.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1901-2, p. 220.

⁷⁵ M. Kitching to H. Durrant, 16 February 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁷⁶ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1889-90 p. 102.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-1; Stern had become so popular that he had a village named after him, Sternpur.

⁷⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1890-1, p. 104.

⁷⁹ B. Whitehead, 'The Future of Indian Christianity', *The East and the West*, 1905, p. 3.

⁸⁰ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1890, p. 63.

Political and Social Duties in Life'.⁸¹ In Khagra R.P. Mukherjee, an Indian convert, spoke to students at the LMS school on 'Temples', 'Morality and Religion' and 'Sacrifices'.⁸² Rev. H. Hackett spoke in Lucknow in the hall of an American Mission schools, on the subject of 'Is there a God'?⁸³ At the 1889 meeting of the Indian National Congress, lectures were given by K.C. Banerjee, another Indian convert, who spoke on 'Christianity and Politics' and R.C. Bose, of the CMS, who spoke on 'The Root Principle of Self-Culture'.⁸⁴

These lectures were also comparative, which was in line with the emerging discipline of comparative religion and Fulfilment. These were to compliment classroom discussions and to supplant when there was usually little time for such conversations. Again, students were willing and active participants. Speaking to a group of students in Agra, Rev. Henry Lewis gave talks on 'Thirsting for God', wherein the abilities of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam were discussed in their ability to satisfy man's spiritual needs.⁸⁵ R.C. Bose spoke at St. John's on 'Christianity and Hindu Philosophy', 'Buddha as Man' and 'Buddha as a Moralist'.⁸⁶ At Christ Church College in Kanpur, run by the SPG, Rev. Qualandar of the CMS hosted an open-air debate in the college's auditorium at the end of 1909 with some 800 Muslim graduates. One of the panel delegates was the Principal of an Islamic *madrasah* in Kanpur. This 'workshop' lasted for three days and the topics of the Incarnation and Atonement were 'presented in light of Moslem thought, and discussion followed each lecture'.⁸⁷ Discussion was vibrant and fruitful. Qualandar visited the neighbouring school where he actually found the students being trained to utilise the New Testament in order to preach Islam and comparative religion. He remarked that 'there is something remarkable and even hopeful in the fact that the study of the so-called abrogated Gospel has a place in a Mohammedan College'.⁸⁸ One CMS missionary spoke to an educated audience in Burdwara, beseeching his audience to return to the pristine theism of the Vedas. All he could offer them in his religion was to offer a mediator between God and man, in the form of Jesus.⁸⁹ In Agra Rev. Henry Durrant and an Indian professor of philosophy held a joint lecture, discussing the commonalities

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 72.

⁸² CWM North India Report, 1906, R.P. Mukherjee, SOASL.

⁸³ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1885-6, p. 89.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1888-9, p. 6.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1884-5, p. 99.

⁸⁶ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1886, p. 410.

⁸⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1909-10, pp. 126-7.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1892, p. 771.

between their faiths.⁹⁰ Yet these talks were also secular and civic, including ‘Duty’, ‘Medication’, ‘Women’ and ‘Moral Courage’.⁹¹

Conversion, India agency, and their educational bearings

The spiritual and religious *modus operandi* of mission schools had a bearing upon their aims and ends. Hasty conversions were discouraged, for they would compromise the very goals of character construction which they sought. To aggressively seek conversion would be counterproductive not only to the missionary educationist’s means, but also ends. The success of their enterprise could never be judged statistically, and even missionaries themselves admitted that results were found ‘in Government and places of business, rather than in the Church’.⁹² If anyone was to convert, it had to be preceded by long and genuine spiritual thought and conviction, for an overzealous convert would cause more problems than solutions for the educational enterprise.

Missionary schools’ approaches consequently ensured that the enterprise would be strongly influenced by Indian temperament and demand. Teachers’ dislike of nominal conversion, in particular, was strongly informed by Indian society, which exercised a particular degree of agency over these mission schools. It was understood by both Indians and Europeans that students sought recourse to mission schools for general benefits and supplements to their existing moralities, rather than for opportunities to review these afresh. Students and parents both championed the moral and general benefits of mission education, whilst being fully aware that teachers possessed little agency when it came to having a genuine spiritual and religious impact. Mission schools, even though they were, at least in rhetoric, an explicitly proselytising agency, were markedly popular with Indian families. John Murdoch’s assertion that mission schools were ‘intended as an engine of conversion to Christianity’⁹³ was as uninformed as it was meant to appeal to a wider and funding audience. This was also the case with F.W. Thomas’ assertion that ‘Christian’

⁹⁰ *CMS Gleaner*, August 1913, p. 133.

⁹¹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1885-6, p. 69.

⁹² *Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad, 1872-73* (London, 1873), p. 130.

⁹³ J. Murdoch, *Education in India* (Madras, 1881), p. 126; also see J. Murdoch, *Report on Theological Education in India* (Madras, 1900), *Education in India* (Madras, 1881), *India’s Greatest Educational Need: The Adequate Recognition of Ethics in her Present Transition State* (Madras, 1904), *India’s Three Great Educational Needs and How to Provide Them* (Madras, 1902), *Memorandum on Some Indian Questions* (Madras, 1900) and similar works by J. Johnston, *Abstract and Analysis of the Report of the Indian Education Commission* (London, 1884), *A Century of Christian Progress and its Lessons* (London, 1888), *Indian Education: A Vital Question for the Government and the Church* (London, 1879), *Educational Policy in India* (Edinburgh, 1879); these pieces were directed towards a wider, home-reading audience, and justified the money spent on schools as ‘engines’ of conversion.

schools necessarily produced loyal citizens.⁹⁴ There was a congruence between parents, who wanted a higher moral tone, and missionaries, who were more than happy to educate their children. This further complicated the aspect of conversion—parents sent their children to mission schools to gain a general morality, rather than engage with Christianity's theological specifics. Indian parents regularly sent their children there fully knowing that Bible instruction would be given, yet were aware that mission schools produced but a farthing of converts. This was done not because religious instruction was absent in Government schools, but because the general moral tone was perceived to be higher in mission schools. They were thus constrained by Indian agency, as that they had to be sensitive to the reasons for which parents were sending their children. Breaking that trust would also empty the school and deprive missionaries of the very opportunities they needed to engage with Indian religious epistemes. Rev. Worthington Jones observed that parents were secular not because they discounted religion as missions understood it, but because they desired for their children a general moral, rather than religious, education: 'parents are often sharp enough to see that the morality inculcated at mission schools is indefinitely better than at the Government school; but when there is a chance of their boys becoming Christian they throw morality to the winds'.⁹⁵ The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Denzel Ibbeston, observed 'how high their superior agency is valued when available, is evident from the numberless parents, whose hearts would be broken if they embraced Christianity, yet who send them to Mission Schools'.⁹⁶ It was easy for mission schools to earn the plaudits of Indians for their general moral education. One man, educated at a mission school, tried to persuade his neighbours to send their children to the institution, citing its general moral benefits: 'why do you not send your daughters to this school? Are you afraid of the Christian teaching that is given here? Do you think your daughter will become a Christian? If so, be comforted. In thirty years experience of this place, I have never known that to happen'.⁹⁷

The hesitancy to convert their students was significantly influenced by factors in Indian society. Anglican missionary education therefore was already being moulded by Indians themselves. Given the inherently interdependent nature of education itself, mission schools were subject to the vagaries of student temperament to a remarkable and binding degree. These schools were characterised as much by Indian as they were by

⁹⁴ F.W. Thomas, *History and Prospects of British Education in India* (London, 1891), p. 59.

⁹⁵ W. Jones, 'On Educational Missions', *CMS Intelligencer*, May 1889, p. 219; *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1912, p. 105.

⁹⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 39-55, 1901, D. Ibbetson, 29 April 1899, NAI.

⁹⁷ R.S. Wilson, *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India* (London, 1928), pp. 143-4.

missionary agency. The rush towards conversion, which characterised much of mission activity during the 1830s and 1840s was by now markedly absent. The inability of these institutions to exercise power was marked. Missionaries warned against rushed conversions, understanding that such conversions ultimately did more to hurt the school than help it.⁹⁸ Mission schoolteachers were fully aware that instances of conversion would precipitate a student exodus and rob missionaries of the only opportunities they might have for being in close contact with students. In the spring of 1891 at Ramsay College, for instance, one Brahmin student converted and Oakley had an open rebellion on his hands.⁹⁹ This occurred again when Tulsi Ram decided to undergo public baptism, and effectively brought the school to a complete halt. Edward Oakley recognised that the trust and goodwill needed to bring students to the College was seriously damaged after Ram's conversion.¹⁰⁰ Oakley later confided in his own personal report that 'we do not desire immediate and open results in the conversion of souls',¹⁰¹ noting that even though he prayed for conversion, he admitted that they would inevitably 'empty our classrooms'.¹⁰² At the LMS high school in Mirzapur if a student showed even the slightest inclination towards converting, the entire student population would be in an uproar and walk out.¹⁰³ Rev. G.B. Durrant of the CMS opened a school in a village outside of Lucknow at the requests of local residents, but when rumours circulated by members of the Arya Samaj, that the teachers was trying to convert students, its classrooms were emptied *en masse* and completely shut the school down after only a few years.¹⁰⁴ One CMS school in Azamgarh, in the autumn of 1910, was temporarily shut down due to pressure from the Arya Samaj, who circulated that the school would convert all of their children, which led to a mass exodus.¹⁰⁵ And at Holland's beloved hostel, the students in 1905, outraged by Curzon's partition of Bengal and rumours of conversion, effectively brought the hostel to a halt. Administrative work ceased, and even lectures were countered. Some of the boys managed to spy on Holland and others preparing lectures and, once finding out the topic, quickly rushed back to organise and deliver a counter-lecture within one hour.¹⁰⁶

Conversion was also avoided because it usually proved ineffectual in changing individuals' character and behaviour. Converts did little to change their spiritual

⁹⁸ W. Miller, *Unrest an Education in India* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 48-9.

⁹⁹ CWM North India Report, 1890, E.S. Oakley, SOASL.

¹⁰⁰ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1890, p. 68.

¹⁰¹ CWM North India Report, 1898, E.S. Oakley, SOASL.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1890, p. 353.

¹⁰⁴ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1886, p. 397.

¹⁰⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1910-1, p. 124.

¹⁰⁶ Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Review, 1905-6, G2/I7/O, BUL.

orientation, and were used as examples to demonstrate both the inefficacy of hasty conversion and its limits. Low caste converts were by no means shining examples of Hindus becoming full Christians. Examples of converts were used to illustrate the futility in converting 'before people were ready'. Educated Indian society did not need to convert on account of rice, as *chamars* and *bhangis* did. John Harrison recalled one instance of *chamar* converts, who wished to raise pigs to earn income, now that they were theoretically allowed. They asked Harrison to intervene when villagers grew upset over the proliferation of pigs and when he informed them that they did not have to raise pigs, they replied 'what is the use of being Christian'?¹⁰⁷ One Indian convert in particular even asked a teacher 'has the Maharani, Queen Victoria, become a goddess yet'?¹⁰⁸ Such incidents led William Holland to remark that 'a city on a hill is not necessarily a light', referring to the numerous small convert villages across northern India.¹⁰⁹ They usually converted in groups, usually as families, especially after the prospect of material and financial betterment. William Gray of the CMS drew attention to the 'foolishness of preaching as a chief means in the accomplishment of the great end'.¹¹⁰ Educationists also looked down upon Hindus who hastily converted. William Holland observed that those who were either illiterate or uneducated usually 'open his mouth wide and swallow it whole', unaware of what he was doing.¹¹¹ In the Rohilkand Division, there was a flowering of small Christian communities, most of whom were illiterate villagers. This division was covered by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, having worked there for years. Andrew Cruickshank, when touring the Division, gave an account of the effects of conversion amongst the villagers. He observed that the converts' social practises and customs were 'scarcely distinguishable from their [Hindu] neighbours'.¹¹² Early child marriage was still common, and they had moreover not given up idolatrous practises.¹¹³ The only noticeable difference was in the cleanliness of the converts' homes. Andrew Birkett recalled how a group of Indian converts, when invited to his home for dinner, still refused to dine with his wife on account of caste.¹¹⁴

Indians tended to conflate Christianity with Englishness, much to the chagrin of mission school teachers and headmasters. This was another way in which Indians moulded the enterprise by forcing mission schools, however indirectly, to reorient their

¹⁰⁷ J. Harrison to H. Durrant, 21 September 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁰⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1904-5, p. 200.

¹⁰⁹ 'Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Magazine', 1905-6, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹¹⁰ W. Gray to J.B. Harrison, 24 January 1893, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

¹¹¹ W.E.S. Holland, 'Indian versus English Virtues', *The East and the West*, 1909, p. 313.

¹¹² NWP & O GAD Procds., No. 357c, 1899, A. Cruickshank, UPSA.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ A. Birkett, 17 February 1903, G2/I6/O, BUL.

means and ends. This also ensured that mission schools would not focus so much on nominal conversions as they would on ideals and morals. When one missionary, for instance, came to say 'Blessed are the meek', he was interrupted by a young boy who replied: 'Sir, the Englishman may inherit the Earth, but if you call him meek, he would be insulted'.¹¹⁵ Charles Andrews recalled an incident when a carriage carrying a European passed down the road and an entire flock of people gave way. An Indian friend remarked: 'look, there is your Christianity driving along'.¹¹⁶

Smaller numbers of converts were also seen as a distinct advantage. They could be given more attention and care by educationists. Converts in the thousands would prove overwhelming. Edward Brown of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta thought that large numbers would mean there would be many 'half-Christians'.¹¹⁷ Even a Bengali Hindu observed that missions were better served by having fewer converts rather than a mass of educated atheists.¹¹⁸

The conversion of Brahmins and other high-caste Indians was seen by most teachers and headmasters as unrealistic. Educationists understood that material factors were paramount and that western-educated Brahmins would not easily forgo their social and economic positions for a nominal change in religion. Educationists had come to terms with the reality of this situation. One convert, Nehemiah Goreh, confided to Charles Andrews: 'you English cannot imagine what it is for a Brahmin to become a Christian. It is very awful'.¹¹⁹ J.P. Jones, an American missionary who represented the attitudes of Anglican missions towards conversion, admitted that mission schools did 'not so much to gain adherents as to minister to the religious life and thought of India'.¹²⁰

In the United Provinces, the actual impact missionary educationists had in promoting religious and spiritual inquiry, which led to conversion, was unsurprisingly minimal. Educationists recognised that their influence was 'not so much on the ground [as] in the air'.¹²¹ This revealed the degree to which mission schools proved unable to have a serious and concrete religious impact. The demographic realities demonstrated that missionary education, even if it was accused of engaging in religious subterfuge, was defined more by its aridities rather than its effectiveness. This led one Indian to comment that all the

¹¹⁵ C. Robinson, 'The Interpretation of Christ to the non-Christian World', *The East and the West*, 1910, p. 83.

¹¹⁶ C.F. Andrews, *North India* (London, 1908), p. 164.

¹¹⁷ E.F. Brown, 'Mission Work Amongst the Educated Classes in India', *The East and the West*, 1907, pp. 36-7.

¹¹⁸ A. Fraser, 'The Place and Policy of Educational Missions', 1907, H/H5/E2, p. 2, BUL.

¹¹⁹ C.F. Andrews, *North India* (London, 1908), p. 64.

¹²⁰ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1909, p. 156.

¹²¹ T.H. Dodson, 'Missionary Work and Native Education in India', *The East and the West*, 1903, p. 262.

educated converts of British India could be accounted for on one hand.¹²² Arthur Mayhew's comment that only Indian converts had reaped the full benefits of education¹²³ was itself very misleading, for nearly all converts were illiterate. Most Indian Christians never went to, let alone ever saw, a mission school. Societies which were less involved with higher and secondary educational initiatives, mainly the American Presbyterian and Methodist Missions, were in fact far more successful when it came to conversion. Not only were these very educational missions averse to pursuing converts *en masse*, but they had little to do with the mass movements and demographic change which swept northern India between 1890 and 1910. Other Protestant missions, by contrast, were so successful that in some districts Methodists and Presbyterians constituted nearly the entire native convert community. In the Dehra Dun, Agra (1,158 out of 2,343) and Almora (689 out of 1,289) districts, for instance, Methodists and Congregationalists made up more than half of the indigenous Christian populations.¹²⁴ In districts such as Saharanpur (1,100 out of 1,617), Muzaffanagar (1,200 out of 1,259), and Garhwal (536 out of 538), they constituted nearly the entire convert population.¹²⁵

The large increase in the number of northern Indian converts, in particular, was due to the labours of American missionaries working with low caste communities of *bhangis* and *chamars*. This was one area with which mission teachers, with the fixation upon the 'future leaders' of Indian society, did not operate. By 1910 they constituted nearly three-quarters of the entire indigenous Christian population. According to the 1911 Census, there were 138,189 Indian Christians (non Anglo-Indian or British) in the United Provinces. Of these, 105,855 belonged to the American Methodist Church, or about 77% of the entire native Christian population.¹²⁶ Three quarters of all Anglicans in UP were either Anglo-Indian or European (30,912 out of 41,505), which meant that only about 10,000 Indians had converted to Anglicanism.¹²⁷ This was a small percentage of Indians who converted. The societies which were most involved with education, the CMS, LMS and SPG, were Anglican, and yet they were unable to convert many Indians. Rev. Arthur Crosthwaite wrote to the SPG Secretary that 'the only Mission work being carried on in the [Moradabad] district is that of the American Methodist Mission and they confine

¹²² A.J. Rau, *Christianity and Education in India, a Lecture* (Ramsgate, 1871), pp. 4-5.

¹²³ A. Mayhew, *The Education of India* (London, 1926).

¹²⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series: United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Vols. I, II (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 256, 395, 268.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 294, 282.

¹²⁶ E.A.H. Blunt, *Census of India, 1911: United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Vol. II (Allahabad, 1912), pp. 763-74.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 764-5.

themselves entirely to the lowest castes, so that the more respectable agricultural and industrial classes are being entirely untouched'.¹²⁸

Mission schools, in particular, also fared poorly when it came to conversions. St. John's and the welter of high schools and hostels in UP saw but a trickle of converts. Missionaries wrote to their home audience and claimed that most of their students were 'secret Christians', believing but unwilling to risk the social ostracism of baptism. Yet this was more a reflection of their desire to prove that their funds were being out to good use, rather than accurate representations of their schools' inherent spirituality. Henry Gulliford of the CMS noted that mission schools produced little in the way of converts when 2.3 million out of 2.6 million Indian Christians were illiterate.¹²⁹ Sir Henry Cotton, an expert on educational issues, recorded that throughout his career in India, he never met an educated Hindu or Muslim who converted.¹³⁰ Jai Narain's College did not produce a single convert over the course of twenty-two years.¹³¹ The CMS high school in Lucknow produced only two converts between 1888 and 1910,¹³² whilst the Bishop of Calcutta, during his eighteen years of experience, could not recall a single instance of the conversion of a western-educated Indian.¹³³ And John Warren, in his work with the CMS schools in Lucknow, observed that there was not a single convert in all of 1909.¹³⁴ The Oxford and Cambridge hostel in Allahabad managed to convert only one student between 1900 and 1915,¹³⁵ despite William Holland's tireless efforts to make it an inspiring centre of religious and spiritual inquiry. Dr. Westcott predicted back in the 1870s that St. Stephen's would generate immediate conversions, but by 1900 not one student had come out to face the ordeal of baptism.¹³⁶ And the sole convert of the LMS in northern India in 1913 was not at a mission school, but at Central Hindu College.¹³⁷

East and west: education and missionary 'representations' of India

The means by which mission schools sought to engage their students in matters of spirituality had many bearings upon larger issues of 'Orientalism'. In their desire to draw out the theism and moral tenets of Hinduism, these institutions and individuals

¹²⁸ D-Series, 118, No. 2, RHL.

¹²⁹ H. Gulliford, 'Christian Literature as a Mission Agency in India', *The East and the West*, 1909, p. 151; *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1911, p. 34.

¹³⁰ G.S. Saxena, *The Arya Samaj Movement in India* (New Delhi, 1990), p. 148.

¹³¹ A.E. Johnston to Wright, 17 February 1898, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹³² A.E. Birkett to Machonochie, 29 November 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

¹³³ F.W. Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India* (Cambridge, 1891), p. 121.

¹³⁴ J.A. Warren, 'Annual Report of Meerut District', 1909, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹³⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1913-4, p. 130.

¹³⁶ E-Series, 50, No. 21730, 'Missionary Educational Work in NWP & O', p. 25, RHL.

¹³⁷ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1914, p. 92.

consequently fashioned their own representation of India, Europe and the world. This also confounded larger Orientalist stereotypes. This made 'morality' not so much an exclusive purview of the west but a universalised ideal. These Anglican missionary educationists, thus, added further complexity to the supposedly all-pervasive rhetoric of 'difference'.

First, the essentialisations of colonialism have to be given a broad context. Colonial rule neither introduced such essentialisations nor did it have an exclusively European purview. Generalisations were made of the west and of Europeans in the pre-colonial Indo-Islamic world,¹³⁸ by western-educated Indians,¹³⁹ Swami Vivekananda,¹⁴⁰ and Gandhi himself.¹⁴¹ These teachers thus stepped into an environment which was already awash with stereotypes, even if they gained more poignancy during colonial rule. These were constructed by both Indians and Europeans. Religious tolerance, informed by Fulfilment, made schools more multicultural and religiously diverse than anything exclusively Christian. Their 'recognition of truth' in India's religious traditions suggested that truth was a monopoly neither of the west nor of Christianity. This ensured that mission schools would not be defined by predominating racial and colonial stereotypes. Orientalism in this case was not so much a central ideology as it was a multifarious and enigmatic ideal, often complicated by myriad and at times intense European debates.

Studies of Orientalism and 'essentialised' colonial encounters have recently undergone a marked revision. Scholars have challenged the standard racial component of the 'civilising mission',¹⁴² demonstrating that racial attitudes were neither multifarious nor wholly directed against Indians. They have argued that the 'other' and 'inferior' was not always Indian but was just as often a European pauper. Others¹⁴³ have demonstrated that Orientalist writing about India was not monolithic, but was multifarious and internally contradictory. This section seeks to add a further qualification to supposed stereotypes that were symmetrical with and used in the process of colonial domination.¹⁴⁴ It also aims to do this by examining moral and religious traits and their representation.

¹³⁸ J.R.I. Cole, 'Invisible Occidentalism: Eighteenth Century Indo-Persian Constructions of the West', *Iranian Studies*, 3-4 (1992), pp. 3-16.

¹³⁹ K. Chatterjee, 'Discovering India: Travel, History and Identity in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century India', in D. Ali, *Invoking the Past: the Uses of History in South Asia* (New Delhi, 1999), pp. 221-3.

¹⁴⁰ S. Vivekananda, *Complete Works* (Calcutta, 1989-92); S.R. Goel, *History of Hindu-Christian Encounters* (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 107-215.

¹⁴¹ M. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*; S.R. Goel, *History of Hindu-Christian Encounters* (New Delhi, 1989).

¹⁴² S. Mizutani, 'The British in India and their Domiciled Brethren: Race and Class, 1858-1930', unpub. D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 2004.

¹⁴³ K. Teltscher, *India Incribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (New Delhi, 1995).

¹⁴⁴ R. Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford, 1990).

These mission schools, because of the aforementioned reasons, had forgone the ideal of nominal conversion. This in turn led them to focus more on pluralistic and theistic forms of morality than specifically Christian ones. This was another component in the marginalisation of evangelical Christianity within mission schools. This both informed and was informed by the notion that ‘truth’ could be found in other religions. One CMS writer observed that dialogue was the only way forward, asserting that ‘the recognition of partial truth in the [world’s religious systems] is a duty which requires more attention than it receives’,¹⁴⁵ and that ‘for His sake we must welcome truth wherever we may find it’.¹⁴⁶

Missionary desires to draw out the best in Indian character and the ‘truths’ of Hinduism and Islam, admittedly desperate and Christocentric, meant that they would seek confirmations of their own faith in India as often as in Europe. Consequently, educationists were unusually critical of western and English character traits. Missionary educationists were averse to many of the Anglicising tendencies which the colonial education system tended to perpetuate. It would be simplistic to say that this lay solely in their desire to make conversion easier. It was also informed by a desire to maximise and ensure their influence.

Missionary aversion to unmitigated Anglo-Saxonism was usually outside the context of conversion. They were quick to pinpoint admirable and very ‘Christian’ qualities found in Hinduism and Islam, and even quicker to expose particular ‘un-Christian’ and ‘pagan’ characteristics and practises of Englishmen. This would have a bearing upon not only their approaches towards the social and political predicaments their students would later face, but also their interactions with India’s religious traditions. An instructor at Stephen’s, Colin Sharp, argued that Europeans and especially British officials ‘were constantly making rash generalisations concerning the differences of East and West’.¹⁴⁷ There were many perceived similarities between Christianity and Hinduism. One mission teacher stated that ‘not all it finds in Hinduism is Indian, but some of it is very Occidental indeed’.¹⁴⁸ This was not so much a clandestine Eurocentricism and Christocentricism as it was an admission that western civilisation was not always symmetrical with its accommodating religious superstructure. It was also indicative of the lengths to which missionaries would go in order to maximise their own influence.

Educationists sought to limit the very Anglicising influences deemed by Macaulay as indispensable for collaborative colonial rule. Ironically, these Anglican societies ended up

¹⁴⁵ ‘Indian Notes’, *CMS Intelligencer*, July 1902, p. 519.

¹⁴⁶ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1896, p. 573.

¹⁴⁷ CMD, 31, ‘Church Times’, 10 June 1910, p. 21, RHL.

¹⁴⁸ H.E.P., ‘Indian Notes’, *CMS Intelligencer*, April 1899, p. 786.

devaluing Englishness and Anglicisation with much fervour. Partly due to the fear of identifying with the colonial state too much, and partly out of their own convictions, missionaries and their schools never championed Anglicisation in the way it had (at least officially) guided the evolution and development of Government schools. Missionaries understood that state-run schools had to Anglicise ‘in order to succeed,’ and ‘were not a suitable policy’¹⁴⁹ for mission schools. This guaranteed that the reproduction of dominant, ruling-elite ethos was not so much a by-product as it was inimical to missionary education.

Missionaries criticised excessive Englishness and located admirable and ‘Christian’ qualities not exclusively in Christianity but also in India’s own moral and religious traditions. India was not purely an ‘other’. It possessed its own laudable moral qualities. Alexander Duff may have been unabashed in his desire to see Indian fully Anglicised, but Andrews and others believed that missionaries ‘have learnt since his day that the problem is one of assimilation and not substitution’.¹⁵⁰ John Ellwood noted that one of the primary tasks of the educationist was ‘to allow the Native individuality to fully assert itself’.¹⁵¹ He also was averse to any tendencies to try to Anglicise his pupils, for he thought it necessary to ‘keep Western energy and individuality from overpowering the native’.¹⁵² Ellwood went on to explain that ‘each nation has its own way of looking at things, and the Englishman is every ready to think that he knows better than anyone else...our English way of doing things is often inadvisable and cumbersome. We would give instances if time would permit’.¹⁵³ Ellwood also used the analogy of a cauliflower seed acclimating to Indian soil. Education and Christian virtues were the seeds and in time they would become Indian after a few generations.¹⁵⁴ One LMS missionary admitted that he was greatly disillusioned as to the Christian quality of western civilisation; he described Europe’s actions in the larger world as ‘tribal and barbaric’.¹⁵⁵ Anglo-Saxons had also half learnt the lesson of the Gospel’s message of a common brotherhood and equality.¹⁵⁶ Charles Andrews chided the worldliness¹⁵⁷ and others the hot temper¹⁵⁸ of Anglo-Indian society. An American missionary, J.P. Jones, criticised the stalwart English official for

¹⁴⁹ A. G. Fraser, ‘The Place and Policy of Educational Missions’, 1907, H/H5/E2, p. 6, BUL.

¹⁵⁰ C.F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India: its Missionary Aspect* (London, 1912), p. 34.

¹⁵¹ J. Ellwood, Notes, February 1901, G2/I6/O, BUL.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1915, p. 75.

¹⁵⁶ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1888, p. 12.

¹⁵⁷ C.F. Andrews, *North India* (London, 1908), p. 173.

¹⁵⁸ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1915, p. 222.

being 'notoriously conceited and given to thinking that he has nothing to learn from other people'.¹⁵⁹ Rev. Matthew Sherring berated the 'thoroughly materialistic orientation of...English rulers', and how these tendencies did an unfortunate disservice to the mission school.¹⁶⁰ When one student at Ramsay College began working with poorer communities in Almora it led Rev. John Budden to remark that English officials might learn a thing or two.¹⁶¹ Edwin Greaves of the LMS remarked that Englishmen professed but rarely followed their religious creed,¹⁶² whilst one St. Stephen's teacher called the nominal profession of Christianity by the average English administrator 'rubbish'.¹⁶³ The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (MAO), as a case point, was criticised not for being a Muslim institution, but for being a slave to English imitation, which meant the possibility of uncompromising and intolerant secularism.¹⁶⁴ Many educationists even suggested that the Bible would be more readily acceptable to Hindus than to Englishmen. This was maintained by William Holland,¹⁶⁵ Edward Oakley and Henry Pakenham-Walsh.¹⁶⁶

Missionaries were also averse to Anglicisation because it would suppress the already existing and at times dominant Indian nature of the enterprise. Aggressive 'English' traits were inimical to both the schools' and missionaries' aims. Jane Latham of the CMS, after working in UP for many years, argued that 'Indian education and Indian mission education must be determined by Indians...the more that Indians can do for their own people the better'.¹⁶⁷ Of course, mission schools did enforce a particular level of discipline, but it was not a replicate of that found in Government institutions. But educationists were challenging the idea of a strict, European-style school level of discipline. William Holland believed that what was best for English students was not always so for Indian students. He admitted that it was 'difficult to know whether we shall be handicapping our spiritual work by insistence on a discipline founded on English ideas'.¹⁶⁸ This was echoed by the headmaster of the CMS high school in Lucknow.

¹⁵⁹ J. Jones, *India: its Life and Thought* (New York, 1908), p. 22; Edward Hopkins was one American religious scholar of India who even went as far as to call the period of British rule the 'most grotesquely hideous era in India's history', see E.W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* (London, 1896), p. 566, fn.

¹⁶⁰ M. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes as Represented in Benares* (Calcutta, 1872), Vol. II, p. 241.

¹⁶¹ CWM, North India Reports, 1890, J.H Budden, SOASL.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 1914, E. Greaves, SOASL.

¹⁶³ F.F. Monk, 'Evangelistic Work in Indian Mission Colleges', *The East and the West*, 1915, p. 77.

¹⁶⁴ C.F. Andrews, *North India* (London, 1908), pp. 131-2.

¹⁶⁵ W.E.S. Holland to H. Durrant, 12 May 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁶⁶ H. Pakenham-Walsh, 'The Attitude of Educated Hindus towards Christianity', *The East and the West*, 1906, p. 394.

¹⁶⁷ J.L. Latham, 'Women's Education in India', *The East and the West*, 1910, p. 399.

¹⁶⁸ W.E.S. Holland to H. Durrant, 12 May 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL; also see *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1901, p. 23.

Strictness and discipline, which were more Anglo-Saxon than Christian, kept not a few students away from his school.¹⁶⁹

Textbooks and the Eurocentric curriculum were also faulted for their adoration of Anglo-Saxonism. Muscular high Victorian Christianity may have been prominent and attracted a populist following by 1900,¹⁷⁰ but this did not mean that it was necessarily shared by those most closely associated with its propagation. On closer inspection, some of the most severe critics of British aggressiveness and 'manliness' were those most involved in the religious propagation and interpretation of Christianity in South Asia. Missionaries spent many years in India, formed close relationships with students and their parents and challenged the supposed conflation of manliness with Christianity. Their own perceptions of 'character' and 'Christian' traits were coloured by their own Indian experiences. The champions of manly Christianity were informed as much by the uneasiness and tenuous relationship between their professed religion and its civilisation as they were by their own ignorance of and arrogance towards Indian religions. This indirectly questioned the stereotype that Indians were effeminate and not masculine enough compared to Englishmen,¹⁷¹ by consequently disentangling Englishness from Christianity. Many subjects and books in Government schools, for instance, were taken without any alteration from Britain. Indian students were therefore prepared for the London degree, which was 'unjust as well as foolish'.¹⁷² Andrew Fraser believed that textbooks, prescribed by the Education Department, did nothing but force students to imitate English manners and history. Fraser wished to introduce books not on English history, but on India's,¹⁷³ and admitted that India's future 'will not lie in the imitation of ourselves and our life, but in being true to her own self as God has made her'.¹⁷⁴ One CMS report argued that the present curriculum, prescribed by Government, was not Indian enough.¹⁷⁵ Fraser again derided what he saw as the unfortunate 'veneration of the Anglo-Saxon',¹⁷⁶ and that the present system of English and Government education 'succeeds in glorifying and propagating the aggressive virtues of the Anglo-Saxon at the

¹⁶⁹ 'CMS Lucknow, Report of the Evangelistic and Educational Work', 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁷⁰ C. Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes* (London, 1993), pp. 19-43.

¹⁷¹ M. Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: the 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, 1995).

¹⁷² A. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 38.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁷⁴ A. Fraser, 'The Place and Policy of Educational Missions', 1907, H/H5/E2, p. 8, BUL.

¹⁷⁵ 'Consideration of the Policy of Education for non-Christian Girls in India', 14 September 1911, E/AC/1/589A, BUL.

¹⁷⁶ A. Fraser, 'The Place and Policy of Educational Missions', 1907, H/H5/E2, p. 6, BUL.

expense of all that is deepest in our life, and that which makes us kin to our brothers of the East'.¹⁷⁷

At a larger level, the symmetry between Christian morals and western civilisation, and the supposed proof of their accompanying cultural superstructures, also rested on shaky foundations. This was a period when the symmetry between the two grew increasingly uncertain, rather than intimately intertwined.¹⁷⁸ The assertions of overly-sanguine missionaries¹⁷⁹ and Anglicist educationists¹⁸⁰ that Christianity and western civilisation were complimentary were not always shared by those running schools and hostels. William Holland was one particular educationist who did much to question this alignment. He located particularly 'Christian' characteristics not amongst colonial officials, but amongst his own Hindu and Muslim students; he was quick to chide colonial officialdom for their superficial and contradictory 'professions' of Christianity. Englishmen demonstrated some very undesirable moralities and Holland remarked that 'after centuries of Christianity we have still not accomplished the most elementary of tasks, that of mastering our temper'.¹⁸¹ Anglicism and the mimicking of English ways and matters of efficiency was not what mission schools needed: 'there may be Indian clergy whose account books would not pass muster in a law court, but who, if put in charge of a group of simple Christians would be centres of inspiration and forward movement'.¹⁸² He clearly separated colonialism from its purportedly 'civilising' faith by stating that nations give ideals by the devices of their standards. European nations tended to use lions and eagles. But those creatures, Holland maintained, would never inherit the earth.¹⁸³ Henry Tubbs of the CMS called European arms 'fiendish weapons of European anarchy',¹⁸⁴ whilst Holland assailed English 'pagan materialism'¹⁸⁵ and his countrymen for uncompromisingly assuming leadership in everything.¹⁸⁶ He called Christianity in England

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁸ G. Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in Colonial India* (New York, 1989).

¹⁷⁹ J. Macleod, *Address on Christian Missions to India* (Edinburgh, 1868); L. Archer, *Indian Mutinies Accounted For* (London, 1857), pp. 14-5; H.V. Elliot, *Special General Meeting of the Church Missionary Society at Exeter Hall* (London, 1858), p. 67; H.C. Tucker, *A few words on teaching the Bible in Government Schools in India* (London, 1859), p. 16; J.H. Mitchell, *Indian Missions viewed in Connection with the Mutiny and other recent events* (London, 1859); G.P. Badger, *Government in its relations with Education and Christianity in India* (London, 1858), p. 22.

¹⁸⁰ C.E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London, 1838), p. 219; *Review of a letter addressed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company*, n.a., (London, 1858), p. 9.

¹⁸¹ W.E.S. Holland, 'Indian versus English Virtues', *The East and the West*, 1909, p. 315.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 316.

¹⁸³ W.E.S. Holland, *The Indian Outlook* (London, 1926), p. 21.

¹⁸⁴ H.N. Tubbs, *Annual Letters*, 1908, p. 261, BUL.

¹⁸⁵ W.E.S. Holland, *The Indian Outlook* (London, 1926), p. 184.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-1.

an 'unresolved problem',¹⁸⁷ and stated that most Hindus could do well to teach Englishmen some of the more basic Gospel ideals which the latter learnt back at school in Britain.¹⁸⁸ Englishmen usually interpreted these as 'un-Christian', and not 'manly' enough. Reactionary Orientalism may have looked upon Hinduism as being 'devoid of all ethical significance',¹⁸⁹ but Andrew Fraser confided that the very Christian ideal of humility was practised more by Hindus than Englishmen; his students were also intellectually more astute.¹⁹⁰

Christianity's supposed symmetry with colonialism and the civilising mission¹⁹¹ was also contested. Indians were attentive to larger global histories and developments in the world's religions. This was another factor which helped mould and alter the development of the educational enterprise. The editor of the *Rakhbar* in Moradabad, for instance, argued that missionaries should not delude themselves in thinking that more missionary influence in India would bind her to the British Empire. He cited the United States and Ireland as examples of their 'Christian kin' violently going astray.¹⁹² C.V. Vaidya, Chief Justice of Gwalior and a fellow of Bombay University, argued that Christians were a most intolerant lot. In spite of their 'civilising' message, they had fought more wars and spread more misery than any other people on earth. He went on over the course of thirty-odd pages to demonstrate that missionary criticisms of Hindu marriage customs were contradictory. He reviewed the history of marriage as an institution in Europe and its relation to the Church. Vaidya demonstrate that love, the usual missionary answer to everything, rarely characterised European marriages.¹⁹³ Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar, of the Brahmo Samaj, spoke to the Lucknow Student's Association on the nature of religious faith and after quoting from the Koran, *Manusmriti* and the Vedas, he came to the Bible. Jesus had solved man's quest for salvation, but 'it was a misfortune that He had been brought to India by Europeans, and more or less in the guise of a European'.¹⁹⁴ Mozoomdar argued that the violence perpetuated by Europeans did much to demonstrate

¹⁸⁷ W.E.S. Holland, 'The Aim of Educational Missions', *The East and the West*, 1912, pp. 78-9.

¹⁸⁸ W.E.S. Holland, 'Indian versus English Virtues', *The East and the West*, 1909, p. 308.

¹⁸⁹ D. Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography: Being Extracts from the Panjab Census Report of 1881, Treating of Religion, Language and Caste* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 111.

¹⁹⁰ A. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, pp. 41-2.

¹⁹¹ G. Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, 1999), pp. 3-5, 19-20, 67, 223, 228-9, 235; G. Studdert-Kennedy, *British Christians, Indian Nationalists and the Raj* (Delhi, 1991), pp. 1-57, *Providence and the Raj: Imperial Mission and Missionary Imperialism* (New Delhi, 1998), all deal with the Christian component of the 'civilising mission' at varying degrees.

¹⁹² *Rakhbar*, Moradabad, 7 October 1904, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹³ C.V. Vaidya, *The Development of our Marriage Customs* (Madras, 1900), p. 24.

¹⁹⁴ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1889-90, p. 104.

that colonialism, western civilisation and its professed faith were antagonistic to each other.¹⁹⁵

Missionary educationists also brought attention to what they considered the admirable characteristics of Indian culture and morality which were usually believed by colonial authorities to be either non-existent or aberrations from 'traditional' India. The Rev. Kenneth Kennedy, of the CMS, questioned the notion that the English language was inherently more civilised and would surreptitiously inculcate Christian values. Rebuffing his colonial peers and aloof British administrators, he remarked that it was 'a miserable conceit and insularity to imagine that a man cannot be a truly cultured and devout gentleman unless he knows English'.¹⁹⁶ In fact, he even proposed that mission schools and hostels should be run by laymen, not insouciant, erudite individuals.¹⁹⁷ At the CMS Girls School in Muttra, the Headmistress required her girls to wear Indian as opposed to European dress.¹⁹⁸ Educationists' perceptions of India were even characterised by a sense of admiration. Edward Oakley, who spent much time with Himalayan communities when not in Ramsay College, observed that 'there is much that is amiable and worthy of respect in the life and character of the people'.¹⁹⁹

At another level, missionary educationists did not champion European modernity as 'proof of superiority'. The secularising forces of the modern world, partly a result of European colonialism and intellectual change, were viewed with disdain. Many were convinced that materialism was running rampant under British colonial rule. Andrew Fraser of the CMS observed that its proliferation was at work not only in India, but also in Britain.²⁰⁰ The Rev. John Maclean observed with regret that the modern Hindu had been 'corrupted by the worldly West and the soul of modern industrialism'.²⁰¹ One teacher called it misleading to believe that commerce should be taken as proof of Christian superiority.²⁰² Rev. Hibbert Ware of St. Stephen's did not want India to 'become slaves to western civilisation' and its materialism.²⁰³ Missionaries did not subscribe to the notion of a stagnant and unchanging east. They were fully aware that Indian society was alive to the

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ K. Kennedy, 'The Effects of Educational Work by Missionaries on the Supply and Training of Native Clergy and Catechists', *The East and the West*, 1907, p. 448.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

¹⁹⁸ *CMS Gleaner*, July 1915.

¹⁹⁹ E. Oakley, *Holy Himalaya: the Religion, Traditions and Scenery of a Himalayan Province, Kumaon and Garhwal* (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 11.

²⁰⁰ A. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, pp. 31-3.

²⁰¹ J. MacLean, 'Is Hinduism Conducive to Unworldliness?', *The East and the West*, 1907, p. 154.

²⁰² *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1881, p. 163.

²⁰³ *Sri Raghavendra*, Allahabad, September 1905, SVN, UPSA.

material and commercial benefits of British rule. John Maclean observed with uneasiness that India had 'been so ready and quick to rudely adopt the spirit of the West'.²⁰⁴ Commercial and moneyed Indians, and the creeping effects of British materialism and utilitarianism, had become partners in a way which disgusted many school teachers. Maclean spoke from experience. After his first ten years working in India, he recalled that for every religious questions he received there were ten about the relationship between conversion and livelihood.²⁰⁵ Some of the questions and statements he encountered included: 'will your God give us food on easier terms than we get it now', and 'our gods have fed and clothed us all or days; we shall trust them to the end'.²⁰⁶ He remained convinced that hostility to Christianity had its roots not just in caste, but 'in general worldliness'.²⁰⁷ One missionary admitted that the 'enemies' of Christianity were not Hinduism and Islam, but agnosticism, modernity and worldliness.²⁰⁸

Their profession as religious interpreters to their students, combined with their intimate knowledge of Indian students and their selfish desires to maximise their own influence, ensured that these missionaries engendered (however superficially) a culturally-hybrid morality with their students. They sought a fusion of east and west, combining what they saw as the best of each, to further their own ends. Charles Andrews wrote to the *Review* in Allahabad, arguing that the best thing missionaries could do was to avoid Anglicising India's customs and traditions. This was shared by many educationists. Bishop Whitehead, on a visit to Lucknow, stated to an audience that English education had deprived India of her glorious yet unrecognised vernacular literature. What was needed was not the replacement of one culture and language with another but a hybrid and assimilation of the best of English and the vernacular.²⁰⁹ One missionary emphatically declared that 'we want to see neither East nor West',²¹⁰ whilst another approved the proliferating use of 'Hinglish'; he was continually asked by his students *aur koi porter hai* (is there another porter)?²¹¹ Mission teachers indulged themselves in forms of hybridisation and 'going native', and were intimate with Indian society. E.M. Forster was not just creating Orientalist fiction when he wrote about the missionaries Mr. Grayford and Mr. Sorley, who lived beyond the slaughterhouse, never entered the Anglo-Indian

²⁰⁴ J. MacLean, 'Is Hinduism Conducive to Unworldliness'?, *The East and the West*, 1907, p. 154.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1886, p. 155.

²⁰⁹ *Advocate*, Lucknow, 26 December 1907, SVN, UPSA; 'The Future of Indian Christianity, by the Bishop of Madras', *East and the West*, 1905, pp. 9-21.

²¹⁰ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1894, p. 743.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 574.

club of Chandrapur, and always travelled third class rail.²¹² He adequately captured the degree to which missionaries engaged with Indian society and to which British officialdom had removed itself. William Holland encouraged many missionary teachers to go, as he did, on their way to school not in carriages but like his students, on bicycles.²¹³ Rev. Allnutt of St. Stephen's, rather than taking a carriage like many of his racial kin, regularly rode his bicycle as the only European in the narrow and congested streets of Delhi's Chandi Chowk.²¹⁴ Rev. A.R. Hickling and his wife were so well-versed in Indian fashion and mannerisms that they were mistaken by locals for an organised band of dacoits.²¹⁵ John Partiger was enthusiastic and somewhat touched in receiving an Indian farewell ceremony complete with garlands and hymns at St. John's College.²¹⁶ One LMS worker captured the degree to which missionaries involved themselves in Indian society when he stated that 'India is already casting its spell over us. We are growing to love it'.²¹⁷

The questioning of Christianity-Anglicism symmetry, and its impact upon the educational enterprise, had a bearing upon any supposed 'civilising' missions. The very recognition of truths in other religious systems did much to question the notion that these missionaries were part of a 'civilising' mission. Scholars have oversimplified the mission's supposed monolithic nature and its entanglement with colonialism. Missionaries knew India was one of the world's great civilisations. Here, colonialism was not necessarily defined by a civilising mission.²¹⁸ For at their most condescending, missionaries saw India not as 'uncivilised' but as 'not yet evolved'. This Darwinian trajectory better characterised missionaries' interaction with religion rather than civilisational superstructures. Yet this was significant, for it did not suggest that educationists sought to not replace India's cultural systems with western ones, but sought to bring out what they saw as the best of Indian culture, even if it was to be heavily favoured towards non-Indian religions. This involved both Indian agency and input, for missionaries had to build upon Indian religious traditions. Consequently, missionary educationists found that they had more in common with the higher schools of Hinduism than with those of their supposed co-religionists in the west. Educationists understood that elaborate Indian theories regarding the soul and transmigration, and their pre-

²¹² E.M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (London, 1924), p. 58.

²¹³ W.E.S. Holland, 'Indian versus English Virtues', *The East and the West*, 1909, p. 311-3.

²¹⁴ D. Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1881-1997: An "Alexandria on the Banks of the Jamuna"?', in M. Hasan, ed., *Knowledge, Power and Politics: Educational Institutions in India* (New Delhi, 1998), p. 74.

²¹⁵ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1914, p. 21.

²¹⁶ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1891, p. 348.

²¹⁷ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1913, p. 94.

²¹⁸ A. Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism* (New Delhi, 1988).

existing religious truths, meant that India was already 'civilised'. Many teachers and missionary scholars recognised this. Educationists in the CMS affirmed their recognition that India was one of the world's great civilisations. To speak of it on a lesser scale would be a terrible injustice.²¹⁹

The secular atmosphere of the classroom

The tasks of converting Indian students led mission schools to devote more attention to non-religious factors and the formation of what they condescendingly considered 'character'. Their own theological temperaments, as much as the realities of pedagogy in the classroom, made mission schools devote more attention to theistic forms of morality. In turn, this made their classrooms and ethos more religiously-plural than they would have liked. This was a result of the ways in which Indians were moulding and reorienting the educational enterprise. The classrooms and ethos of mission schools would invariably contribute to an emerging Indian notion of religious-plurality and civic ethos. They would preach more about the public sphere and the importance of public morality, rather than the faith schoolteachers were originally paid to propagate. This was another example of how mission schools were secularised. This was neither an agnostic nor a public-removed secularism, but a religiously-plural one which held itself together with theism.

One theme throughout this research has been missionary selfishness. Educationists were more preoccupied with exercising a maximum amount of general moral influence on a rising Indian generation. They understood that the most effective way of achieving this was to jettison conversion. This forced classrooms and corridors to be secular and religiously-plural in their ethos. Many educationists argued that the future did not necessarily mean that they wished India to become a Christian country, even if they professed this to their financially-supporting yet ignorant home audience. In fact the impossibility of such a goal was quickly realised. Yet they hoped that the lessons and influence they imparted to these higher sections of Indian society would germinate in the future and outlive British rule. What the Mission aimed to achieve, through education, was to produce pupils who were moulded by Christian ideals, rather than its religious and doctrinal skeleton. George Westcott admitted that 'conversion, after all, was a matter of single cases...to expect the whole of Hindu society to accept [Christianity]...as it was now

²¹⁹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1894, pp. 672, 742.

before them was, humanely speaking, to expect the impossible'.²²⁰ He stated that those who thought mission schools should primarily seek conversion were misinformed: 'there are [some] who seem to regard schools as a kind of evangelistic trap. Such a view I regard as dishonest. I do not think that a policy of the kind will prove of any lasting advantage to the Christian Church'.²²¹

Educationists felt satisfied that their students were being given a more general 'moral' education. This was confirmed by students themselves, who attested to the general moral and, at times, humanistic tones of mission schools and teachers. Former students at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad testified that the benefit of their lodging had more to do with general moral and humanistic influences rather than specifically religious ones.²²² Jay Narain's School in Banaras made it an explicit goal to form character amongst its students.²²³ One orthodox Hindu argued that mission schools were having an effect upon social and humanistic rather than religious reform.²²⁴ Donald Evans felt that the most gratifying result of his work was the increasing goodwill between his students and Europeans.²²⁵ CMS missionaries took every care 'to bring up the boys consistent with moral duties—the line end of education'.²²⁶ Charles Gill and the CMS general committees, when sanctioning funds for educational work, were usually influenced 'by a broad desire for the general good of the student classes of India'.²²⁷

It did not matter much whether pupils absorbed the doctrines of Bible lessons. What did matter was that they put them into practice. This would ensure posterity for missionary educationists and their institutions. These supposedly 'Christian' morals were increasingly coloured by theistic moralities. CMS members maintained that so long as their pupils were influenced by purportedly 'Christian' ideals, such as service, humility and forgiveness, then the school's aims would have been fulfilled. In this respect, knowledge in mission schools became increasingly defined by its affective nature. Colin Sharp did not want to Christianity as a system of religion, but wanted to propagate its outward manifestation and resultant virtues of public charity.²²⁸ Writing on the CMS high school in Meerut, the annual report noted that the welfare of the boys was sought 'with a

²²⁰ D-Series, 175, No. 23301, Westcott to Montgomery, 12 April 1907, p. 25, RHL.

²²¹ D-Series, 50, G. Westcott, 'Missionary Educational Work in NWP & O', p. 11, RHL.

²²² *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1914-5, p. 130.

²²³ *CMS Gleaner*, June 1913, p. 93.

²²⁴ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1890-1, p. 79.

²²⁵ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1912, p. 111.

²²⁶ CMS Agra Report, 1907, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²²⁷ C. Gill, Memo, 24 December 1900, G2/I6/O, BUL.

²²⁸ CMD, 31, 'The Guardian', 26 May 1911, p. 21, RHL.

view to the production of honest, truth-loving upright characters'.²²⁹ St. John's College, the most prestigious missionary college in the United Provinces, was guided by a similar aim. Education was to 'lead students to recognise, not simply the claims of Christ but, if possible, to fix upon them a sense of moral responsibility, and the duty of making a decision'.²³⁰ Charles Gill argued that a school's aims was not to convert but to diffuse 'Christian' ideals, and that the CMS had 'expended men and means lavishly upon their colleges with this aim largely in view'.²³¹

Conclusion

Mission schools were to be vibrant spiritual centres, designed to break down religious barriers and dispel the misperceptions of Christianity with which they had to contend. In the course of this discourse, religious 'tolerance', informed by the ideal of Fulfilment, ensured that these institutions were less religious and Christian than missionaries had hoped. This process was informed by Indian contributions: conversion put the Anglican educational enterprise very much at the mercy of Indian agency. Students and parents desired mission education primarily for general moralities. In their engagements with Indian religions, missionaries questioned the beliefs in a distinctive east and west and located Christian tenets and morals within Indian religious traditions just as often as they found them in Christianity. Combined with criticism of excessive and aggressive 'Englishness', these schools engendered moralities which were less Christian and more religiously-plural, theistic and hybrid.

²²⁹ 'Meerut Mission Report', 1905, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²³⁰ 'India Notes', *CMS Intelligencer*, September 1901, p. 685.

²³¹ C. Gill to UP Ed. Dept., 24 July 1903, G2/I6/O, BUL.

The previous chapters have laid the framework and context of classrooms by examining the relationship between Government and missions, and by subsequently documenting the means and ends of missionary education. The subsequent three will focus on the actual impartation of knowledge and its functioning as an enterprise. The need for religious and spiritual discussion led educationists to study comparative religion and exchange information with pundits and moulvies. Our historical literature has tended to focus more on ideological and confrontational periods between missionaries and Indians such as the debates over *sati*,¹ with the *ulama*² and the period of hardened and developed Indian nationalism.³ Yet the story of the nineteenth century was not just one of simple Hindu⁴ and Muslim⁵ reaction and revival, but of intense religious conversation and discourse. It was not just a story of increasing ideological divides and conflict. This chapter will attempt to answer the call to further examine the role of religion in relation to knowledge, Orientalism, and the ability of Indian society to resist and contest European hegemony.⁶ It aims to explore the interaction between Indian and European knowledge, both secular and religious, and to offer further insight into the vitality of colonial Indian society and its knowledge systems.

Mission schools imparted both secular and religious knowledge. This chapter will investigate the relationship between the two, and demonstrate that not only was the interaction between India's religions and Christianity multifarious, but that the importance of the western curriculum was contested and confounded by both Indians and missionaries. Missionary attempts to discuss religion and spirituality with their students

¹ L. Mani, *Contentious Traditions: the Debate on Sati in Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1999).

² A.A. Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond, 1993); G.A. Oddie, *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reform* (New Delhi, 1979).

³ A. Copley, *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1997); E.S. Alexander, *The Attitudes of British Protestant Missionaries Towards Nationalism in India* (New Delhi, 1994); A. Mathew, *Christian Missions, Education and Nationalism: From Dominance to Compromise* (New Delhi, 1988).

⁴ S.H. Gupta, *The Arya Samaj and the Raj, 1875-1920* (New Delhi, 1991); J.R. Graham, 'The Arya Samaj as a Reformation in Hinduism with Special Reference to Caste', unpub. PhD. diss., Yale University, 1942; R.F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on anti-Christian apologetics in Early Nineteenth Century India* (Vienna, 1981).

⁵ B. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (Princeton, 1982).

⁶ C.A. Bayly, 'Orientalists, Informants and Critics in Banaras, 1790-1860', in J. Malik, ed., *Perspectives on Mutual Encounters in South Asian History, 1760-1860* (Leiden, 2000), p. 123.

would inevitably have an impact upon the supposed symmetry between Christianity and western knowledge.

**Religious discussions and discourse: shared and contested knowledge,
c.1880-1910s**

Apart from interactions with their students, missionary educationists and teachers hoped to engage with the higher schools of India's religions by conversing with pundits, moulvies and holy men. This was partly informed by Fulfilment. Some have argued that Fulfilment and its aims were unabashedly Eurocentric and a mask for intolerance.⁷ Yet neither did this prevent Indians from conversing with missionaries, nor did it deny their ability to contest the terms of debate which missionaries sought to impose.

Missionary rhetoric firstly needs to be given a broader context. Their criticisms of 'Hindu pantheism' and 'Muslim bigotry' were, to begin with, coloured and qualified. They needed to appeal to a home audience which had little time for 'discussion and understanding'. They did not, as they usually reiterated to their benefactors back home, step into a theological vacuum of pantheism, but engaged with pre-existing and vibrant religious epistemes and debates. This is not to deny that they did not believe what they wrote, but merely to understand the degree to which such rhetoric was influenced by non-religious factors. Missions moreover tended to report the 'absurdities' of rural and country Hinduism rather than the moralities of learned and urban individuals and holy men. Mission-funders needed to feel that their money was being put to good use. Students and learned Indians possessed a better knowledge of religious monotheism than other Indians, which missionaries came to better understand towards the end of the nineteenth century. This was rarely reported to their home audiences, and if it was it was dressed up in rhetoric and popular vocabulary. The famed Arab traveller and chronicler al-Burani, for instance, noted back in the eleventh century in his *Kitab al-Hind* (Book of India) that 'the [educated] Hindus believe with regard to God that He is One, Eternal...this is what the educated people believe about God'.⁸ Al-Burani contrasted this with what he considered the absurd and reckless pantheism of the countryside.⁹

Notwithstanding this condescension, the liberal strands of Protestant thinking were ascendant in the educational enterprise. This was a period of massive and voluminous

⁷ G. Studdert-Kennedy, *Providence and the Raj: Imperial Mission and Missionary Imperialism* (New Delhi, 1998), *British Christians, Indian Nationalists and the Raj* (Delhi, 1991).

⁸ E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India: an Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India* (London, 1887), pp. 27, 31.

⁹ *Ibid.*

religious discourse, set off by Dr. Max Müller's 'Hibbert Lectures' in 1870, which began examining the universal characteristics of religion and faith.¹⁰ This was the beginning of comparative religion. Europeans were increasingly less confident in Christianity's 'superiority' as they came to learn about other religious systems. The 'crisis' of mid-Victorian Christianity and faith in fact was greatly assisted and informed by Buddhist teachings, especially after the directional turn towards Buddhism which British Orientalism underwent after 1900.¹¹ By the late nineteenth century missionaries had jettisoned the notion of ending the Brahmins' supposed monopoly of knowledge¹² and had subjected Godly knowledge to the public arena, the classroom, and the theologies of the pundits and holy men of the *math* and *mandir*. These debates should not be read as purely confrontational polemics, but also as exercises in discourse. This also filled a void leftover by the colonial state's withdrawal from the cultural familiarities of Indian society. The very recognition of Hinduism and Islam as already possessing inherent truth, and hence Divine truth, suggested that Christian doctrine could be put to a constructive use. This had moved beyond the previous beliefs in the 'false and one-sided picture given to the Hindu religion',¹³ and what educational officers usually called Hinduism's 'mythical and absurd'¹⁴ religious convictions and its lack of a 'commonly accepted moral code of civilised communities'.¹⁵ Missionaries corrected the gross and uninformed representations of Hinduism by colonial officials and Europeans and argued that 'the absurdities of Hinduism have been unduly emphasised'.¹⁶ Sir Henry Cotton believed that missionaries were no better than laymen at sympathising with the 'special idiosyncrasies of the Hindu intellect'.¹⁷ Yet this was more importantly an example of both official British contempt for Indian students and the limits of colonial knowledge. Educationists by 1900 were more sympathetic with Indian thought than most Europeans in South Asia.

Approaches to Indian religions, by the latter nineteenth century, were no longer defined by surreptitious efforts at deconstruction. Rather than sweep Hinduism asunder with western science and learning, missionary educationists aimed to draw out and identify ideals which they saw as within Christianity, and read Christianity into them. Yet

¹⁰ J.J. Clarke, *Oriental Enlightenment: the Encounters between Asian and Western Thought* (London, 1997), p. 133.

¹¹ G.E. Parrinder, *The Christian Debate: Light from the East* (London, 1904), pp. 12-22.

¹² R.F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on Anti-Christian Apologetics in Early Nineteenth Century India* (Vienna, 1981), pp. 34-5.

¹³ C.F. Andrews, *North India* (London, 1908), p. 200.

¹⁴ J. Nesfield, *A Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1885), p. 88.

¹⁵ NWP & O Ed. Procds, No. 3, 1887, J. Reid, 9 July 1884, UPSA.

¹⁶ Eucken, 'The Truth of Religion', *The East and the West*, 1916, p. 196.

¹⁷ H.J.S. Cotton, *New India, or India in Transition* (London, 1885), p. 173.

Hinduism was also read into Christianity. This section aims to extend the analysis of colonial knowledge further by examining the cusps of different religions and the role of discourse and debate. This inter-religious discourse was important for it suggested that knowledge was not always dictated by European and western means alone; it was constructive. Missionaries may have set the tone and standards for inquiry, but this did not mean it was done *ex nihilo*. They were not only dependent upon India's religious traditions, but the very recognition of truth. This meant that acquisitions of knowledge were not always exercises in control and dominance. It was admitted that this religious 'work need not be destructive work—it is rather constructive'.¹⁸ Religious dialogue was more representative of the sharing of knowledge rather than its high-handed acquisition. By the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries were more deeply involved in acquiring knowledge of Indian culture and religion than the colonial state and Anglo-Indian society. The latter had become so removed that it led Dadabhai Naoroji to note that even though British officials ruled India they 'might just as well be living in the moon'.¹⁹

Christianity and Hinduism: parallels, *bhakti*, and forced connections

Missionaries explored many striking similarities between Hinduism and Christianity. One way to do so was to engage Vaishnavite Hinduism. This was essential to the educational enterprise as it was not only most common amongst students, but was predominant in northern India, particularly in eastern UP and Bengal. Comprehending the basics of this Hindu school made religious and spiritual discussions, in the classroom and in the hostel, constructive. Here missionaries engaged in positive apologetics,²⁰ seeking to discover commonalities between Christianity and Vaishnavism. It was called the 'nearest in thought and practise to the religion of Christ', and witnessed a revival in northern and eastern India in the 1890s.²¹ Educationists were attracted to this Hindu school because of its belief in the separate and distinct essences of the real and the supernatural; between God and Man, or *dvaita*. Vaishnavism was also attractive because students were more sympathetic with this school of thought.²² It had done much to influence the Bengali

¹⁸ CMD, 31, 'The Guardian', 26 May 1911, RHL.

¹⁹ D. Naoroji, 'Memorandum', in S. Hay, ed., *Sources of Indian Tradition* (New York, 1988), Vol. II, pp. 94-6.

²⁰ P.J. Griffiths, *An Apology for Apologetics: A Study in the Logic of Inter-religious Dialogue* (Maryknoll, 1991).

²¹ M.T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya Movement: a Study of the Vaishnavism of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1925), pp. 79-80, 217; F. Lillington, *The Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj in the Bearing upon Christianity: A Study in Indian Theism* (London, 1901), pp. 28-30.

²² W. Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India: their History, Ethnology and Administration* (London, 1897), pp. 247-8.

Brahmo Samaj,²³ which moved in a religious direction of which many missionaries approved. This was different from *advaita* Hinduism, with its emphasis on the unity of all things, the ‘illusion’ of the real world, and the eventual absorption of the soul into the Godhead. Since Vaishnavite doctrine, in comparison to Shaivnite doctrine, maintained that the soul eternally remained distinct from the Divine, this was seen as a starting point for investigation and discussion. Vaishnavism was interpreted by Orientalists such as Monier Williams and George Grierson along a Darwinianist trajectory.²⁴ Many missionaries took on a similarly condescending approach, seeking to convince themselves that Fulfilment was the appropriate means by which to approach Hinduism.

Dr. William Hooper of the CMS was one missionary educationists who engaged with Vaishnavite Hinduism and its relation to Christianity. After working in Banaras for years, he wrote a treatise entitled ‘The Hindu Doctrine of Transmigration’, with a clear hope of finding the commonalities between Judeo-Christian notions of the afterlife and the Hindu notion that souls migrate from one life to another (*samsara*).²⁵ Johnson was also attracted to the Ramanuja school because it held that the world was not an illusion and that the concept of Divine incarnation was real.²⁶ His first visit in 1896 was characterised by vibrant discussions about Vaishnavism, Christianity and their relationship. These were ‘marked by a feeling of great sympathy and unity’ in discussing the nature of the soul, its distinctness from the divine, and their relationship.²⁷

Other scholars and teachers undertook similar investigation and drew parallels. William Holland, in his review of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, praised the *Bhagavad Gita* as ‘the one pure and spiritual writing of Hinduism’,²⁸ whilst Thomas Slater believed that it had an intricate role to play in the system of world religions.²⁹ Holland learnt Sanskrit in order to access the ‘extraordinary literary movements among educated men’, and help him to understand Hinduism, as one would learn Arabic to understand the Koran.³⁰ Buddhism was also engaged. J.P Jones elaborated upon the commonalities between Buddha and Jesus, arguing that they both placed an utmost emphasis upon charity and were critical of excessive ritualism.³¹

²³ D. Kopf, *The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 222-4.

²⁴ V. Dalmia, *The Nationalisation of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harishchandra and Nineteenth Century Banaras* (New Delhi, 1997), esp. pp. 390-409.

²⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1892, p. 78.

²⁶ ‘CMS Banaras Outstation Report for 1904’, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Annual Report of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

²⁹ T.E. Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity* (London, 1903), p. 290.

³⁰ W.E.S. Holland to H. Durrant, 12 May 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

³¹ J. Jones, *India: its Life and Thought* (New York, 1908), pp. 339-52.

Indians did engage in discourse and exchange, even if missionaries set the tone for debate. It was not always vain³² and confrontational.³³ One missionary, after giving a public lecture on religion and morality, was asked by a Hindu to come back to his residence with others, to continue the debate. They all then proceeded to flush out theological differences, with the Hindu audience coming not to defend Hinduism, but to propose a hybrid faith of *bhakti* and Gospel morality.³⁴ The Bishop of Lahore spoke in Mayo Hall, Allahabad, on 'The Reasonableness of a Divine Incarnation', which touched upon the similarities between Hinduism and Christianity, comparing the incarnation of Jesus to that of Krishna.³⁵ Zoroastrianism was also engaged. George Longridge of the CMS stated that 'there is much in the Parsi religion of which we can approve, because in it we can see a reflection of Christ'.³⁶ It was believed by other missionaries that Jesus could serve as a guru to Hindus.³⁷ Rev. Andrew Birkett, undertook a comparative study of Islamic, Hindu and Christian theologies. He aspired to educate himself in order to discuss religion with his students and individuals of spiritual inclination.³⁸ A young Bengali Hindu asked Henry Stern if he could deliver a lecture to his students at the High School on the life of Jesus in relation to Hinduism.³⁹ St. John's College held a theological debate in 1897 which is of particular notice. This witnessed a vibrant exchange between Ahmad Masih, a Muslim convert to Christianity, and Jahangir Khan. Both discussed the particulars of Islam and Christianity. The debate was followed by a lecture given by William Hooper on 'The Hindu Doctrine of Merit'.⁴⁰ The Bishop of Calcutta invited Pandit Kharak Singh to Allahabad to lecture a group of students on 'The Arya and Buddha Religions'.⁴¹

It was not just with students that missionaries sought to converse. Educated and learned Indians of all types were actively sought out, especially those knowledgeable in higher Hinduism. In Ayodhya, Rev. James Harrison conversed for years with the city's pundits. He never dismissed their ideas outright, and observed that 'the better educated we

³² R.F. Young, G.V.P. Somaratna, *Vain debates: the Buddhist-Christian Controversies of Nineteenth century Ceylon* (Vienna, 1996).

³³ R.F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on anti-Christian apologetics in Early Nineteenth Century India* (Vienna, 1981); A. Copley, *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1997).

³⁴ North India, Incoming Correspondence, 1878-90, 'A Significant Fact', 28 October 1878, SOASL.

³⁵ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1901, p. 393.

³⁶ R. Longridge, *Missionary Lessons on India* (Oxford, 1900), p. 19.

³⁷ R. Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895* Vol. II, (London, 1899), pp. 32-4.

³⁸ A.J. Birkett, 26 May 1894, G2/I6/P1, BUL.

³⁹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1889-90, p. 101.

⁴⁰ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1897, pp. 91, 127-8.

⁴¹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1889-90, p. 102.

found to be possessed with Christian truths'.⁴² William Gremantle, of the CMS, was on a ship off the coast of Portugal with a local leader of the Brahmo Samaj, P.C. Mozumdar. The two had a long, fruitful talk about God, Hinduism and Christianity. Gremantle was intrigued and 'was learning much of Hindu and progressive Indian thought from the humble, deeply religious seeker after truth...may God keep not just us [but] all out dear brethren'.⁴³ Arthur Crosthwaite, in analysing the shared notions of incarnation between Hinduism and Christianity, noted that the ten incarnations of Vishnu resembled an evolutionary pattern, in the forms of fish, reptiles, boar, man-lion, Ram, Krishna and Buddha. This proved that God had revealed himself to ancient India long ago through nature and creation since nature bore God's very imprint.⁴⁴ Crosthwaite also recognised the theistic leanings of the *Ramayana*, the Vedic concept of sin as slavery, Buddhism's emphasis on the other-worldly, the Upanishadic notion that man was not free from the world, interpreted the *Gita*'s devotion as theism and Ramajuna's belief in the individuality of souls.⁴⁵

Rev. James Johnson, for his part, engaged in much religious and spiritual discourse with educated Indian and pundits in Banaras and Ayodhya. He was emblematic of a missionary-scholars-educationist cadre which engaged in vibrant exchange with pundits. Johnson believed that working in Banaras amongst pundits and Sadhus was as important as working with students. He even took part in Hindu *melas*.⁴⁶ In Ayodhya he had a long and fruitful conversation during the spring of 1904, and noted that pundits found Christianity very interesting and fulfilling in their own understanding of Hinduism.⁴⁷ Johnson found himself constantly approached by pundits who wished to discuss religious matters and find common grounds between their two religions; they asked for religious tracts which they could study and return to discuss the next week.⁴⁸ He attended services in the *mandirs* and pundits conversely attended church services.⁴⁹ One individual of a local *math* (monastery) requested a copy of the New Testament, which Johnson gave him. They met several time afterwards. When Johnson had difficulty in conceptualising the finer points of Hinduism, primarily Vedantic philosophy, one pundit helped him understand them better.⁵⁰ Johnson also was engaged in discourse with the Arya Samaj and

⁴² J.C. Harrison, Annual Letters, 1908, p. 277, BUL.

⁴³ W. Gremantle to Mr. Wigram, 1 January 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁴⁴ A. Crosthwaite, 'Hindu Hopes and their Christian Fulfilment', *The East and the West*, 1914, p. 85.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-90.

⁴⁶ J. Johnson to W. Gray, 29 December 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁴⁷ J. Johnson, 'Visit to Ayodhya', 15 September 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁴⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1915-6, p. 107.

⁴⁹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1895, p. 702.

⁵⁰ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1883-4, pp. 92-3.

other students. In the Banaras Mission Church, he held a theological debate which used the Samaj treatise *Isu Pariksha* (An Examination of Jesus) as the starting point. The Samaj author then participated in a series of debates, until the contents of the book had been exhausted.⁵¹ When Johnson had passed out Hindi and Sanskrit versions of the Bible in 1903, he found upon his return the following year that pundits were utilising Judeo-Christian theology to refute one another.⁵² Johnston was actually warned by the CMS parent committee not to neglect his evangelical duties. They were worried that he was spending too much time in pursuing his philosophical studies of Hinduism, and consequently had his 'Munshi allowance' reduced.⁵³ Johnson became known as 'pundit' by locals and fellow missionaries.⁵⁴

Another exemplar of this intense religious discourse and exchange was Nanak Chand. A Brahmin convert to the Samaj, Chand was invited by St. John's College to lecture on the *Pariksha* for five weeks in August and September of 1886 on topics such as sin, fate, its relation to freewill, God, Divinity and salvation.⁵⁵

Numerous other missionaries engaged in religious discourse and debate. This was often vibrant and in marked contrast to the larger growing religious polarisation in late colonial India. George Westcott was enthusiastic regarding a treatise which a former pupil at Christ Church planned on writing, which was to 'describe the necessity (scientifically) of incarnation, the common ground on which Hindus and Christians stand'.⁵⁶ Rev. John Robson maintained that his own faith and those of his students had much in common, especially their recipe for solving the problem of atonement for sin by substitution or through vicarious suffering.⁵⁷ Conversing with pundits and Sadhus in Banaras, he discovered that the Ramanuja school of Hindu thought bore a striking resemblance to Gospel morality. Ramanuja was a Tamil Vaishnava reformer (c. eleventh to twelfth centuries) based primarily in Shrirangam, and Robson was attracted to his contestation of the orthodox notion that knowledge alone was the primary mode of salvation (*moksha*). The Tamil Brahmin's belief that one could have a personal, loving relationship with God appealed to Robson, which itself carried an almost Protestant flavour. He was also intrigued by the school's belief that the soul and God are separate, and that God is infinitely good, rather than just a powerful ruler of the universe into whom humans were

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1884-5, pp. 84.

⁵² J. Johnson to A. Wright, 23 August 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁵³ W. Gray to G.B. Durrant, 13 September 1895, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

⁵⁴ J.N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (London, 1920), xv.

⁵⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1886-7, p. 96.

⁵⁶ LR, 198, 'Quarterly Papers', January 1910, RHL.

⁵⁷ J. Robson, *Hinduism and Christianity* (London, 1905), p. 200.

to be absorbed.⁵⁸ Robson, like Hooper, also came to be known as ‘pundit’ by locals and even fellow missionaries.⁵⁹

Melville Kennedy was another example of a missionary-scholar-educationist who attempted to read his own faith and Hinduism comparatively. He undertook an impressive study of Vaishnavism in Bengal and parts of upper India, focusing on the fatherhead of the movement, Chaitanya (c. fifteenth century). Kennedy argued meticulously that this form of Hinduism was indeed monotheistic, and had many similarities with Christianity. He interpreted this as proof that an evolutionary scheme of the world’s religions was natural and ordained.⁶⁰ He noted that for Vaishnavites, heaven was a definite goal, rather than absorption into the Godhead. Therein he identified four concepts which were no different from Judeo-Christian concepts: *salokya*, or being on the same plane with God, *samipya*, or nearness to God, *sarapya*, or likeness to God, and *sarshti*, or in the glory of God.⁶¹ Kennedy also cited the fact that both religions had high ethical standards, a love for humanity, goodwill towards neighbours (*ahimsa*, or non-violence), both behaved forgiveness and both made *prembhakti* (loving devotion) central.⁶²

Nicol Manicol, who taught as a mission school in Pune, also pointed out the welter of similarities between Hinduism and Christianity. Indian theism and Gospel morality, he argued, bore an unmistakable and striking similarity. This meant that God had already revealed Himself to the people of India.⁶³ Like Farquhar, Manicol was very involved in drawing out the theistic leanings of Hinduism as far as possible and believed that Christianity represented the crown of India’s religious aspirations.

Other missionaries gave more real and concrete forms to their desires to engage with Indian religions. This was in marked contrast to the driving educational ideals of the colonial state, which not only viewed Indian civilisation as markedly inferior to what the British were supposedly bequeathing,⁶⁴ but also was averse to upsetting its sentiments. By 1900 it had become obvious that missionaries in the field and teachers in schools possessed little in the way of vernacular knowledge, social customs and proficiency in Indian religions. George Westcott and the SPG planned to construct a college for the study of Indian thought and religion, which was to serve as a centre for inter-religious

⁵⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1886-7, p. 95.

⁵⁹ J.N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (London, 1920), xv.

⁶⁰ M. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya Movement: a Study of the Vaishnavism of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1925).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁶³ N. Manicol, *Indian Theism from the Vedic to the Muhammedan Period* (Oxford, 1915), p. 221.

⁶⁴ Sir Roper Lethbridge, who taught at Hooghly and Presidency Colleges in Calcutta, wrote a treatise in defence of Government education. He argued that the purpose of educating Indians was to lead them into ‘the promised land of civilisation’, see R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India: a Plea for the State Colleges* (London, 1882), p. 98.

discourse. Westcott proposed an institute dedicated to the study of Indian and western thought. He understood that the education given in Government schools imparted 'crude half-digested European thoughts and European notions'.⁶⁵ Westcott wanted the chief object of the centre to be the study of Indian religion and thought.⁶⁶ Students were to immerse themselves in the study of both India's religions and Christianity. The very idea of a school serving as a missionary institution or tool, in this respect, is surprisingly absent. In fact, the very association of the SPG as a missionary institution with such a college was to be avoided. Westcott wanted the College to 'disassociate itself as far as possible from the popular idea of missionary institutions now working in India'.⁶⁷ Such a college was desired for its ability to serve as a centre of discourse between Christians, Muslims and Hindus.

Commonalities were also sought out between Hinduism and Christianity were sought out not only through Vaishnavism, but also through the *Advaita* and Vedantic schools. *Vedanta* was attractive since it was the most prominent of the six classical Hindu philosophical schools and because of its insistence on the final authority of the *Vedas*, which many missionaries interpreted as already possessing monotheistic tendencies. William Urquhart,⁶⁸ who served as Principal of the Scottish Churches College in Calcutta, and highly influenced by both Fulfilment and Farquhar, undertook an extensive treatise on the *Vedanta* and its relation to Christianity. He dealt with a school of thought which was of the *advaita* school, but drew many parallels with its religious thought and that of Europe. In this process Urquhart located traditions of logic and reason in Indian thought which predated Europe's and Antiquity's. Although Urquhart believed that the *Vedanta* was a preparatory agency for Christianity, he more importantly sought commonalities between Hinduism and Christianity. Again, this was a constructive approach. His efforts were not purely attempts to read Hinduism into Christianity, but suggested that western scholarship was de-tangled from Christianity. He argued that the Sanskritic notion of *tat tvam asi* (that you are), possessed the same reason as Rene Descartes' dictum *je pense, donc je suis* (I think, therefore I am); this predated the European philosopher.⁶⁹ It also implied the unity of God and the real world, which made divine incarnation possible, and that these ideas could be found in the writings of William Wordsworth.⁷⁰ He compared the Brahma Sutras to the books of 'Sentences' found in Medieval Europe, especially of

⁶⁵ D-Series, 190, G. Westcott, 'Proposed College of Study in India', p. 4, RHL.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁸ W. Urquhart, *The Vedanta and Modern Thought* (London, 1928), pp. 220-2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Osodore of Seville (c. sixth and seventh centuries) and Peter the Lombard (c. twelfth century); the divine utterance of *Om* was similar to the conception of *Logos*, or the Word of God, and Vedantism espoused concepts similar to the works of Spinoza's *Opera Posthumus*.⁷¹ Urquhart likened the concept of *maya* (illusion) to Kant's philosophy, and argued that European criticism of Hinduism's unconcern for the real world was 'undeserved'.⁷² *Vedanta* scholarship was markedly similar to medieval Europe's and could not simply be dismissed as 'different' or 'other'.⁷³

What ultimately made religious discussions attractive for missionaries was the notion of *bhakti* (devotion). This was central to the manner in which missionary scholars attempted to read Christianity into India's religious traditions. This could be translated from that of Krishna, with whom many comparisons were drawn, to understand Jesus. John Farquhar noted similarities between the *Bhagavad Gita*, and the Gospel, in addition to the Bible's similarities with the *navaniaya*.⁷⁴ *Bhakti* made possible the correlation between Hinduism's highest moral characteristics and Christianity.⁷⁵ It was taken as proof that Hinduism was being 'prepared' for Christianity and that the world's religions followed a Darwinian evolutionary trajectory. One of the foremost exponents of Fulfilment, Thomas Slater, believed that 'no religion lies in utter isolation from the rest, but that each being the manifestation of a human want, has a *raison d'être*, a place to fill, a work to do in the great evolutionary scheme'.⁷⁶ Slater also read Christianity into the Vedas and argued that they possessed the virtues of sin and sacrifice.⁷⁷ Many missionary scholars interpreted the *Gita* as akin to Gospel morality, with Krishna and Jesus exhibiting markedly similar virtues.⁷⁸ Since it was a primary text for Vaishnavites, discussions, missionaries hoped, would be both essential and fruitful.

At a larger level, educationists were preoccupied with monotheism, especially in contrast to what they considered the execrable 'polytheistic tendencies' of the Indian countryside. Rural Hinduism gave rise to particular types of social custom and behaviour, usually referred to as 'popular Hinduism', which drew the criticism of both missionaries and colonial officials. But, importantly, Europeans were not the only ones to chide such

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-41, 191-195; Edward Hopkins, who was a religious scholar in America, also found similarities between the speech (*vac*) in the Vedas and the Greek notion of *logos*, he did not argue that Indians borrowed the idea through Indo-Greek cultural exchange, but that the similarities existed independently of each other and in roughly similar periods; see E.W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* (London, 1896), pp. 142-3, 251, 558.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 134-7.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ J.N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (London, 1920), pp. 92, 99.

⁷⁵ J.N. Farquhar, *A Primer of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1912), p. 195-6.

⁷⁶ T.E. Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity* (London, 1903), p. 2.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

practices. Learned and elite Indian themselves chided the ‘excesses’ of countryside worship and custom.⁷⁹ Missionary distaste for ‘popular Hinduism’ was thus not only qualified, but also shared by most of the Indians they educated in their schools.

More specifically, this vigorous and extensive religious exchange and scholarship also sought to find reference points in theistic Hinduism. This was another point of possible contact and discussion. If God had revealed Himself to the early Indo-Aryan settlers of northern India, many missionary scholars believed, then Indian theism had to be accepted as truth and as proof of God’s revelation. Students in particular were more amenable to a theistic outlook. Educationists were aware of the propensity to theism amongst students in Scottish schools in western India in particular, which witnessed its climax in the formation of the Society of the Supreme Being.⁸⁰ They believed that students would be more receptive to notions and beliefs in one Deity. By this time, missionaries believed Indian society was passing through an exciting period, religiously speaking. The phrase ‘religious approximation’, used by many educationists suggested that the missionary approach to Hinduism (in this respect) was not one of confrontation, but was constructive. The desire to ostentatiously promote Christian doctrine was absent. They approached religion, especially their dealings with Hinduism and Hindu students, through a theistic and almost Unitarian manner. Monotheism should be the goal and little attention should be paid to explicit doctrine. Teachers at St. Stephen’s noted that the desire to influence Hinduism towards a more Theistic perspective was in itself a most desirable aim. William Holland saw an educationist’s duty in bringing young Hindu pupils to a closer understanding of God as the Supreme Being.⁸¹ Charles Andrews observed that many of his students at St. Stephen’s after their courses in western literature and science became not atheists, but ‘took up somewhat vague theistic positions’.⁸² Rev. John Farquhar noted with approval the activities of the Arya, Dev, and Parthana Samajes in championing the centrality of theistic belief.⁸³

This movement towards theism, as missionary educationists saw it, was not new. Missionaries believed that Hinduism had been progressing towards an understanding of one God throughout its history. Again, this was similar in the manner which scholars such as Monier Williams and Grierson approached Hinduism. Missionaries differed from their

⁷⁹ L. Nath, *Hinduism: Ancient and Modern* (Meerut, 1905), pp. 165-71; B. Chunder, *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India* (London, 1869), Vol. I., pp. 239, 260-5, 272, 304, 328, 421-2.

⁸⁰ R. O’Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth Century Western India* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 96-102.

⁸¹ W.E.S. Holland, *Annual Letters*, 1910, p. 282, BUL

⁸² C.F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India: its Missionary Aspect* (London, 1912), p. 45.

⁸³ J.N. Farquhar, ‘Christianity in India’, *The Contemporary Review*, Jan/June 1908, p. 606.

European co-scholars insofar as the former had a more definite religious agenda. They used theism as a means to enforce their own terms of debate. This 'imposed evolution' would make the message of Christianity more acceptable, in an attempt to demonstrate that all yearnings for companionship with God found their fulfilment. Many cited the recent efforts of Ram Mohan Roy in bringing Hinduism back to its monotheistic roots. Others missionary scholars interpreted the Vedas⁸⁴ and Upanishads⁸⁵ as evidence of a larger organic process. Some pointed to the 'stern'⁸⁶ and 'essential'⁸⁷ purity of Sanskrit texts as evolutionary proof of preparedness for God's final message. These missionary polemics did not force the issue of monotheism upon pundits and holy men, but stepped into a process which had been unfolding itself before colonialism, albeit now greater in intensity. Thomas Slater recognised the importance of such a goal at the 1879 Education Conference, expressing the hope that if Hindus did not convert, at least they would become theists.⁸⁸ Sir Alfred Croft acknowledged the direction in which educated Hinduism was moving and spoke of the 'theism...to which the popular religion has been reduced in the minds of educated Hindus'.⁸⁹ Missionaries interpreted the 'New Dispensation' of Kesav Chunder Sen, an offshoot of Ram Mohan Roy's Brahmo Samaj, as a further yearning for monotheism. Sen's veneration of Jesus as the 'prince of the prophets'⁹⁰ was seen as another point of discussion, which should be taken up by missionaries. The Brahmos were not to be discounted, but to be welcomed for their reforming and theistic tendencies; they should be welcomed as 'fellow worshippers of our common father'.⁹¹ The Arya Samaj was antagonistic to Christianity, but at the same time propagated Vedic theism. The Samaj's discarding of what missionaries interpreted as popular Hinduism, idolatry and polytheism were welcomed by educationists, who saw it as 'a distinct advance upon the popular superstition, and very much occupy the same position in India towards Hindus as Protestants with the Bible in their hands do in Europe to Romanists'.⁹² Rev. Pargiter 'cordially welcome[d] their actions as tending to pull down [popular] Hinduism, hoping that...they grow in spiritual knowledge'.⁹³ Ironically, it was noted that most of these former mission students who joined the Samaj were better versed

⁸⁴ H. Nevison, *The New Spirit in India* (London, 1908), p. 292; T.E. Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity* (London, 1903), pp. 44-5.

⁸⁵ F. Lillington, *The Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj in the Bearing upon Christianity: A Study in Indian Theism* (London, 1901), pp. 11-24.

⁸⁶ H. Nevison, *The New Spirit in India* (London, 1908), p. 292.

⁸⁷ T.E. Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity* (London, 1903), pp. 44-5.

⁸⁸ *The Missionary Conference: South India and Ceylon, 1879* (Madras, 1880), pp. 118-130.

⁸⁹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, A. Croft, 28 October 1888, NAI.

⁹⁰ G. Nateson, *Leaders of the Brahmo Samaj* (Madras, 1962), p. 129.

⁹¹ S. Collet, *Indian Theism and its Relation to Christianity* (London, 1870), p. 31.

⁹² *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1884-5, p. 93.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

in the Bible than in the Vedas.⁹⁴ William Hooper, the ‘pundit’ of Banaras, also welcomed the Samaj’s activities, for they expressed a pre-existing yearning for God; any progress towards this path should be welcomed.⁹⁵

At a larger level, the recognition of a strong sense of theism in the canons of Hinduism greatly influenced educationists in their goals. Many others teachers engendered this theism. Missionary influence in this respect could more ostentatiously be seen in the Indian National Congress sessions, which opened with prayers to God as the Supreme Being.⁹⁶ William Holland, in his experience at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad, expressed a sense of satisfaction that most of his Brahmin lodgers were moving towards more monotheistic understanding of God, rather than the plurality of Hindu deities.⁹⁷ Missionaries believed that Hinduism already possessed theistic inclinations and was seeking an even greater understanding of God. Missionary education, therefore, could serve as ‘oil upon the axles’⁹⁸ and adequately present their message to educated Indian society. One missionary considered it ‘essential that they should recognise the sanction of religion to this extent, that there is a supreme and righteous God who governs the Universe’.⁹⁹ One CMS writer noted that at the Delhi Darwaya School, the main objective was to prepare students with some real-world qualifications and a belief in a Supreme Being. The headmaster did not encourage the recitation of explicitly Christian prayers, but more theistic ones.¹⁰⁰ Henry Durrant, whilst reading BA examination papers on the subject ‘We boast that we are better than our fathers’, found many answers were inundated with theistic and deistic venerations of God.¹⁰¹ Rev. William Hooper believed that Christianity’s theistic groundwork had slowly been permeating the Indian mind since the eighteenth century, and mission schools could assist in this process.¹⁰² St. Stephen’s may have been founded by a Christian missionary agency, but it sacrificed its original agenda for more theistic and panoptic forms of morality. Charles Westcott, one of the head administrators at the school, observed that ‘what we see is not all: what we can very dimly conceive is not all. Beyond every thing is something, rather Some One, Who we feel and gain strength from spiritual contact. We trust that this

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1888, pp. 294-5.

⁹⁶ W.S. Caine, *The Indian National Congress: Session at Allahabad, December 1888: impressions of two English visitors* (London, 1889).

⁹⁷ W.E.S. Holland, *CMS Proceedings*, 1911, p. 119-120, BUL.

⁹⁸ H. Douglas, *Missions in India: the Education of Unbelievers* (London, 1877), p. 61.

⁹⁹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, P.P.H., 29 July 1889, NAI.

¹⁰⁰ Aligarh Gleanings, 1 August 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

¹⁰¹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1898-9, p. 197.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 1903-4, p. 198.

is the kind of conviction, of experience, which [we] will be able to show realised'.¹⁰³ It was also noted that amongst the educated classes, the names of Hindu deities, such as Shiva, Ram and Vishnu were less frequently used. The term 'God' was becoming more commonplace, whilst the notion of personal sin was also finding its way into everyday language and writing.¹⁰⁴ And, it was argued, missionary educationists should be partially content with this. George Westcott wanted to construct a 'Temple for the Service of God', hoping Hinduism's theistic leanings would flourish amongst the educated classes.¹⁰⁵

Indian contestations of Fulfilment and the terms of discourse

Religious discourse and scholarship, thus, possessed a strong Christocentric element. Missionaries may have set the tone for religious debate and exchange, yet Indians did much to contest the enterprise's inherent Christocentrism. Fulfilment was condescending,¹⁰⁶ but this did not preclude Indians from contesting it. They countered the forced attempts of missionaries to make connections between India's religions and Christianity. They did much to contest the notion that English education and the western canons led to a radical 'break'¹⁰⁷ in Hindu tradition and thought. Indian scholars wrote treatises which contested the Christocentric and Darwinian trajectory which missionary educationists sought to impose. This tapped into a larger debate on the degrees to which ideas and tenets may have been borrowed from each other.¹⁰⁸ European scholars, naturally, interpreted the affinities between Krishna and Christ as an indication of Christian influence in ancient India. During the nineteenth century, Christian theologians and students of comparative religion took increasing note of the affinities between particular tenets in Hinduism and Christianity. This was a vibrant debate which had proliferated within Indian intellectual circles and in European academies, particularly in Germany. One of these scholars was Franz Lorinser.¹⁰⁹ He argued that Krishna's attributes of piety, humility and love were 'plagiarised' from early Christian missionaries in north India, on

¹⁰³ CMD, 92, Westcott to Lefroy, 1886, RHL.

¹⁰⁴ T. Dodson, 'Missionary Work and Native Education in India', *The East and the West*, 1903, p. 204.

¹⁰⁵ D-Series, 141, No. 25283, 'SPG Mission: Kanpur: Educational Work', 11 August 1902, RHL.

¹⁰⁶ G. Studdert-Kennedy, *Providence and the Raj: Imperial Mission and Missionary Imperialism* (New Delhi, 1998).

¹⁰⁷ H.J.S. Cotton, *New India, or India in Transition* (London, 1885), p. 132.

¹⁰⁸ See Dalmia, pp. 338-429 for a larger overview.

¹⁰⁹ F. Lorinser, *Die Bhagavadagita, Übers. und erläutert von F. Lorinser* (Breslau, 1896).

the *sveta-dvipa* (white island).¹¹⁰ Other scholars¹¹¹ held modified views, arguing that it was more a story of influence and selective borrowing rather than outright plagiarism. Thus, the debate was setup for a questioning of the loci of supposedly 'Christian' traits found in Hinduism.

At a wider level, a network of northern and eastern Indian scholars engaged with and contested these terms of debate. They utilised 'rational' and supposed modern systems of analysis to refute European claims. They engaged with the missionary agenda at an India-wide level. Mahendranath Sircar was one example of a western-educated scholar who did much to contest the condescension and Christocentrism of Fulfilment. A professor of Philosophy at Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Sircar undertook a study in comparative Vedantism. He questioned and successfully contested the assertions of European and Christian scholars. He argued that Vedic sacrifices were themselves forms of *bhakti*, as they exhibited unwritten and non-canonical forms of devotion towards and love of God.¹¹² Logically, *bhakti* predated the birth of Christ and presence of missionaries by nearly a millennia.¹¹³ Christian influence could not be wholly explained. Sircar himself attempted to reconcile Vedantist notions of existence and devotion with those in Vaishnavite Hinduism. He argued that Vedantism allows for grace as a result of devotion, albeit it is only granted to the 'elect'. In this process he attempted to give Hinduism a greater clarity and streamlined theology. Karma and notions of afterlife, Sircar further maintained, were by no means incompatible with the very 'Christian' notions found in Vaishnavism. In addition to sacrifices, 'faith-consciousness' absolved sin (*klesha*) in the same way Martin Luther maintained, and concurrently fulfilled dharmic notions of karma. Hence Vedantism accepted the very notion of a resultant grace and *bhakti*, and these were not as different and as 'Christian' as Europeans emphasised.¹¹⁴

Hamchandra Raychudhuri was another example of someone who contested the terms of discourse which missionaries sought to impose. Raychaudhuri possessed an impressive mastery of the *Gita*, the Bible, and numerous other Hindu canons. In his treatise, he directly contested the notion that *bhakti* was significantly influenced by

¹¹⁰ This notion originated from Francis Wilford during the late 1700s on *sveta-dvipa*; see F. Wilford, *On Egypt and other Countries adjacent to the Ca'li' river of the Nile of Ethiopia from the ancient books of the Hindus* (s.l., 1796); J.P. Daniélo, trans., *Essai sur l'origine et la décadence de la religion chrétienne dans l'Inde* (Paris, 1847); another scholar who made a similar claim was Thomas Maurice; see T. Maurice, *Brahmanical Fraud Detected, or, the Attempts of the sacerdotal tribe of India to invest their fabulous deities and heroes with the Honours attributed to the Christian Messiah examined, exposed and defeated* (London, 1812). The author is grateful to Michael Dodson for this reference.

¹¹¹ E.W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* (London, 1896), esp. pp. 429-33, 545.

¹¹² M. Sircar, *Comparative Studies in Vedantism* (Madras, 1927), pp. 261-310.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Christianity and missionaries of an early era. Raychaudhuri cited the existence of devotional cults amongst the Indo-Greek communities in north India; these predated the Christian era. In particular, he cited the existence of devotional centres and seminaries as indicated in Ashoka's Rock Edict XIII.¹¹⁵ Devotional ideals he located with Vasudeva (c. second century B.C.), and the influence the Tamil saints, mainly the *acharyas* Nathamuni and Alvandar, who were prominent in southern India. Raychaudhuri also went on to cite the *Ghosunda* and *Bisnagar* inscriptions which demonstrated that Krishna's divinity, rather than originating from Christian inspiration and influence, originated in India.¹¹⁶ The *Bisnagar* inscription, in particular, referred to Vasudeva as *Devadeva* ('God of gods'). Thus the divinity of Krishna was indigenous in origin and not influenced by Christianity. Raychaudhuri directly refuted the Christocentrism not only of both Edward Hopkins and Franz Lorinser, but also of Nicol Manicol,¹¹⁷ and Christian Lassen.¹¹⁸

T. Rajagopalchariar also questioned the argument that *bhakti* was borrowed from and influenced by early contacts with Christianity. Although not directly refuting European scholars, his treatise on Vaishnavite reformers demonstrated, like Raychaudhuri and Sircar, that the Tamil *alvars* and the *Bhagavata* school both promoted living devotionism centuries before the Christian era.¹¹⁹

Brajendranath Seal was another example of a small but astute cadre of western-educated Indians who contested the direction and terms of missionary debate. Seal was a member of the Brahmo Samaj intellectual clique. He was unique amongst these three scholars in the sense that he undertook a treatise on Christian-Vaishnavite theology and morals.¹²⁰ Missionaries obviously had a home and Christian audience in mind when Holland, Urquhart, *et al.* undertook their printed treatises. Seal, it seems, had a pan-Indian and world-wide audience in mind, along with those of his missionary and European critics. Displaying an impressive command of European and Indian scholarship, Seal, like Raychaudhuri and Sircar, cited texts and the writings of the early Tamil saints which

¹¹⁵ H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect* (Calcutta, 1926); Raychaudhuri cited numerous references, both Indian and European, including *The Indian Antiquary*, R.P. Chandra, *Archaeology and Vaishna Tradition*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 5.

¹¹⁶ Raychaudhuri, pp. 27-9, 128-30.

¹¹⁷ N. Manicol, *Indian Theism from the Vedic to the Muhammedan Period* (London, 1915).

¹¹⁸ C. Lassen, *Commentatio geographica atque historica de Pentapotamia Indica* (Bonn, 1827), *Points in the History of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Cabul and India, as illustrated by deciphering the ancient legends on their coins* (Calcutta, 1840).

¹¹⁹ T. Rajagopalchariar, *The Vaishnavite Reformers of India: Critical Sketches of their Lives and Writings* (Madras, 1909), pp. 1-10.

¹²⁰ B. Seal, *Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity with an Examination of the Mahabharata Legend about Narada's Pilgrimage to Svetadvipa and an Introduction to the Historico-Comparative Method* (Calcutta, 1899).

exhorted *bhakti* and devotional love towards God as pre-existing the Christian era, and that the notion of salvation through faith in Krishna and deliverance through sin (*papavibhogan*) also had an indigenous and independent development.¹²¹ There was no contact between missionaries and Indians on the *sveta-dvipa*. Divine incarnation (*avatara*), which European scholars such as Christian Lassen argued was influenced by early contacts with Nestorian and Syrian Christians in the fourth and fifth centuries, according to Seal also had an independent development. He cited Panini's sutras to demonstrate that Krishna was revered as divine seven centuries before the Christian era, and that the universal message of Christianity had more to do with Buddhist influences than of its own independent development; this doctrine also had its origins in the Upanishads and Brahmanas.¹²² The notion of *logos* (word of God) also had an indigenous Indian origin, with shadows of it in the Upanishads and the Yoga Sutras XXVII and XXVIII.¹²³ On more nuanced issues, Seal utilised textual exegesis to demonstrate that Vaishnavites reconciled individual freedom with Providence centuries before Christians, and that Luther himself was over a millennium late in positing that faith alone granted salvation; this was anticipated in the Upanishads.¹²⁴ And the main premise of Fulfilment, that the world's faiths were fulfilled through Christianity, was turned on its head. Seal argued that Christianity would only be fulfilled by its contact with the world's religions, rather than vice-versa.¹²⁵

On the surface, this enterprise looked dominating and seemed to put students in uncompromising situations. Yet on closer inspection, missionaries and their schools did little to bring students and Indians closer to Christianity. Moralities were absorbed and appropriated; this thwarted the condescending Darwinist trajectory which missionaries sought to impose. They found that their efforts were complicated by Indian society's ability to adapt and borrow as its newly educated literati saw fit. In fact, it was generally recognised that one of Hinduism's greatest strengths and vitalities lay in its ability to encompass many faiths and notions of the Divine. We already know much about the contestations of missionary polemics by well-known Indian figures such as Swami Dayananda Saraswati.¹²⁶ Yet numerous others were able to theologically contest missionaries whilst effectively appropriating the secular benefits of western education.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xi, 4-5,

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-13.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 59-62.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

¹²⁶ K.W. Jones, 'Swami Dayananda Saraswati's Critique of Christianity', in K.W. Jones, ed., *Religious Controversy in British India: Dialogues in South Asian Languages* (New York, 1992).

This was a remarkable feature of Hinduism, and should not be de-emphasised by historians. Educationists were fully familiar with ‘the powers of absorption which characterises Hinduism’¹²⁷ and how Indians were able to successfully absorb and contest the theological challenges posed by missionary polemic rather than purely defend¹²⁸ them. The ability of Indian society to contest the theological challenges of missionaries, combined with their dominance of the educational enterprise and the strong demand for Indian education, ensured that students were far from innocent victims of a dominating colonial infrastructure.

Hinduism, rather than reveal connections with Christianity, was able to assimilate a great deal of Christian ideals through the *bhakti* tradition. In a way, it was very much ‘modern’ in the sense that it allowed students to adopt and appropriate particular Christian ideals. It recognised the truth of Christianity as one of many, and moralities propagated at mission schools were accommodated accordingly. *Bhakti* was central to Hindu understandings of self,¹²⁹ and Hindus did not need to alter their religious identity. *Bhakti*’s role in assimilating Christian devotional love was usually seen as the explanation for Hindus’ willingness to adapt ideals over doctrine.¹³⁰ Robert Wilson, writing on the effects of missions in India, was in awe of Hinduism’s and India’s vitality. He confided that instead of Hinduism collapsing under missionary polemics, ‘it will merely come to a fuller understanding of the strength of Christianity and adapt itself to absorb that religion also, so we shall have a new Hindu-Christianity with Jesus as the tenth avatar’.¹³¹

Students, moreover, contested these Christocentric notions and refuted missionaries. They did this at their own level within classrooms and corridors and utilised rational and western arguments. Henry Durrant noted how at the high school in Fyzabad Indian converts complained to the European staff that they lacked the fraternal love which they so readily preached.¹³² Another student at St. John’s cited the Gospel verse, ‘he who is not against us is for us’, to question why, when most students accept Christian morality, missionaries still wanted to convert him.¹³³

¹²⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1879-80, p. 35.

¹²⁸ R.F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on Anti-Christian Apologetics in Early Nineteenth Century India* (Vienna, 1981), pp. 121-34; also see R.F. Young, *Vain debates: the Buddhist-Christian Controversies of Nineteenth century Ceylon* (Vienna, 1996).

¹²⁹ R.S. Macgregor, *Hindi Literature of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 106-7.

¹³⁰ J.N. Farquhar, ‘The Alien Roots of Indian Awakening’, in A.P. Sen, ed., *Social and Religious Reform: the Hindus of British India* (New Delhi, 2003).

¹³¹ R.S. Wilson, *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India* (London, 1928), p. 128.

¹³² H. Durrant to Hall, 15 December 1905, G2/I7/L6, BUL.

¹³³ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1883, pp. 297-8.

Other students utilised Indian methods to refute missionaries. These responses were interpreted as ‘baffling’ and illogical by missionaries and Europeans. One student, later to become a Chief Justice, utilised the notion of God’s multiplicity. He told William Holland that ‘after all there is not much difference between us. You are converted when you find God in Christ. We Hindus are converted when we find God in ourselves’.¹³⁴ Girls at one school told their instructor that the notion of repentance for sins (atonement), rather than introduced into India by missionaries, was already practised through the worship of Kali.¹³⁵ One student at St. Stephen’s thanked his instructor for Bible instruction, claiming that it helped him return to the Vedas where he found ‘exactly the same teaching’.¹³⁶ At the Gorakpur CMS high school, Hindus students complicated the efforts of their instructors by offering daily prayers to Ram, Krishna, Mohammed and Jesus, whom they said all exhibited the attributes of God.¹³⁷

Students not only absorbed the moralities imparted at mission schools, but also appropriated such religious virtues to the mould of Hinduism. In fact there were many instances when they were able to absorb and adapt the very theistic encouragements of missionaries. One Orthodox Hindu confided to John Haythornwaite that modern Hinduism was ‘neither more nor less than Christianity without Christ’.¹³⁸ Thomas Dodson cited Bengali and Sanskrit versions of ‘Songs for the worship of the Goddess Durga’ which adopted verses from ‘Work, for the Night is Coming in the Midst’.¹³⁹ Thomas Slater called it ‘strange and not a little irritating’¹⁴⁰ to see bright, young people freely borrow such ideas and mould them into Hinduism. One graduate of Calcutta University, instructed at a mission school, went on to write ‘The Life of Sri Krishna’, elucidating the ‘absurdities’ of popular legend, and portrayed Krishna as a saviour, who exhibited the most desirable qualities of forgiveness, hope and supernatural powers.¹⁴¹ These ideas were attributed to those inculcated at his mission school. Even Thomas à Kempis’s ‘Imitation of Christ’ was adapted to the Hindu version of ‘The Imitation of Krishna’, partly influenced by the lessons on self-renunciation taught in mission schools.¹⁴² Rev. Henry

¹³⁴ W.E.S. Holland, *The Goal of India* (London, 1917), pp. 209-10.

¹³⁵ J.C. Oman, *The Brahmins, Muslims and Theists of India* (London, 1907), p. 19.

¹³⁶ F.F. Monk, ‘Evangelistic Work in Indian Mission Colleges’, *The East and the West*, 1915, p. 78.

¹³⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1893-4, p. 146.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1911-2, p. 89.

¹³⁹ T.H. Dodson, ‘Missionary Work and Native Education in India’, *The East and the West*, 1903, p. 259.

¹⁴⁰ T.E. Slater, ‘The Attitude of Educated Hindus Towards Christianity’, *The East and the West*, 1903, p. 259.

¹⁴¹ T. Raleigh, ‘The Indian Universities Act and the Mission Colleges’, *The East and the West*, 1904, p. 371.

¹⁴² T.H. Dodson, ‘Missionary Work and Native Education in India’, *The East and the West*, 1903, p. 259.

Stern observed that in Gorakpur, Hindus who had been educated at St. Andrew's College attended a *mela* and chanted Gospel *bhajans*, even though they had never converted.¹⁴³

Some Indians adopted Christian ideals and figures and carved out their own hybrid spiritual domain. They responded with Indian methods and approaches to the challenges posed by evangelicals. In UP, an organisation called the Radha Swami Sect was founded by Shiv Dayal Sahib, a *Khatti*, who was later succeeded by Pandit Shankar Misra; both took their MAs at Allahabad University. Their society was secretive and filled with members who were university educated, usually at Allahabad. They were most numerous in Ludhiana, but had a following of over 15,000 in the United Provinces. They formulated a cosmology which served as their *raison d'être*, dividing the cosmos with eighteen abodes (or levels) of living.¹⁴⁴ The bottom stages, one through six, were inhabited by Muslims, Sufi saints and Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion. The middle stages, seven through eleven, were inhabited by Krishna, Ram and Jesus.¹⁴⁵ The highest stages, twelve through eighteen, were inhabited by the Radha Swami Sect. Transmigration was preached, in accordance with *varna* theory, and members of all religious convictions were welcomed. But the adaptation of Jesus as inhabiting the seventh through eleventh levels of being was not even the most ostentatious adaptation. The sect's members believed the Supreme Deity possessed a three-fold nature. The first was the Swami, or Lord of All, to whom there could be no attributes. Radha, or the creative spirit, emanated from Swami, and becomes part of the real and human world—the Vaishnavite notion of *dvaita*. And lastly was the incarnation of Swami, or the Sant Satguru, who was the supreme guide for humanity on earth, and who possessed the perfection of The Divine. They built a temple for worship which could accommodate 2,000 members, and was termed by Edwin Greaves as a 'strange mixture of mysticism and pseudo-science',¹⁴⁶ especially their veneration of a guru's leftover food and used bathwater.¹⁴⁷ The similarity with Trinitarian doctrine demonstrated that Indians could appropriate Christian ideals and contest their supposed superiority.

Pundits and other learned Hindus further contested Christian superiority by adapting and contesting the 'monopoly' of morality. One pundit asked a CMS missionary for a copy of what he called the 'Christian Shastras'. Although he neither converted nor laid claim to any exclusive truth, he did travel around the villages in Allahabad at night,

¹⁴³ H. Stern, Annual Letters, 1887, BUL.

¹⁴⁴ H.D. Griswald, 'The Radha Swami Sect in India', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 182.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-5.

¹⁴⁶ E. Greaves, *Kashi, the City Illustrious, or Benares* (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 102-5.

¹⁴⁷ L. Nath, *Hinduism: Ancient and Modern* (Meerut, 1905), p. 155.

preaching the moral lessons of the Bible by campfire, urging his audience to follow the book's moral examples.¹⁴⁸ In the bazaar Rev. William Treanor conversed with a pundit who bought a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel and, whilst making clear that no one should convert, he urged his co-religionists to follow the book's precepts.¹⁴⁹ The lines between Christianity, Hinduism and Islam were often fluid and far from divisive. When CMS preachers in Agra were challenged by Arya Samajists and local moulvies, one of their first defenders was an orthodox pundit, Nawall Chand.¹⁵⁰

Hindu philosophical and theological concepts were also utilised to contest the supposed superiority of Christianity. Indians, again, used supposedly 'archaic' concepts to contest Orientalist and missionary polemics. These were instances of the 'modernity' of the west being contested and appropriated. Rev. William Hooper, speaking in Khurja, wished to discuss the concept of transmigration, in the hope of provoking fruitful discourse. But he was ultimately disappointed when one member said: 'of course transmigration is true; philosophers have always praised it; and now Europe and America are returning to the ancient faith in it'.¹⁵¹ Karma, the ethical law of causation, was another usual target of missionary polemic. Edward Hopkins argued that it was 'intellectually impossible'¹⁵² for an educated Hindu to reconcile the two, but this was qualified by Lala Baij Nath. He argued that *karma*, and the prospect of *samsara* (the cycle of rebirths) induced one to behave morally, contrary to arguments that it propagated fatalism. It was no different from the Judeo-Christian concept of judgement, except that Hinduism's was cyclical; this was inarguably worse than a mere singular punishment.¹⁵³ Another conversation between one missionary and a Hindu led the latter to defend *karma* on the basis that it was consistent with monotheism, good and evil, for when one felt its effects, it was a sign that one had broken God's laws. This led the missionary to comment that one might mistake his rhetoric for that of a missionary.¹⁵⁴ One Indian maintained that the Trinitarian doctrine was neither unique nor attractive to Hindus, for they had their own Trinity, in Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.¹⁵⁵ Karma, usually seen as antagonistic to Christian morality, also did not need to be jettisoned. Many educated Hindus held it to be superior to the notion of one final judgement, since judgement could be cyclical.¹⁵⁶ And the

¹⁴⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1893-4, p. 187.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1912-3, p. 130.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1887-8, pp. 101-2.

¹⁵¹ Quarterly Letter, 27 December 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁵² E.W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India* (London, 1896), p. 569, ff.

¹⁵³ L. Nath, *Hinduism: Ancient and Modern* (Meerut, 1905), pp. 248-51.

¹⁵⁴ North India, Incoming Correspondence, 1878-90, 'A Significant Fact', 28 October 1878, SOASL.

¹⁵⁵ A.J. Rau, *Christianity and Education in India, a Lecture* (Ramsgate, 1871), pp. 16-7.

¹⁵⁶ H. Risely, *The People of India* (London, 1915), p. 252.

ultimate ire of evangelicals and their home audience, what they considered to be Hindu pantheism, was turned on its head by Shridhar Ketkar. He cited the similarities between the world's religions to assert that 'pantheistic monotheism is the only possible form of consistent monotheism'.¹⁵⁷

The western curriculum and Christian symmetry: Indian contestations and assimilations, c.1880-1920

At a larger theoretical level, religious knowledge was related to western secular learning in mission schools. *As we have seen*, this relationship was intimate and greatly defined missionary activities during the nineteenth century. But by the latter nineteenth century the symmetry between Christianity and western scholarship, and the relationship's dynamics, had been substantially altered. Mission attempts at discussion and Christocentric scholarship would, however unknowingly, have a bearing upon the efficacy ascribed to the western curriculum. If they were to recognise the truths of other religious systems, missionaries would undermine any hope that students were more likely to become Christian. Ironically, they achieved this with zest and energy. Missionaries could no longer rely upon western scholarship as proof of Christian superiority. Missionaries, Indians and Europeans increasingly understood that education and western learning neither preceded the preacher nor made his job any easier. The very recognition of the truths of India's religions would have an indirect bearing upon the curriculum. This section aims to explore the importance of the western canon in its relation to Christianity, and how both its efficacy and its relationship with religion was hampered by the very religious discourse which missionaries were so willing to undertake. It also aims to assess the impact and diffusion, rather than the construction and purported aims, of western knowledge. This is what Jürgen Habermas has termed knowledge as information.¹⁵⁸ This was not solely a tool of power, which has tended to consign Indians to the margins of historical agency.

Indians had intellectually engaged with western knowledge during the first century of British rule and by 1900 were actively contesting and subordinating these supposed 'hegemonic' aspects of western knowledge. Indian students and popular scholars both contested the superiority of western scholarship and its symmetry with Christianity. They did this utilising both Indian and western 'rational' methods. They were not simply

¹⁵⁷ S. Ketkar, *An Essay on Hinduism: its Formation and Future* (London, 1911), p. 161.

¹⁵⁸ J. Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests* (London, 1978), pp. 313-4.

victims of epistemological violence.¹⁵⁹ The ‘empire of opinion’¹⁶⁰ by the end of the nineteenth century was quickly crumbling under Indian contestations of European scholarship’s hegemony. In a rapidly secularising world, debates over the relationship between godly and useful knowledge were defined by multiplicity, internal contradiction and fracture. Christianity’s relationship with western scholarship in a post-Darwinian era was tenuous and uneasy.

The literature on knowledge and religion is vibrant and diverse. It has been argued that English literature¹⁶¹ and the western canon¹⁶² acted as masks for Christianity under the façade of a secular civil society. Some have argued that western education,¹⁶³ and science in particular,¹⁶⁴ were intertwined with colonialism and Christianity. Yet concealed beneath these assertions were vibrant debates amongst the British, Europeans and professed Christians over whether western science and learning were intricately related to the Divine. This reflected a multiplicity rather than a monolith of views. The changes in missionary attitudes in India strongly reflected the rhythms of developments and radical changes in Europe and American attitudes over the role of secularism, science and godliness. Moreover, there are inherent antagonisms between modern civil society and Christianity, between self-interest (salvation and religiosity) and the selfless goodwill of all (civil society).¹⁶⁵ Yet missionaries, though, were fully aware of this contradiction. English civil society and empire, moreover, drew a significant amount of influence from Antiquity towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. Britain was compared to Rome¹⁶⁶ and western thought traced back to Greece’s.¹⁶⁷ Missionaries themselves acknowledged this, for both Rome’s and Greece’s moral posterity, especially in sexual matters, was not always admirable.¹⁶⁸

Scholars have recently brought new light to this debate, documenting how Indians were active and instructive in appropriating western knowledge and in questioning the

¹⁵⁹ A. Nandy, ed., *Science, Hegemony and Violence* (Delhi, 1988), pp. 7-12.

¹⁶⁰ J. Malcolm, *Political History of India*, Vol. I (London, 1826), p. 82; cf. C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 10-55.

¹⁶¹ G. Vishwanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in Colonial India* (New York, 1989); P. Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca, 1988).

¹⁶² B. Boman-Behram, *Educational Controversies in India: the Cultural Conquest of India Under British Imperialism* (Bombay, 1946), p. 616.

¹⁶³ P.G. Altbach, G.P. Kelly, eds., *Education and Colonialism* (New York, 1978).

¹⁶⁴ Z. Baber, *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilisation and Colonial Rule in India* (Albany, 1996); D. Kumar, *Science and the Raj* (New Delhi, 1995).

¹⁶⁵ E. Gellner, *Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and its Rivals* (London, 1994), pp. 44-9.

¹⁶⁶ See G.P. Lucas, *Greater Rome and Greater Britain* (Oxford, 1912);

¹⁶⁷ See E.A. Freeman, *Greater Greece and Greater Britain: and, George Washington, the Expander of England* (London, 1886).

¹⁶⁸ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1891, p. 763.

notion that science and Christianity were mutually inclusive.¹⁶⁹ Others have demonstrated that Indians were by no means passive recipients of western scientific knowledge,¹⁷⁰ and that Indian Muslims contested the ‘superiority’ of western learning and civilisation as premised upon its claim to the classical corpus of scholarship.¹⁷¹ Indigenous Indian traditions in literature and science, it has been demonstrated, already possessed a markedly similar logic and rationality to that of Europe and the Islamic Middle East.¹⁷²

At a larger level of debate, missionary educationists were neither Anglicists nor Orientalists. They recognised the social and economic utility of useful knowledge, yet by seeking dialogue with Indian religions they ascribed more importance to Godly knowledge. The western canon was not so much a missionary tool¹⁷³ as it was marginalised and often irrelevant. Missionaries by now were more constructive and accommodating, for they encountered traditions of Indian logic and reason. *Preparatio evangelica* may have been a self-assuring rhetorical device, but educationists assigned a newly devalued role for the western canon. Charles Andrews captured its real value when he stated that ‘we shall find a true *preparatio evangelica* in the Vedas and the Upanishads...as well as in the traditions of Muhammed, the utterances of the Sufi mystics, the sayings of Kabir, and the verses of the Granth’.¹⁷⁴ It was admitted that ‘example is better than precept...if the works contradict the teaching, success may be hoped but never realised’.¹⁷⁵ The idea that students were more likely to become Christian was as overly-sanguine as it was utopian.

Teachers and headmasters came to question whether western education was *effective* in making students more Christian let alone more amenable to missionary influence. Students were by no means pliant to the influence of a western curriculum. Few genuinely believed that the western canon was useful in altering students’ religious convictions.¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁹ M.S. Dodson, ‘Orientalism, Sanskrit scholarship, and Education in Colonial North India, c. 1775-1875’, unpub. PhD. diss., Cambridge University, 2003, Chapter V.

¹⁷⁰ D. Arnold, *Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India* (Cambridge, 2000); V. Ghosh, ‘The Dynamics of Scientific Culture under a Colonial State: Western India, 1823-1880’, unpub. PhD. diss., London University, 1999.

¹⁷¹ A. Kaicker, ‘Classics in Britain and Colonial India’, unpub. Mss. in author’s possession.

¹⁷² B. Matilal, *Nyaya-Vaiesika, a History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, ed., J. Gonda, (Wiesbaden, 1977).

¹⁷³ J. Ingleby, ‘Education as a Missionary Tool: a Study in Christian Missionary Education by English Protestant Missionaries in India with Special Reference to Cultural Change’, Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, 1998.

¹⁷⁴ C.F. Andrews, *North India* (London, 1908), p. 224.

¹⁷⁵ CLR, Frank to Westcott, 16 January 1903, p. 255, RHL.

¹⁷⁶ Some of these included Rev. Worthington Jones of Peshawar: ‘but even with them [those who see Christians as ‘impure’] a scientific lesson on the microscope, electricity of astronomy, will often prove sufficient to break down the prejudice’, viz. W. Jones, ‘On Educational Missions’, *CMS Intelligencer*, April 1889, p. 218; Sir Charles Elliot, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, maintained that purely secular instruction would do much to deconstruct Hinduism’s religious foundations viz. ‘Speech by Sir Charles Elliot, KCSI, Late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, at Exeter Hall’, 5 May 1896, p. 7, H/H5/E2, BUL.

Henry Douglas argued that it was ‘open to question whether education can be wisely used as a direct means of conversion at all’.¹⁷⁷ Others argued that it was ‘a mistaken idea that education and science alone make Hindus Christian’.¹⁷⁸ As early as 1882 the CMS was against surreptitiously attempting to indoctrinate its students with the Bible, and voiced its protest over how Government teachers tried very hard to use western learning to make their students irreligious.¹⁷⁹ F.W. Thomas observed, in light of the 1882 Education Conference, that most missionaries had abandoned the hope of Hinduism crumbling under western empiricism,¹⁸⁰ even if the outspoken Rev. James Johnston¹⁸¹ and John Murdoch¹⁸² maintained to their wider audiences that it would. One teacher at St. Stephen’s lamented the fact that ‘Bradlaugh and Huxley are names familiar to the student, but under the veneer of Western agnosticism he [the pupil] [still] retains a faith of a vague pantheistic kind, rendering difficult the consciousness of personal sinfulness’.¹⁸³ The headmaster of the CMS Lucknow high school cited one Hindu student. After a few of his Bible lessons, the student cited Jesus’ dictum ‘whatever you ask for you shall receive’, then asked why his brother was still alive, when he had prayed for his death in order to inherit his estate.¹⁸⁴

English literature was one part of the curriculum which educationists devalued as a moral tool. The English course at St. John’s College, for instance, required readings included Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, Pope, *Essay on Man*, Flint’s, *Theism*, and Calderwood’s *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*.¹⁸⁵ John Haythornwaite asserted that these texts were ‘Christian’, but this did not necessarily make them influential. He admitted that they did not necessarily correlate with English civil society.¹⁸⁶ Haythornwaite later revised his assessment and deemed the attempts to inculcate Christianity via English literature a failure.¹⁸⁷ Others observed that there ‘are many who gain little from a purely literary course’.¹⁸⁸ Leonard Alston also argued that English literature was not always religiously

¹⁷⁷ H. Douglas, *Missions in India: the Religious Education of Unbelievers* (London, 1877), p. 68.

¹⁷⁸ Eukin, ‘The Truth of Religion’, *The East and the West*, 1916, p. 20.

¹⁷⁹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1882, p. 17.

¹⁸⁰ F.W. Thomas, *History and Prospects of British Education in India* (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 110-21.

¹⁸¹ J. Johnston, *Abstract and Analysis of the Report of the Indian Education Commission* (London, 1884), *A Century of Christian Progress and its Lessons* (London, 1888), *Indian Education: A Vital Question for the Government and the Church* (London, 1879), *Educational Policy in India* (Edinburgh, 1879).

¹⁸² J. Murdoch, *Report on Theological Education in India* (Madras, 1900), *Memorandum on Some Indian Questions* (Madras, 1900), *Education in India* (Madras, 1881), *India’s Greatest Educational Need: The Adequate Recognition of Ethics in her Present Transition State* (Madras, 1904), *India’s Three Great Educational Needs and How to Provide Them* (Madras, 1902).

¹⁸³ E-Series, 50, No. 21730, ‘Missionary Educational Work in NWP & O’, p. 25, RHL.

¹⁸⁴ ‘CMS Lucknow, Report of the Evangelistic and Educational Work’, 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁸⁵ J. Haythornwaite, *Annual Letters*, 1892, pp. 411-3, BUL.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ J. Haythornwaite, ‘India’s Demand for Mass education and her Quest for the Ideal University’, *The East and the West*, 1913, pp. 316-9.

¹⁸⁸ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1903, p. 649.

saturated. He believed that influential texts would include those of a more utilitarian and agnostic nature, which would suit educated Indian society.¹⁸⁹ He called English a secular language and argued that it was not always saturated with Christian ideals.¹⁹⁰ The curriculum prescribed by Government was, if anything, far less religious than indigenous schooling which would include instruction in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. Even Sir Alfred Croft admitted that the lessons of English novels were 'apt to be lost sight of amid the more pressing claims of grammar and chronology'.¹⁹¹

English literature's *supposed* symmetry with Christianity was also contested. The suggestions that English Literature was useful as a 'moral diet'¹⁹² and that it served as a clandestine substitution for Christianity¹⁹³ did not necessarily bear a semblance to reality. In fact Jane Austen *et al.* were representative of the eliteness of Anglo-Indian and British society; educationists admitted that this was inimical to their aims and interests.¹⁹⁴ Indians contested the symmetry between the English novel and its supposedly saturated religion. The *Hindoo Patriot* wrote that it was 'utterly unfounded' to argue that English literature was inundated with Christian morals.¹⁹⁵ This was echoed by the *Zamana* newspaper of Kanpur. Its editor 'held to ridicule' the notion that English literature was responsible for the moral advancement of India; he claimed that its impact was minimal, since Indian thought and tradition already possessed similar moral lessons.¹⁹⁶ This was echoed by the *Advocate* of Lucknow,¹⁹⁷ the *Shahna-i-Hind*¹⁹⁸ and the *Leader* of Allahabad.¹⁹⁹ English literature, moreover, was decreasingly used in the UP curriculum towards the end of the nineteenth century. Allahabad University abolished it as a requirement for examinations in 1900.²⁰⁰ The values and ethos of Jane Austen had a smaller following than the zealous evangelist, Alexander Duff, recognised.

The English language, needed to digest and comprehend literature, was also poorly taught. This compromised efforts to represent English civil society. Teaching keys (pictorial representations as study aids), banned by the UP Education Department,²⁰¹ were

¹⁸⁹ L. Alston, *Education and Citizenship in India* (London, 1910), pp. 69-71.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, A. Croft to Bengal Gov., 28 October 1888, NAI.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, W. Lee-Warner to GOI Sec., 6 October 1888, NAI.

¹⁹³ G. Vishwanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in Colonial India* (New York, 1989).

¹⁹⁴ R. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol. II, (London, 1899), p. 293.

¹⁹⁵ Appendix, Extract from *Hindoo Patriot*, n.d., R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India: a Plea for the State Colleges* (London, 1882), pp. 206-14.

¹⁹⁶ *Zamana*, Kanpur, December 1909, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹⁷ *Advocate*, Lucknow, 14 January 1909, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹⁸ *Shahna-i-Hind*, 8 August 1908, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹⁹ *Leader*, Allahabad, 18 November 1909, SVN, UPSA.

²⁰⁰ HD, Ed. Files, No. 39-55, 1901, T. Lewis to GOI, 12 September 1898, NAI.

²⁰¹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 66-69, 1900, Resolution of Ed. Dept., 3 April 1899, NAI.

consequently produced by Indians at an alarming frequency. Even the Indian Government admitted that English was poorly taught.²⁰² This was emblematic of how ineffective English instruction proved to be in many schools. Indians ran their own presses and made remunerative profits. Many Indian newspapers observed that the ethos of English literature were not necessarily digested by students. The *Advocate* of Lucknow noted that it was a waste to teach English novels; students held such a poor command of English that its values could not be absorbed.²⁰³ Other newspapers²⁰⁴ criticised the Government for preventing children from learning English before the age of thirteen whilst, again, the *Advocate* of Lucknow argued that it was only to be expected that Indians would produce their own keys: the Education Department's were limited in quality and quantity.²⁰⁵ Indian teachers, especially in Anglo-Vernacular schools, went to extraordinary lengths to print keys. This was noted at a Committee meeting in Allahabad which observed that such keys were in greater circulation than most Government textbooks²⁰⁶ and that as many as six different versions had been produced within a few months of the Macmillan reader by the Education Department.²⁰⁷ Two special firms eventually made it their sole business and it became so profitable that it was even 'adopted as a profession'.²⁰⁸

The utility and 'Christian' components of western canons were further complicated by the values (or rather lack thereof) ascribed to other types of western literature. The corpus of western learning encompassed a Continental and North-American-wide net of arts and science—it was far more diverse than what the British wanted Indian students to learn. This was a form of restrictive knowledge practised by the colonial state. The curriculum was tailored to allow Britain to represent the 'moral superiority' of the west. This enhanced British aversions to 'other' European types of literature, especially French works. The Government curriculum was by no means completely 'western'. The western canon's relationship to its dominant faith, rather than monolithic, was defined by complexity and vigorous debates amongst Europeans, both religious and agnostic. This was informed by the experiences of their bewildered and disillusioned expatriates. Voices which championed the western curriculum as inherently Christian sought to mask not only their own misgivings over its ultimate efficacy, but also those amongst Europeans at large. Alexander Neut, rector of St. Xavier's College in Bombay, ascribed less importance

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Advocate*, Lucknow, 14 January 1909, SVN, UPSA.

²⁰⁴ *Citizen*, Allahabad, 23 May 1904, SVN, UPSA.

²⁰⁵ *Advocate*, Lucknow, 14 January 1909, SVN, UPSA.

²⁰⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 66-69, 1900, Resolution of Ed. Dept., 3 April 1899, NAI.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

to texts and the curriculum. Literature was not always healthy and influential; one could provide the 'wrong' type. He noted that 'immoral literature is extremely cheap in the country and within the reach of any boy. The French novels...are far from being remarkable for their moral tone'.²⁰⁹ It was not so much that English literature was influential, but that French or continental European material might compromise British 'moral superiority'. Even John Murdoch, the most unabashed and zealous missionary educationist of the time, confided that in the case of western literature some caution was necessary for 'the bookstalls on the state railways, from Calcutta to Peshawar, were leased to a firm that made French novels a speciality'.²¹⁰ Rev. James Johnston of the Christian Vernacular Education Society wanted his students to avoid French literature due to its 'pernicious pabulum' and degenerative qualities.²¹¹

Throughout this period, students actively testified that the influence of the western canon was limited, and separated the religion of their conquerors from its scholarship. Macaulay's supposed hegemonic dictum did not always bear a semblance to reality. The 'reason' and 'logic' of western and scientific education did little to directly contradict students' religious and philosophical beliefs. In this respect, the popularity of mission schools and the demand for missionary instruction can partly be attributed to the vibrancy of Indian epistemes, which had by now successfully contested the intimacy between Christianity, 'progress', 'superiority' and western scholarship. Indian knowledge systems did not always become slavish imitators of western ones during the nineteenth century. Students continually contested their supremacy and frustrated attempts to project India's systems upon a Darwinian and British-sanctioned trajectory by utilising both western and Indian methods. Students did not need to reconcile two apparently contradictory epistemes, since they allowed for co-existence.

Many missionaries pointed this out. Andrew Fraser believed that textual lessons were ineffective: 'if the most practical education is that which imparts the most numerous and the strongest motives to action, then our present curriculum is not necessarily practical at all'.²¹² Charles Biscoe, who ran the CMS School in Srinagar, argued that religion could never be taught as a lesson, through a book, maintaining that 'religion is not a talking business, it is a life, and a lively one too if one desires it'.²¹³ Some believed that missionaries and educationists could 'scarcely conceive of a religion falling through mere

²⁰⁹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 36-39, 1888, A. Neut, 19 December 1887, NAI.

²¹⁰ HD, Ed. Files, No. 54-59, 1890, J. Murdoch to GOI, 6 October 1890, NAI.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, J. Johnston to GOI, 19 December 1889, NAI.

²¹² A. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 38.

²¹³ C. Biscoe, 'School life in Kashmir', *The East and the West*, 1909, p. 200.

mistakes in geography'.²¹⁴ Other non-Missionary Europeans noted similarly. G.W. Leitner maintained that it would be 'ridiculous to suppose that any mere word-teaching will civilise India',²¹⁵ whilst others observed that a religion which absorbed animism was 'not likely to strain at swallowing science'.²¹⁶

These sentiments were verified by many mission headmasters and their students throughout mission schools. Pupils were able to hold onto supposedly 'superstitious' practises associated with Hinduism, even after being schooled in the western traditions of 'modernity', 'logic' and 'rationalism'. They utilised Indian epistemes to demonstrate that Indian both possesses a degree of logic and that it was not an exclusive Christian and European purview. Rev. Henry Durrant recalled a conversation with a former pupil who had no problem reconciling modern, western education with his religious convictions, much to the bewilderment of his instructor, who contested any attempts of epistemological subterfuge: "'do you believe in the proven facts of modern science with regard, for example, to the solar system"? "Yes of course I do". "At the same time, you believe the old Hindu stories"? "Yes". "How do you reconcile the two"? "I do not reconcile them, I accept both; they are both true, but on different planes; the one is on the spiritual, the other on the physical plane"'.²¹⁷ One CMS mission student, who went on to obtain an MA, confided that even though he had no confidence in judicial astrology (*jyotish*), he still sought the advice of an 'astrological charlatan' on auspicious days.²¹⁸ Queen Victoria, one student told George Bulloch, had a prosperous reign because in a past life she performed homage to *Sita*. This, rather than modern European insights and science, could account for the progress of modern civilisation and improvement.²¹⁹ Numerous other students said it was 'illusory' to base the foundation of Christianity upon science, logic and western reason, for Indian thought already possessed these.²²⁰

Indians and Europeans both attested to the asymmetry between Christianity and 'useful knowledge'. They recognised that Indian epistemes were not necessarily victims of western ones. Jayarama Rau, lecturing on Christianity and western education, argued that there was no genuine connection between the two. The ability of the western text to alter Indian modes of thinking was highly exaggerated.²²¹ William Holland observed

²¹⁴ F.W. Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India* (Cambridge, 1891), p. 121.

²¹⁵ G.W. Leitner, *The Theory and Practise of Education, with Special Reference to the Punjab* (Lahore, 1871), p. 11.

²¹⁶ H. Risely, *The People of India* (London, 1915), p. 255.

²¹⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1906-7, p. 173.

²¹⁸ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1900, p. 283.

²¹⁹ North India Report, 1903, G.M. Bulloch, SOASL.

²²⁰ Eukin, 'The Truth of Religion', *The East and the West*, 1916, p. 21; North India Report, 1903, G.M. Bulloch, SOASL; *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1912-3, p. 127.

²²¹ A.J. Rau, *Christianity and Education in India, a Lecture* (Ramsgate, 1871), pp. 8-9.

similarly, noting that his students ‘find no difficulty in believing in contradictions. [Their] faith rises above obstacles which to the Westerner’s mind are inseparable’,²²² whilst Thomas Slater of the LMS observed that his students had no problem reconciling two supposedly antagonistic epistemes.²²³ When one student was asked what he gained from his Bible lessons in relation to western education and schooling methods, he replied merely that God was the author of good and evil, and that man had no strength in this respect.²²⁴

Science was another area where, rather than being passively subjected to the model of civilisational evolution as proofed by science, students and popular Indian scholars alike contested and confounded such claims to inherent European superiority. Science may have been part of the British civilising project in rhetoric,²²⁵ but in reality it proved different. Students and popular scholars utilised both western and Indian thought to contest these claims. They were not simply victims of epistemological hegemony.²²⁶ One student in a mission school, a biologist, confided to his teacher that even though he was proficient in modern western science he still knew men who could transport themselves to the lofty mountains of the Himalayas in a matter of seconds; he personally knew a Banaras Sadhu who lived purely off the city’s air for twenty-odd years.²²⁷ This student argued that western scientists were not willing to investigate such claims and challenged westerners to investigate ‘irrational’ Indian religious beliefs.²²⁸ Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, a theist-leaning western-educated Indian and great Bengali *littérateur*, admitted that Christianity and science were not intimately related. The worship of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu, the main figures in Hinduism, was more in accord with science and natural reason. Nature followed a pattern similar to that found in nature, creation, preservation and destruction. Hinduism’s and not Christianity’s grounding in natural reason and logic was therefore genuine. Thus the notion of an omnipotent and all-loving, merciful Deity was contrary to science and to nature. Nature, created by God and inherently endowed with logic and reason, was not necessarily compassionate.²²⁹ Lessons in modern European cartography, one mission teacher observed, did little to shatter many

²²² ‘Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Magazine’, 1905-6, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²²³ T.E. Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity* (London, 1903), p. 9.

²²⁴ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1893, p. 89, fn.

²²⁵ G. Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, 1999), pp. 3-5, 19-20, 67, 223, 228-9, 235; D. Kumar, *Science and the Raj* (New Delhi, 1995).

²²⁶ B. Cohn, *Imperialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, 1996), ‘The Command of Language and the Language of Command,’ in R. Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies VI: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (New Delhi, 1989).

²²⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1912-3, p. 127.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ B. Chatterjee, *Sociological Essays: Utilitarianism and Positivism in Bengal*, S.N. Mukherjee, M. Maddern, trans., (Calcutta, 1986), p. 70.

of his students' beliefs that the sacred water of the Ganges descended from heaven, a result of Baguratha's prayers to Shiva.²³⁰

Brajendranath Seal, again, was another example of someone who indirectly demonstrated that the western sciences were neither all that western nor intricately related to Christianity. Like missionary educationists, he contested the notion that western civilisation was necessarily pillared upon its dominant faith and that it was the sole repository of truth. Seal utilised primarily Indian epistemes to contest the purview of logic and rationality. He demonstrated that Newton's findings were more corrections of original Indian thought rather than inherent discoveries. What Indians could learn from the western scientific canon was a practical rather than a theoretical application.²³¹ Seal turned the notion of truth on its head, arguing that it was neither agreement between ideas, nor self-evidence, nor agreement between ideal (theory) and reality (empiricism), but the harmony of experience (*sambad*) that indicated when a volitional action realises its material end.²³² There could further be two types of truths, one scientific (*vijnana*) and the other philosophical (*jnana*).²³³ This embodied the notion of the *prabhakaras* school of thought, holding that all knowledge is valid, so long as it prompts one to activity, and that it need not conform with reality. Knowledge could exist as autonomous and unrelated to the reality of the world.²³⁴

Prafalla Chandra Ray was another example of a western-educated Indian who contested the notion that western science was symmetrical to Christianity as premised in its logic and rationality. He wrote a treatise on the history of Indian chemistry. Based at Presidency College, Calcutta, he utilised western epistemes and modes of analysis. Ray demonstrated that Newton's laws of motion and principles of differential calculus were not 'discoveries' in the proper sense of the word, but that they had their precursors in the work of Bashkara (c. fourteenth century).²³⁵ Throughout his treatise he argued and contested the notion that Europe and Christianity were the sole proprietors of modern and useful science, and that many of the modern concepts and discoveries of western science had their roots in the works of Indian scholar, and that Indian alchemy had its roots in the Vedas (i.e., *soma*, intoxicants).²³⁶ Newton moreover did not properly discover gravity. Vdayana Acharya, during the Aryuvedic period, had posited a similar notion that had

²³⁰ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1905, p. 6.

²³¹ B. Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* (London, 1915), pp. 78-80.

²³² *Ibid.*, pp. 244-5.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

²³⁴ S.C. Vidhyabhusana, *A History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 410.

²³⁵ P.C. Ray, *A History of Hindu Chemistry*, (Calcutta, 1909), Vol. II., pp. 158-63.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. i-iv.

merely not been drawn out. This was merely flushed out by Newton, not invented. Pythagoras himself was dependent upon Indian thought and science, since his scholarship was known by Indians in 700 BC. Ray even cited H.H. Wilson and W. Colebrooke, both of whom supported such ideas.²³⁷ He maintained that the hope of deconstructing Hinduism via the tenets of western science was an illusion of grandeur.²³⁸ Thus, the utilisation of science as ‘proof’ of Christian and European superiority was contested by those educated in its very system.

European astronomical methods and findings were not necessarily bound up with religious and Christian truth. Protestant scholarship in a post-Copernican era of Europe was championed as ‘proof’ of European and possibly Christian superiority. Modern astronomical advances might force Hindus to rethink a few tenets of their philosophy and cosmology, but it would do little to sweep their religious foundations asunder. R.J. Morrison was one individual who represented the tenuous debate and anxiety over the Christianity-western scholarship nexus. He wrote a treatise which he addressed to the astronomers of Banaras, wherein he questioned the relationship between Christianity, modern science and European ‘superiority’. Over the course of sixteen pages, Morrison utilised algebra and modern astronomical observations to effectively refute Newtonian science, and posit the centralism of the Earth in the universe. Morrison argued that European scientists were bound ‘hand and foot’ to Newton, whose works ‘flounder, in a sea of mud’.²³⁹ This, he argued, proved that science had no relation to modern and western Christianity, and that truth was universal, but not under the tutelage of European epistemology. This would usher in the triumph of King David. Morrison separated the west’s scientific progress from its dominant religion. Morrison ended his treatise with selections from the Book of Psalms in Hebrew to further drive home his argument.²⁴⁰ William Crooke, for one, also observed that astrology was even popular with and believed by those educated in modern, western astronomical methods.²⁴¹

Not only did students, popular Indian scholars, and missionaries contest the western loci of modern and supposedly ‘superior’ science, but as a subject in most mission schools it was rarely taught. Some voices may have championed science as ‘proof’ of western civilisation and hence Christianity, but these would be countenanced by the minimal attention afforded to these subjects. The UP state curriculum, which aided

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II.

²³⁹ R.J. Morrison, *King David Triumphant! A Letter to the Astronomers of Benares* (London, 1871), p. 4.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ W. Crooke, *Things India: Being Discursive Notes on Various Subjects Connected with India* (London, 1906), pp. 37-8.

mission schools had to teach, was comparatively devoid of subjects in the sciences, especially compared to the Scottish (mainly Presbyterian) mission schools of western India.²⁴² Science in general was usually in a secondary role compared to the arts, especially outside of Marathi country and Bombay in particular.²⁴³ The curriculum of Bombay University devoted more to the sciences than other Indian universities, which had fewer science courses.²⁴⁴ This was a general trend throughout British India, leading many reformers to observe that a scientific education could never sweep Hinduism asunder, since there was so little of it taught.²⁴⁵ The Entrance Examination for Allahabad University, for instance, comprised of English, History & Geography, Mathematics and a classical Indian language. No subjects in the sciences were covered.²⁴⁶ The curriculum prescribed by the UP Education Department was heavily arts-based, prompting complaints from both missionaries and Indians alike. The School Leaving Certificate (SLC), for example, was introduced to serve as a diploma of some sort for those seeking Government employment. Most students strived for this certificate, which could only be obtained with passes in particular subjects. Yet at the High School level, this included English, Maths, Vernacular, History of India and Geography.²⁴⁷ Optional courses included an Indian classical language, Commerce, Physics & Chemistry, Physiography, Maths II, Botany, Agriculture, Drawing and Moral Training. Most students did not take these courses, and instead heavily dosed themselves in the arts and humanities.

Numerous other students and Indians testified that the effects of western thought upon their own were often negligible. Sayyid Mahmood, a western-educated Muslim, admitted that the deconstructive effects of western canons were 'too remote for practical consideration', if not non-existent.²⁴⁸ And if students did happen to be more agnostic, Indians acknowledged themselves that this would also make them sceptical about Christianity.²⁴⁹ The Arya Samajist, Lala Baij Nath, argued that Hindus had nothing to fear from western science. Hinduism was an eternal religion which accounted for the consciousness of matter, something for which western science could not. Nath also demonstrated that the rise of science in western Europe did not necessarily make

²⁴² R. O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth Century Western India* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 108-10.

²⁴³ A.J. Rau, *Christianity and Education in India, a Lecture* (Ramsgate, 1871), p. 19.

²⁴⁴ E.E. Macdonald, 'English Education and Social Reform in Late Nineteenth Century Bombay: A Case Study in the Transmission of a Cultural Ideal', *JAS*, Vol. 25, No. 3, (May 1966), pp. 453-70.

²⁴⁵ *Essays on Indian Social Reform, by an Indian*, n.a., (Bombay, 1893), pp. 25-6.

²⁴⁶ *Allahabad University Calendar* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 83-90, UPSRR.

²⁴⁷ Minutes of Missionary Educational Union, 18 March 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁴⁸ S. Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India* (Aligarh, 1895), p. 218.

²⁴⁹ A.J. Rau, *Christianity and Education in India, a Lecture* (Ramsgate, 1871), pp. 8-9.

Europeans more religious—in fact the opposite was true.²⁵⁰ At the 1882 Calcutta Missionary Conference, Ram Chunder Bose and Rev. Banerjee pointed out that the way to influence young, educated Hindus was not through logic and science, as India already possessed a long tradition in this respect, but by appealing to the heart and conscience.²⁵¹ Even Nemeniah Goreh, an Indian convert who earlier attempted to use western rationalism to refute Hinduism,²⁵² later admitted that Christianity cannot be endorsed and supported by reason, for most Biblical tenets defy the very logic and reason which were supposed to make Europeans and Christians superior.²⁵³ The prominent Arya Samajist and close friend of Charles Andrews, Lajpat Rai, admitted that the analytic tendencies of modern science tended to deny God and Divine revelation.²⁵⁴

The role of the text itself as a tool was devalued by mission teachers and principals. Rev. Charles Gill assigned a newly-demoted role for the text as an influencing tool. He admitted that ‘the mistake of providing instruction for the intellect alone seems to have been abundantly proved’.²⁵⁵ Rev. Andrew Birkett cited an instance of how a convert confided to him that his conversion was never informed by the western education he received in school, for it did not contradict the ideals of Hinduism; in the end it was his mother’s influence which induced him to convert.²⁵⁶ The Principal of Bishop’s College, Calcutta, also attached little value to the text; character was the only way to impress students.²⁵⁷ The Bishop of Lucknow himself admitted that with the same curriculum taught, ‘so long as the master is a Hindu such instruction is not likely to be effectual’.²⁵⁸ At Ramsay College the secular subjects given during class were at times ‘directly opposed to Christianity’.²⁵⁹ Rev. William Hooper spent months conversing with Banaras’ pundits and deduced that the supposedly western and Christian foundations of logic could not deconstruct Hinduism. Its philosophy operated on a different plane, which Europeans have only barely begun to understand.²⁶⁰ Here, Europeans and not Indians were ‘behind’.

When Indian religious tenets were jarred it had more to do with the absence of religious instruction rather than the effect of Christian-saturated western scholarship.

²⁵⁰ L. Nath, *Hinduism: Ancient and Modern* (Meerut, 1905), pp. 188-90.

²⁵¹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1882, p. 202.

²⁵² N. Goreh, *Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical System* (Calcutta, 1862).

²⁵³ N. Goreh, *A Letter to the Brahmos from a Converted Brahmin of Benares* (Allahabad, 1868), p. 37.

²⁵⁴ L.L. Rai, *The Arya Samaj: an Account of its Aims, Doctrine and Activities with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder* (London, 1915), p. 249.

²⁵⁵ C.H. Gill to A. Wright, 8 July 1896, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁵⁶ Birkett to A. Wright, 16 February 1897, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁵⁷ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, A. Croft, 28 October 1888, NAI.

²⁵⁸ CLR, 43, Bishop of Lucknow to H. Tucker, 2 September 1898, RHL.

²⁵⁹ North India, Incoming Correspondence, 1883-4, Box 12, Coley to LMS Foreign Sec., 2 June 1884, SOASL.

²⁶⁰ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1888, pp. 292-3.

Mission principals and teachers argued that the actual absence of religious teaching made students agnostic and rebellious. Andrew Fraser cited numerous students who could recite western works verbatim, but still hold to their 'superstitious' Hindu traditions and beliefs. It was the absence of religious teaching, most missionary educationists maintained, which turned young, impressionable students into agnostics.²⁶¹ Here, Government schools were considered the prime culprits. The 1873 Missionary Conference at Allahabad found that education did not contradict Hindu religious tenets. Since religion was ignored, students were led to believe that it was somewhat unimportant. One teacher likened it to 'teaching a wicked man to wield more skilfully and effectively a powerful sword'.²⁶²

Practically-speaking, missionary educationists attached a greater importance to the curriculum insofar as it had to be efficiently taught in order to maintain standards. This was necessary so that their schools would continue to receive Government aid and retain the confidence of students and degree of legitimacy, for many of whom education was a significant investment. These constraints also secularised mission schools to a degree. Rev. James Redman in the Punjab reasoned that since secular instruction was in such high demand, mission schools must be as efficient as possible.²⁶³ This meant marginalising religion. If the courses were not conducted efficiently and effectively, then students would quickly leave for an alternative and usually Government school. Naturally, the missionary wished to prevent this from happening in the first place. And in this age of competition not only with rival Hindu school but also those of the Government, both of which were better endowed, the success of influence very much depended upon success in examination. John Haythornwaite believed that if a college such as St. John's could hold its own in passing students and be reasonably successful, then it would undoubtedly win trust, respect and concomitant influence.²⁶⁴ Only schools which were 'attractive and up to date' would be attended by Indian students; otherwise, they would just go to Government or Hindu schools.²⁶⁵ This was also a concern of Edward Oakley, who ran Ramsay College in Almora.²⁶⁶ Here, it was not so much the impartation of useful knowledge which would win the influence and admiration of students, but successful examinations.²⁶⁷

²⁶¹ A. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in View of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, pp. 31-2; J. Ritchie, *History of Indian Missions* (London, 1908), pp. 316-7.

²⁶² *Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad, 1872-73* (London, 1873), p. 95.

²⁶³ J. Redman, 7 February 1889, G2/I4/L2, BUL.

²⁶⁴ J. Haythornwaite, 'Educational Mission Auxiliary', 17 June 1899, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1893, p. 93.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

The demotion of metaphysics and epistemology: influence and affective knowledge

The educational enterprise encountered vibrant and alert Indian knowledge systems. The curriculum it imparted usually had little effect upon their students' religious and moral persuasions. Consequently, what made instruction effective as a missionary tool was not the curriculum and the Eurocentric canon but the personal influence a headmaster or teacher could bring to bear upon students. Metaphysics, epistemology and logic, long used to prove the supposed superiority of Christianity,²⁶⁸ were discarded by these Anglican missionary educationists and became increasingly irrelevant. They were fully aware that efforts to undermine their students' religious beliefs through a western curriculum, and to prove Christian superiority, were more wishful than realistic. They understood that logic and reason were by no means symmetrical with its supposed religious pillars and that Indian thought already possessed traditions of logic and reason. Missionaries further admitted that Christianity was based on many 'irrational' premises. The role of personal intercourse was not only the most effective way to influence students, but it also marginalised the importance and efficacy ascribed to the western canon. The reproduction of authority in the text²⁶⁹ was marginalised and affective knowledge came to characterise these schools. This was a method which could bely the rational and scientific basis of Christianity. It relied more upon universal, emotional and personal means, which were not always rational and 'scientific'. This further demoted not only the efficacy of the western canon, but also quashed the hope that educated Hindus were more likely to become Christian. If any impression was to be made, it was to be a practical one, which students could see working before their very eyes. Knowledge relayed to students in these schools scattered across northern India was thus dependent upon non-academic related experience. Mission schools here imparted and engendered their own versions of affective knowledge.²⁷⁰ Education's utility as an evangelising agency was an ineffective tool in the missionary's repertoire. All education could do, under the influence of Christian teachers, was to moralise through personal influence.

The western text's utility was marginalised by increasing preoccupations with non-pedagogic factors. The curriculum, which would consist of western subjects in the sciences, arts and literature, was only deemed to be effective depending upon the teacher.

²⁶⁸ J.W. Burbidge, *Hegel on Logic and Religion: the reasonableness of Christianity* (Albany, 1992); H. James, *Christianity, the logic of Creation* (London, 1857).

²⁶⁹ K. Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education: a Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideals* (New Delhi, 1991), p. 131.

²⁷⁰ C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 350-1.

This meant that a Hindu or Muslim teaching a supposedly 'Christian' canon, such as Spencer, could never exercise the same influence as a Christian. Character and example, not course content, were effective in challenging students' religious and philosophical convictions. Missionaries therefore unwittingly marginalised the superiority of the western canon. William Gray may have argued that 'the school room is the educational missionary's preaching place'²⁷¹ but the limits of textual influence were acknowledged. One CMS Educational Committee observed that 'book knowledge, intellectual ability, the power to conduct controversy, are all most valuable. But much more than these are needed. The Missionary...who knows how to come into personal touch with his students will do infinitely more'.²⁷² Mere texts could not convey supposedly 'Christian' truths, for it could '[only] come to men's souls through personality'.²⁷³ One missionary writer to *The Pioneer* maintained that 'the seat of true religion is in the emotions and not in the intellect'.²⁷⁴ Rev. John Warren, working in CMS schools in Jubulpur, believed that it was the teacher who made a school effective and influential, and neither the curriculum nor text.²⁷⁵ The Bishop of Bombay and Archbishop Porter both argued that texts alone were unlikely to produce any effect upon its readers: 'they would be useless in the hands of a bad master and practically superfluous in the case of a good teacher.'²⁷⁶ They both cited the example of Madras Christian College, where four hours of Bible instruction per week did little to prevent severe breaches of discipline and 'unsavoury' lifestyles.²⁷⁷

Numerous other missionaries attested that character and personality did more to reinforce the efficacy of western learning and its corpus of scholarship. William Gray noted that in the Jay Narain's School, Banaras, even though Hindu and Christian teachers taught similar subjects, the text could not on its own influence students. Gray remarked that for the Hindu teachers, 'their influence is neutral', implying that the same classes with a Christian teacher of commensurate character would have a positive influence.²⁷⁸ Real missionary influence, he argued, was to be found not in textbooks but in 'the attractiveness of a consistent Christian life'.²⁷⁹ William Holland also maintained that courses did little to influence Indian students: 'the history of educational missions has shown that no...syllabus, however perfect, can be counted on to compass the conversion

²⁷¹ W. Gray to G.B. Durrant, 9 February 1894, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

²⁷² 'Committee Instructions to A.N. Tubbs', 5 October 1905, G2/I7/L6, BUL.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ Letter to 'The Pioneer', from 'W.X.Y.', 16 December 1898, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁷⁵ J.A. Warren to Ellwood, 8 July 1898, G2/I7/O, BUL, *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1900, p. 89.

²⁷⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, note by J.P.H., n.d., NAI.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Mr. Telang.

²⁷⁸ W. Gray to Ms. Davis, 22 May 1896, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

²⁷⁹ W. Gray to G.B. Durrant, 23 January 1893, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

of India's students'.²⁸⁰ Only an exemplary life and attitude could illuminate Christianity and possibly lean students away from Hinduism or Islam.²⁸¹ At the 1904 UP CMS Conference, it was ruled that the two factors which gave a school a missionary and hence effective character were having a resident missionary headmaster and sufficient leisure time for personal intercourse with students.²⁸² John Carpenter, who taught at St. John's, called Christianity 'no theological system which can be grasped by the intellect'.²⁸³ It could only influence through example.²⁸⁴ This was also echoed by missionaries in the LMS, who argued that 'no mere translation of a Western book, however excellent, can go far as to influence the people of India'.²⁸⁵ Henry Wilson observed similarly, admitting that instruction in the sciences could never influence a Hindu's religious convictions. English literature and arts-based subjects might, but even their effect was negligible.²⁸⁶ The famed Indian convert Sushil Rudra believed that missionary influence could only be affective if students saw it for themselves: 'the younger generation of India can only understand...by seeing it lived in their very midst'.²⁸⁷

Educationists formed close and intimate relationships with their students, staying in touch through post. Many students dropped in to pay their former teachers visits. Mr. Cutting, Principal of the LMS high school in Banaras, was told by a local Hindu that mission schools were far more influential than bazaar preaching ever could be, because missionaries fostered close friendships and contacts with their students.²⁸⁸ Their zest for such personal dialogue was what made the missionary education enterprise. Henry Durrant observed that 'often the men who oppose you bitterly in the bazaar preaching will welcome a friendly visit from a Missionary, and show a completely different side in the quite of private conversation'.²⁸⁹

The case of one Indian convert, Binod Ghose, was emblematic of the newly attached priority afforded to personal influence and affective knowledge. Ghose had attended the CMS high school at Banaras as an average pupil. During his tenure his instructor Rev. Charles Baumann noted in retrospect that the school's courses did not make 'any deep impression upon his mind'.²⁹⁰ But he observed that the Headmaster of the school, G.C.

²⁸⁰ W.E.S. Holland, 'Mission Hostels in India', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 276.

²⁸¹ W.E.S. Holland, CMS Proceedings, 1911, pp. 121-2, BUL.

²⁸² UP CMS Conference, November 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁸³ J. Carpenter, Annual Letters, 1892, p. 8, BUL.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ H. Douglas, *Missions in India: the Religious Education of Unbelievers* (London, 1877), p. 300.

²⁸⁶ R.S. Wilson, *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India* (London, 1928), pp. 131-2.

²⁸⁷ S. Rudra, 'Is India Thirsting for Religious Truth?', *The East and the West*, 1906, p. 7.

²⁸⁸ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1907, p. 54.

²⁸⁹ H. Durrant to Harvey, 22 March 1906, G2/I7/L6, BUL.

²⁹⁰ C. Baumann, *Brought Within the Fold: Stories of Two Converts* (London, 1892), p. 3.

Bose, exercised more influence over him than anyone else. He befriended Ghose and answered his questions regarding spirituality, God, and Christianity. Ghose eventually converted, and before he left his community to join the *mithar* communities which lay on the outskirts of Banaras, he was dissuaded from conversion by his fellow students.²⁹¹ Baumann reasoned that the lessons could not have induced Ghose towards conversion, as it was only many years after school that he was baptised. Most conversions, if they occurred at all, followed this trajectory. Students usually went through ten of fifteen years before they returned to their erstwhile schoolmasters, usually in a state of spiritual distress. But cases of such conversion were undoubtedly rare. One of the more famed converts of the CMS, Imad al-Din, never attended a mission school but in fact went to the Government Normal School in Lahore.²⁹² Another highly-famed CMS convert, Jan Dullah (later Dilawar Masih), never even attended school.²⁹³

Conclusion

Mission schools imparted both Godly and useful knowledge. The encounter between Indian and Christian-cum-European religious systems was defined by contestation, discourse and exchange. Missionaries sought to read Christianity into Hinduism. But holy men, popular scholars and students were active in countering and contesting these attempts at forced connections. The western curriculum as proof of Christian and European superiority was vigorously contested by both students and popular Indian scholars. This marginalised the pedagogical characteristics of education, and led schools to focus on personal intercourse and affective knowledge, with metaphysics and logic becoming marginalised within the Anglican educational enterprise. Consequently, social issues would come to preoccupy mission teachers and students more than the knowledge imparted in the classroom.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10.

²⁹² I. al-Din, *A Mohammedan Brought to Christ* (London, 1874), p. 17.

²⁹³ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1894, pp. 198-9.

5 Maintaining missionary influence: constructive nationalism in schools and hostels

One theme throughout this research has been the inefficacy of pedagogic methods in influencing Indian student. By the end of the nineteenth century mission schools and Indians had shown the utility and effects of the western canon to be extremely limited. Western knowledge was marginalised both by the very infrastructures which missionaries and educational departments built and by Indians themselves. Knowledge for mission schools was secondary in importance and was more affective. This forced the educational enterprise to increasingly concern itself more with social and non-pedagogic issues. In order to maximise mission influence, school and hostels relied upon personal influence. This chapter will explore the role of the student hostel and its missionary importance by the beginning of the twentieth century. It will also link hostels and constructive nationalism with a 'secularisation' of mission institutions. It will then go on to link an emerging Indian nationalism with missionary desires to maximise their influence upon students. This chapter will argue that one part of the development of an Indian form of secularism, within classrooms and hostels, was informed by the interaction between students and missionaries. Religious tolerance was a by-product of the realities of multicultural and multi-religious classrooms and residencies, and the educational enterprise was a vehicle for the development of religiously-plural ethos which relied heavily upon Indian contributions. Larger issues of religion in India need to be given a quick context. There already was 'communal violence' in pre-colonial India, but it was not just a period of Muslim oppression and Hindu subjugation. There was already an existing religiously-plural Indian morality which defined much of the medieval period and early colonial.¹ Mission schools and hostels built upon this and engendered a theism which, rather than rupture Indian social relations along the lines of community, drew out religiously-pluralistic moralities amongst students to a particular degree.

¹ S. Subrahmanyam, 'Before the Leviathan: Sectarian Violence and the State in Pre-Colonial India', in K. Basu, S. Subrahmanyam, eds., *Unravelling the Nation: sectarian conflict and India's secular identity* (New Delhi, 1996); for works on popular religion and, to a degree, religious pluralism, see J.R.I. Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shiism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh, 1722-1855* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 115-7, A.H. Sharma, *Lucknow: the Last Phase of an Oriental Culture* (London, 1975), pp. 149-50, S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (New Delhi, 1983), Vol. II., pp. 390-432, and W.H. Sleeman, *A Journey Through the Kingdom of Oude* (London, 1858).

‘Secularism’ in this chapter is used to refer to the propagation of both religious pluralism and theistic morality. This as opposed to the championing of one religion as representative of India. Here we are not to refer to agnosticism and the wholesale removal of religion from the public sphere, as in the French sense. Indian ‘secularism’ here refers to a form of religious pluralism which was defined and stitched together by theism. This chapter will address the theistic and religiously-plural moralities which came to define mission schools’ interactions with students. Here, humanism is also mentioned. This is defined as a form of morality which places emphasis upon the betterment of society and humankind’s overall condition, which does not necessarily detract from devotion towards the divine.

Student hostels: maximising mission influence, c.1900-1915

The understanding that western and ‘Christian’ texts had little impressions upon students led missionaries to place more importance on personal influence and affective knowledge. They came to employ a unique institution which perfectly fitted with the rising demand for English education: the student hostel. It was more importantly intricately related to a nascent post-embryonic Indian political consciousness. This itself was reflective of missionaries’ own agenda: expressing sympathy with Indian nationalism would benefit their own evangelical causes. This needs to be duly emphasised. Most of India’s future political class would have been western-educated in English schools, and the environment of the residential system was to serve as a template for a religiously plural India. This was especially true considering that student numbers, particularly in Allahabad, were rising out of proportion to the hostels which could be supplied by Government. Many were in poor condition,² and missionaries seized an opportunity to increase their own influence.

The enthusiasm for hostels was greatly informed by an acute Indian demand for English education and, by extension, residencies. With a burgeoning student population, especially in cities such as Allahabad and Lucknow, mission schools understood that the hostel was required to bring as many students under their influence as possible. Failing to do so would rob mission schools of their prime and likely only opportunity to have regular contact with students. As early as 1893, Henry Durrant warned that ‘if our educational work is to grow prosperous, the question of accommodation for [Hindu and

² C.A. Bayly, ‘The Development of Political Organisation in the Allahabad Locality’, unpub. D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 1970, p. 288.

Muslim] students will have to be faced'.³ After 1903, when the primary CMS hostel in Allahabad was opened in its new buildings, the expansion of boarders was marked. All over the Gangetic plain, students stimulated an acute demand for accommodation. Missionaries saw this as an opportunity to influence an expanding student population. There was a marked increase after 1900

Table 12: Mission Hostels in the United Provinces, 1903-8.⁴

	1903	1908
Boys Hostels	270	401
No. of Boarders	6,875	12,577
Girls Hostels	32	43
No. of Boarders	2,211	3,228

The CMS, for its part, ran numerous hostels in the United Provinces. By 1911, they ran thirteen hostels with 472 lodgers, about 80% of whom were either Hindu or Muslim.⁵ More specifically, five were in Agra, one in Allahabad, two in Banaras, four in Meerut and one in Secundra.⁶ A grant of Rs. 3,000 was earmarked by the SPG that very year for the construction of a Hindu and Muslim student hostel to be attached to Kanpur College.⁷ The SPG opened a student hostel in that same city for Muslim and Hindu boys (1889) and one in Lucknow for Hindus and Muslims that same year.⁸ Their potential to influence students began to be realised. George Westcott of the SPG maintained that they were in fact more effective than schools. He 'regard[ed] it as perhaps the most effective part of our work [in]...influencing intelligent young men who are for the time being removed from the counter-influence at home'.⁹ Rev. John Challis admitted that 'we shall never hold our own without some boarding house for [students]'.¹⁰ Mission schools which failed to provide accommodation and ease hardship would be hard pressed to retain students. They would conclude that the school was financially unstable and hence not prestigious.

William Holland was one of the strongest advocates of such work. He argued that hostels offered 'the most permanent, effective and far-reaching basis for student work'.¹¹ The CMS Conference for UP in 1900 also championed the unique opportunity that hostels offered in 'getting to know' students. Such access was effectively unrivalled.

³ H. Durrant to Gray, 4 May 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL

⁴ G. Hall to H. Durrant, 8 January 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL, including all missions working in the United Provinces.

⁵ Appendix A., CMS Proceedings, 1911, p. 259.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁷ CLR, Westcott to Tucker, 28 September 1899, p. 68, RHL.

⁸ CLR, Westcott to Tucker, 17 November 1898, p. 41, RHL.

⁹ CLR, Westcott to Tucker, 28 September 1899, p. 69, RHL.

¹⁰ J.M. Challis to C. Gill, 15 July 1903, G2/I6/O, BUL.

¹¹ W.E.S. Holland to C. Gill, 30 May 1900, G2/I7/O, BUL

Gregory Gill observed that ‘nine months experience of Hostel work amongst students in Allahabad shows that the Hostel method is the best for reaching Indian students’.¹² When Rev. Andrew Tubbs was dispatched to work in Allahabad with resident students, the CMS Committee hoped for promising results in the ‘land [where] the relationship between the teacher and the pupil is a remarkably strong one’.¹³ He drew upon Indian tradition, citing the historical relationship between the *guru* and his *chelas*. William Holland argued that ‘a day system can never influence the boys in a way that the boarding school can...however perfectly a day school may be organised, and however much we may scheme to see much of the boys out of school hours, it is clear that we cannot have the same grip on the boys and influence their character as in a boarding hostel’.¹⁴ One missionary observed that

more potent...than the teaching of the lecture hall is the personal touch which becomes possible when the life of the missionary and the life of the student meet in the informal and domestic intimacy of the hostel...his example, character, as seen and felt in daily and hourly intercourse...is bound to be a powerful factor for good. He will impress himself upon the soul of the student, and the student will...receive the quickening impact.¹⁵

Hostels were also utilised because they were cost-effective. The main cost of a hostel included the salary of the resident missionary and the upkeep of the building. This was in contrast to multiple salaries and equipment. It required no assistance from the Education Department, except in the erection of a new building. The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad, for instance, was considered ‘one of the cheapest as well as most effective forms of missionary work, for all the money for the buildings has been provided independently of the society’.¹⁶ William Holland remarked that it ‘has not cost the Society a farthing, except the living allowances of the missionary staff’, observing that they were the cheapest form of mission work in India.¹⁷ And when the Government did fit the cost for such hostels, they were decidedly cheap, especially for missions. Rev. William Sido ran the Pahari Boarding House. This cost the CMS nil and the Education Department a mere Rs. 143 annually.¹⁸

At a larger level, hostels were also used to gain time lost during the throes of classwork and examination preparation. These were paramount and tended to sideline the

¹² G.H. Gill, 3 April 1901, Précis Book, G2I6/P2, BUL.

¹³ ‘Committee Instructions to A.N. Tubbs’, 5 October 1905, G2/I7/L6, BUL.

¹⁴ W.E.S. Holland, CMS Proceedings, 1911, pp. 121-2, BUL.

¹⁵ ‘A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lucknow’, 24 January 1906, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁶ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1905-6, p. 164.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1910-1, p. 119; ‘The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Magazine’, December 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1890-1, p. 94.

time for more leisurely personal intercourse and conversation. The gap between student and pupil was widening due to Departmental demand for efficiency. It was admitted by Government administrators and missionaries alike that in the throes of coursework and examination preparations 'the private coach is almost unknown'.¹⁹ During school hours, pupils were too busy with their lessons. One missionary remarked that 'the hostel is quite essential to the scheme [of mission education]'.²⁰ George Westcott informed the Department that he need 'hardly to enlarge upon the advantages of such a hostel in the formation of character, and the promotion of a healthy public spirit...we know what kind of difficulties hamper the progress of day scholars'.²¹ Such views were shared by his SPG peers. The Bishop of Lucknow stated that 'if Hindus and Mohammedan students in our Mission Colleges are to be influenced morally and spiritually it is...essential that the Missionaries should have the opportunity of coming into contact with the outside the classroom...[and] living under the same roof'.²² Hostels were thus a way to bridge this increasing divide. They would make the relationship more mentor than lecture-based. William Holland believed in the need for mentorship, and was fully aware of the limited time in which mission teachers and students could interact.²³ Pedagogic tendencies needed to be kept to a minimum. He reasoned that the resident master should 'be free from other work, as to be constantly accessible to the men'.²⁴

Mission hostels also utilised personal influence and mentoring more so than Government lodges. Mission hostels conducted themselves in a manner which, it was hoped, would manifest itself when such students became India's future political class. Holland asked himself 'what must be the character of the educated classes...the men who will make India's history'?²⁵ He had in mind a culturally syncretic leadership. The ethos of a corporate social life, when translated onto the national stage, would make India great and, more importantly, vindicate missionary efforts. This would vindicate educationists with its inculcation of an *esprit de corps*: 'a strong and liberal social life...is a prime condition of nation-building in India; and it is difficult to see whence this is to

¹⁹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1909), p. 429.

²⁰ LR, 121, No. 1659, Westcott to Tucker, 13 December 1897, RHL.

²¹ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 612, 1899, G. Westcott, UPSA.

²² CLR, Bishop of Lucknow to Tucker, 9 October 1900, p. 119, RHL.

²³ W.E.S. Holland, 'Mission Hostels in India', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 274-5.

²⁴ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1900-1, p. 136.

²⁵ W.E.S. Holland, 'The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel', 27 April 1901, G2/I6/O, BUL.

spring, unless if be from a residential system'.²⁶ Holland believed that the hostel's ability to influence rested entirely upon non-pedagogic factors.²⁷

Hostels and constructive nationalism, c. 1900-1910s

Hostels and mission schools inevitably found themselves having to confront political issues. Again, this was done primarily for evangelical reasons, and needs to be emphasised. This cadre of teachers and headmasters did not sympathise with Indian nationalism for what it genuinely was. Missionaries' effectiveness would be significantly more manageable were they to sympathetically engage with Indian nationalism. Student political consciousness became more active during the first decade of the twentieth century and especially after 1905. Hostels responded to student activism and Indian political developments in a constructive manner. They engendered religiously plural, theistic and at times humanistic moralities. These residencies unwittingly undertook their own forms of constructive nationalism. We already know much about the role of hostel life in fostering solidarity amongst Indian Muslims.²⁸ This section aims to cast a wider net and demonstrate that mission hostels transcended community, caste and religion in a vain Christocentric effort. They were to serve as micro-laboratories for self-government, where lodgers were allowed to partake in management and were allowed a substantial degree of autonomy. If Government policy thought hostels were to be carefully monitored,²⁹ missionaries allowed their lodgers to run the hostel's finances, monitoring and self-government committees, and general bodies.

Missionaries championed the use of hostels primarily because of the influence they could exercise upon a rising, western-educated Indian generation. There was a political component to this. India's future political class and challengers to British rule would certainly have received an English education. Much in the way the residential system fostered a sense of solidarity amongst Indian Muslims at the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College,³⁰ missionaries sought to extend this further, utilising a system which would cut across religious and caste lines. William Holland, Warden of one of the more

²⁶ W.E.S. Holland, 'Mission Hostels in India', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 273; *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1908-9, pp. 120-1.

²⁷ W.E.S. Holland, *Annual Letters*, 1911, p. 140, BUL.

²⁸ D. Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 204-348.

²⁹ Lord Curzon commented that hostels would 'keep the young Indian students straight', viz. *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1908-9, p. 119.

³⁰ D. Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 204-348.

prominent residencies, the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel at Allahabad, believed that the residential system was central in influencing students in a humanistic and religiously-tolerant manner. He cited the fact that Allahabad was the educational centre of the United Provinces, and that with over 3,000 students, it was ideal.³¹ It officially opened in 1903, having operated haphazardly during the previous three years. Others sensed the opportunity presented felt the need to 'strike while the iron is hot'.³² Hostels were seen as 'possibilities for character-training and nation-building such as never before existed', whereas many in the Indian Government and Parliament referred to them as 'nurseries of seditious unrest'.³³ The hostels at St. John's, for instance, were religiously desegregated after the stirrings of the 1905 Bengal partition. Yet even before this the students from the different hostels regularly shared communal meals and activities.³⁴ William Holland's hostel generated 'a good thing'³⁵ he called Indian patriotism.

The desire to influence Indian's upcoming generation had as much to do with the importance of nation-building and maximising missionary influence, as it did with the demographic realities of their hostels. Hostels therefore unwittingly engendered a strong sense of religious plurality, theism and at times humanistic morality. Government lodges tended to be more homogeneous, and were usually organised along caste lines.³⁶ But missionaries were insistent that their hostels would include diverse members of the Indian community, and their success in this respect was admitted by Government officials.³⁷ Their hostels were usually attached to multiple schools, which gave them access to a larger pool of students from which to recruit. Many students from state-run schools such as Muir College stayed in mission hostels.

Mission hostels and schools encouraged nation-building during more palpable and controversial political developments. This was one way in which missionaries felt they could legitimise their message in the face of hidebound British policies. The Risley Circular, issued in 1907, required school teachers and masters to actively discourage their students from discussing politics; teachers were held responsible in this respect. Schools

³¹ W.E.S. Holland, 'The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel', 27 April 1901, G2/I6/O, BUL; Lord Curzon visited the premises, commended Holland for his excellent work, and had a cavalryman return thirty minutes later with a gift of Rs. 300 to provide books for the library, which the Viceroy affably considered 'understocked', viz. Holland, Memo, 18 April 1903, G2/I6/O, BUL; Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Review, 1905-6, G2/I7/O, BUL.

³² C.H. Gill to A. Wright, 8 July 1896, G2/I7/O, BUL.

³³ St. John's College Prospectus and Report, 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

³⁴ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1913-4, p. 131.

³⁵ W.E.S. Holland, 'The Aim of Educational Missions', *The East and the West*, 1912, pp. 78-9.

³⁶ The Government Hostel in Agra and the residence attached to the Balwat Rajput H.S. were more prominent examples.

³⁷ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 9, 1915, C. de la Fosse to UP Gov. Sec., 9 January 1915, OIOC.

in receipt of Government money found to be engaging in political discussion could have their grants revoked. Yet this did not necessarily mean that mission schools blindly followed Departmental directives. They were aware of their indispensability and utilised their positions to engage their students in constructive political discussion. The staff at St. Stephen's College ignored the circular and came under criticism for being 'seditious and politically disloyal' to the Government and the King.³⁸ The Debating Societies at St. John's³⁹ and the CMS high school in Lucknow⁴⁰ were encouraged to discuss political issues as were lodgers in their hostels,⁴¹ both before and after the agitations of 1905. Hostel managers ignored the circular as well. Rev. Henry Tubbs, like others, admitted that nationalist sentiment was sometimes ill-informed and crude, but this did not prevent him from offering a constructive alternative. Henry Tubbs was asked by a Brahmin lodger how he could serve his country. The student wished to go into law and become a barrister, but Tubbs encouraged him to enter politics.⁴² Rev. Henry Durrant acknowledged that nationalism could be crude, but he nevertheless called it 'a matter for rejoicing'⁴³ since the student was 'beginning to be proud of his nationality'.⁴⁴ After the agitations of the Bengal partition, Government officials wished to install monitors into all hostels which were publicly run or aided. But most CMS educationists, including Archbishop Porter of Bombay, were against such interference.⁴⁵ If Government hostels were mostly preoccupied with keeping a lid on their students' political aspirations and sentiments, mission hostels allowed for political debate. William Holland began a small form of civic encouragement by attaching an institute to his hostel which would serve as a leisure centre and common room. It was stocked with books and magazines and served as a social nervous centre for the hostel, with weekly lectures on current political, social and scientific issues; it also included games chess, bridge, and tennis.⁴⁶ This would tap into larger intellectual, social and political currents at a pan-Indian level and encourage students to participate in civic life.

Upon closer inspection, hostels also practised what effectively amounted to micro-exercises in self-government and management. This was another small but effective

³⁸ C.M. Millington, *Whether we be Many or Be Few: a History of the Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood* (Bangalore, 1999), p. 102.

³⁹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1903, p. 649.

⁴⁰ *CMS Gleaner*, September 1910, p. 132.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, April 1909, p. 52.

⁴² H.N. Tubbs, Annual Letters, 1908, p. 262, BUL.

⁴³ *CMS Gleaner*, April 1909, p. 52.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, P.P.H., 29 July 1889, NAI.

⁴⁶ W.E.S. Holland, 'The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel', 27 April 1901, G2/I6/O, BUL.

example of constructive nationalism. Holland justified these exercises with two goals in mind: preparing his students for an independent India and under which evangelical influence would manifest itself. Indian sovereignty was inevitable, and missionary educationists understood that they would have to influence their students. He very much wanted this rising generation to be able to balance competing interests and deal with a heavy work schedule, as in public service. The boarders were allowed to elect their own prefects. The prefect's responsibilities included taking the daily roll call, arranging for servants for married boarders, enforcing the general rules and regulations, and communicating between students and the Warden.⁴⁷ Students themselves were also allowed to become prefects, elect their own captains, run their own committees and organise social functions, whilst students served as the General Secretary and General Treasurer of the Hostel.⁴⁸ In effect, the students for the most part ran the hostel on their own, causing Holland to observe that 'the internal economy and discipline of the hostel is almost entirely in their hands'.⁴⁹ He observed with satisfaction that it was 'moving to mark the growth in character...through the training of a prefectship or an athletic captaincy, [they] are becoming men of grit, with a sense of principle and responsibility', which was to prepare them for the public and civic sphere.⁵⁰

Of course, hostels also aimed to foster religious and spiritual debate. This was to compensate for increasingly scarce opportunities in a classroom, which were being overtaken by the primacy of examination. It was hoped that the residential system would prove conducive towards religious and spiritual discussion. But students did not regularly attend. Holland's Bible lessons rarely attracted more than half the students.⁵¹ Most students tended to pass through their experience without inquiring into any spiritual matters.⁵² Consequently, these discussions were religiously tolerant. Bible lessons were compulsory only for Christians, who received it once per week. For the other students it was strictly voluntary.⁵³ The only direct form of spiritual work Holland had with his students was when they approached him. Lectures were held weekly, in an effort to promote discussion on literature, politics, science and topics of general interest.⁵⁴ The topics were mostly secular and humanistic, with some of the titles having been 'The

⁴⁷ W.E.S. Holland, 'Mission Hostels in India', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 278-9.

⁴⁸ *CMS Gleaner*, March 1910, p. 41.

⁴⁹ W.E.S. Holland, 'Mission Hostels in India', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 279.

⁵⁰ W.E.S. Holland, Annual Letters, 1908, p. 258, BUL; 'The Pioneer', 6 September 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

⁵¹ W.E.S. Holland, 'Mission Hostels in India', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 277.

⁵² The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Review, 1905-6, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁵³ C. Gill, 'Students Mission', 19 January 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Secret of Power', 'Beautiful Canada', 'An Evenings with Shakespeare', 'How to Prepare for University Examinations', and 'Some Modern Definitions of Life and Death'.⁵⁵ One hosteller wrote to *The Pioneer*, observing that the atmosphere was open, tolerant, and that 'there was no monopoly of truth'.⁵⁶

The attempts to exercise a general influence over their boarders led mission hostels to fashion and propagate a theistic morality rather than ostentatious and ideological religiosity. This was significant, for a cadre of English educated and bilingual Indians would come to define religious plurality in the public sphere and later put it into practice at varying levels throughout northern India. Religion and Hindu 'revival', in the context of an emerging Indian nationalism, needs to be seen in a broader perspective. Recent studies have explored the role of religious plurality in nation-building, arguing that Indian notions of secularism were a consequence of missionary-Indian interaction.⁵⁷ Other scholars⁵⁸ have detected a pan-Asian nationalism before the inter-war years. The emergence of a pan-Indian nationalism should thus be seen not so much in the Indian reactions of a post-1920 or even post-1905 political context, but as a process which was more drawn-out and organically developed. Mission hostels contributed to this. Not only did these schools and hostels (however unwittingly) engender a religiously-plural and theistic morality, but it was greatly informed by the moralities students brought into their corridors. This was especially so before 1920,⁵⁹ when mission schools and hostels were markedly popular. A qualified and subtle form of secularisation in late colonial India was very much a product of interaction between Europeans and Indians, and between Christianity and India's religious traditions.

Mission hostels drew-out India's religious plurality and fostered a theistic morality with the aims of public service and civic duty at there core. To repeat, this was informed by missionaries' own selfish desires to maximise their influence. Holland laid more importance upon the necessity of Christian influence than Christian religion to India's future. He pleaded to critics that 'will not a reformed Hinduism, re-understood in the light of modern advance, give India what she wants? Must India be de-Hinduised—which means to be de-Indianised'?⁶⁰ Although Holland undoubtedly would have liked his

⁵⁵ The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Prospectus, March 1904, G2/I6/O, BUL.

⁵⁶ 'The Pioneer', 6 September 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

⁵⁷ N. Chatterjee, 'The State, Public Sphere and Christianity in Hindustan, 1880-1960', unpub. Mss., in author's possession.

⁵⁸ M.R. Frost, 'Globalization and Religious Revival in the Imperial Cities of the Indian Ocean Rim, c.1870-1920', unpub. PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2002.

⁵⁹ F. Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (Oxford, 2002), for the impact of national schools set up after 1920.

⁶⁰ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1909-10, p. 116.

lodgers to convert, thus facilitating a national movement amongst the educated classes, he was at the same time aware that this was both unlikely and detrimental to mission schools. Influence, rather than conversion, could exercise a greater role in guiding a rising national consciousness. And it was this hostel *esprit de corps* which would serve to influence India's future political class. He maintained that 'India's destiny lies in the character of her future leaders'.⁶¹ Holland remained convinced of the hostel's efficacy to the very end. Hostels and schools must 'be allowed to have a hand in the moulding of character of the men who, by their superiority of morale—a morale developed by the life and training and discipline of the Hostel—must be leaders of their country'.⁶² He cited the testimony of one former lodger, who wrote to the *Hostel Magazine*, claiming that the school 'taught me to work disinterestedly without a selfish motive for anything, especially in the work of a public cause'.⁶³ This was a reflection of schools' secularising tendencies and preoccupation with social and civic matters.

Mission hostels propagated civic, theistic and religiously-plural ethos, rather than anything either ostentatiously or even surreptitiously Christian. This was informed as much by the demographic realities of their residences as it was by missionaries' own selfish desires to influence their students. The hostels at St. John's were examples of these very ethos. The college may have had separate hostels for Hindus, Muslims and Christians, but this was more of a superfluous division. Communal dinners and social functions were common and a regular part of hostel life. The Hindu hostel was initiated by the then Principal John Pargiter in 1890, under the idea that such residences offered a prime opportunity to reach students who were otherwise pressured by the timetable of class and study.⁶⁴ John Haythornwaite, later to become College Principal, wished to vastly expand the residential system for the College's Hindu and Muslim students.⁶⁵ Here, religious divisions and misunderstandings could be both challenged and addressed. John Haythornwaite's hostel residents arranged their own 'high table', inviting Haythornwaite, three European men and four European women.⁶⁶ This led him to remark that he was reminded of a Cambridge dinner 'except that Cambridge is not so advanced as to invite ladies to the "Don's" table'.⁶⁷ It may have been a Hindu hostel, but this did not preclude its residents from frequently sharing meals and sittings with Indian

⁶¹ H.N. Tubbs, Annual Letters, 1908, p. 261, BUL.

⁶² W.E.S. Holland, Annual Letters, 1908, p. 258, BUL.

⁶³ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1909-10, p. 117.

⁶⁴ J. Haythornwaite, *St. John's College, Agra, 1850-1930* (London, 1932), p. 88.

⁶⁵ UP and CP Conference, 1903, G2/I6/O, BUL.

⁶⁶ J. Haythornwaite, Annual Letters, 1908, p. 278, BUL.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 279.

Christians, orthodox Hindus and Muslims at college functions.⁶⁸ Debates and lectures were for the most part secular and humanistic, yet also quite vibrant, including 'Is it Better to be Wholly Illiterate than to have a Little Learning', 'Learned Men of the Past were Wiser than the Present', and 'Wellington was a Better Man than Napoleon'.⁶⁹ This hostel also undertook micro-exercises in self-government. Students were allowed to hold a referendum, where they resolved that the west owed more to the east than vice-versa, and that railways were 'a curse'. The students also engaged in political discussions, which were encouraged.⁷⁰

One telling instance of the type of religious pluralism which was propagated at hostels was a social gathering at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in November of 1908. This did not mean that such engendered ethos were put into practice outside of school, but that there were developments and attempts to counter an increasing religious polarisation in India. This residence was significant, for it attracted most of its students from nearby Muir Central College, a Government institution, with most of these students eventually entering district and state levels of Government employment. This gathering was representative of the theistic, civic and religiously-plural ethos which had come to dominate mission schools and hostels. Roughly two hundred past and present hostellers attended at the request of the Warden and some students. There were many different castes present, including Brahmins, Kshatriyas and a smattering of Indian converts from the *chamar* and *bhanghi* castes.⁷¹ The afternoon centred around a tea party with free intermingling between different castes and two theatre performances. The first was R.B. Sheridan's 'The Rivals', followed by a Hindi drama entitled 'Nil Devi', both of which were performed by the hostellers.⁷² Afterwards the hostel rallying song, *hostel ki jai* (long live the hostel) was recited by an enthusiastic crowd. The following speaker, Mr. Sherwood Reddy, charged the students to stand up for the very secular values of truth, fairness towards their Indian neighbours and justice.⁷³ One CMS professor, Henry Drummond, mentioned Christianity a mere four times, stating that it was not just a religious system but a feeling of neighbourly love; this found its greatest manifestation in civic virtues such as tolerance, public charity and truthfulness. He beseeched his audience

⁶⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1911-2, p. 114.

⁶⁹ St. John's College Prospectus and Report, 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL; 'The Drummond Road', April 1911, Acc. 188/Z1, BUL.

⁷⁰ *CMS Gleaner*, April 1909, p. 52.

⁷¹ 'The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Magazine', December 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

to follow its examples rather than its religious precepts.⁷⁴ One ex-hosteller spoke at the gathering, and when asked about the effect upon his character of the hostel, he did not even mention Christianity. Rather, he noted the general, civic-based inspiration that influenced him during his tenure and how keen the missionaries had been in promoting these values.⁷⁵ Charles Crosthwaite then spoke on his experience in the hostel and with its students. In a direct refutation of prevailing Orientalist rhetoric, he referred to Kipling's 'East is East' dictum and stated that he wanted Kipling to be present on such an occasion 'for it might strike him that he was wrong after all'.⁷⁶

Mission hostels also had a bearing upon caste which contributed to an increasing sense of plurality and rapidly changing perceptions of caste and its relation to nationhood. This was a debate which was central in Indian intellectual debates on nationhood.⁷⁷ Here, notions of *varna* and *jati* were not radically challenged by mission institutions but were subtly transformed by both students and missionaries. Educationists may have held out that particular social reforms were necessary for self-rule, but even the Arya Samajist Lala Baij Nath argued that genuine social reform had to precede political independence.⁷⁸ Other social reformers argued similarly.⁷⁹ This is not to say that caste was revolutionised within their confines.⁸⁰ But the corporate and social life of a residential system nevertheless had an effect upon caste practice and the degrees to which different *jatis* and *varnas* interacted. Holland maintained that 'few things can so effectively cure the selfishness natural to life under caste restriction...as this hostel spirit'.⁸¹ Change was more incremental and piecemeal, rather than revolutionary. The Warden of one St. John's hostel in 1911, Rev. Arthur Davis, hoped that 'all religious distinctions may be so regulated as to permit of free social intercourse at a common table...it is not the function of a Christian College to perpetuate caste restrictions, but rather to promote the Brotherhood of Man'.⁸² Davis observed that Indian Christians were now taking their meals with Muslim students in the latter's hostel, something that would have been

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Also see 'The Drummond Road', April 1911, Acc. 188/Z1, BUL, for a description of the civic ethos in the Muslim Hostel at St. John's College.

⁷⁵ 'The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Magazine', December 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Also see CWM North India Report, D.E. Evans, SOASL.

⁷⁷ S. Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge, 1999).

⁷⁸ L.B. Nath, *Social Reform for the N.W. Provinces* (Allahabad, 1886).

⁷⁹ *Essays on Indian Social Reform, by an Indian*, n.a., (Bombay, 1893), v, pp. 44-5.

⁸⁰ W.E.S. Holland, *The Indian Outlook* (London, 1926), p. 26; at one point William Holland had to arrange for thirty-seven different kitchens for his one hundred lodgers, although this proved to be only temporary.

⁸¹ W.E.S. Holland, 'Mission Hostels in India', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 278.

⁸² J. Haythornwaite, *St. John's College, Agra, 1850-1930* (London, 1932), p. 111.

unthinkable thirty years ago.⁸³ After the hostel's Social-Literary club performed 'Silas Marner' in the summer of 1910, the following dinner saw Brahmins mixing with Indian Christians, Kshatriyas, Muslims and a few *chamar* students.⁸⁴ The hostel run by Holland in Allahabad admitted its largest group of lodgers in 1911. This included Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Muslims and Indian Christians,⁸⁵ and fourteen lodgers from the Rohilkand hills the following year.⁸⁶ Even though thirty-six out of the hostel's initial fifty boarders were Brahmins, there were a smattering of non-Brahmins and Indian converts from the lower castes.⁸⁷ William Holland was the most convinced of its efficacy, and believed that any student who had lived at a mission hostel would undoubtedly alter (even however slightly) his behaviour towards other castes. Holland's students in Allahabad, having lived in the bazaars, usually had separate kitchens for their food. But in the CMS hostel, there would be but one kitchen, from which everyone would eat.⁸⁸ At the 1909 annual social gathering, there was free intermingling and at the dining table, there was Rev. N. Tubbs, three Brahmins, two Kayasths, two Muslims and three converts from the sweeper castes.⁸⁹ Mr. Pargiter of the Hindu Hostel in St. John's observed that after time and getting to know each other, he could have intercourse with his students as if caste no longer existed.⁹⁰ Word about the dining arrangement spread so quickly that rumours began to circulate in the bazaar that they were all planning to convert.⁹¹

Empire, Christianity and Indian nationalism: context and limits, c.1885-1915

Missionaries were keenly aware that their students would one day come to lead and dominate Indian public life. Hostels and mission schools, out of purely Christocentric motives, concomitantly engaged with an emerging student political consciousness and Indian nationalism. Religion was also an intricate part of this equation, as Christianity was usually conflated with foreignness. Religious-plurality and to a limited degree, an Indian form of secularism, were results of Indian and European interaction in classrooms and hostels.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* Also see 'The Drummond Road', April 1911, Acc. 188/Z1, BUL.

⁸⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1911-2, p. 113.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1912-3, p. 126.

⁸⁷ Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Review, 1905-6, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁸⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1900-1, p. 235.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1909-10, p. 117.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1890-1, p. 103.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1909-10, p. 116.

Indian nationalism is now seen as far more variegated than the evolution and culmination of an intellectual and political elite's aspirations. Recent studies have further questioned the idea that Indian nationalism was largely the outcome of modernity and the emergence of modern institutions. They have highlighted the overlooked importance of nation-building⁹² and patriotism⁹³ to the development of a modern Indian state. Others have questioned the notion that a western curriculum and European 'modernity' were responsible for the emergence of a 'modern' Indian patriotism.⁹⁴ This section will outline the manner in which mission schools contributed towards Indian nationalism.

Christianity's supposed symmetry with colonialism first needs to be qualified. Some scholars have conflated colonialism with Christianity from both a political⁹⁵ and theological⁹⁶ perspective, arguing that Christianity as a religious system is inseparable from its colonial and European manifestations. Yet this is overly-simplistic. Scholars⁹⁷ have recently begun to qualify the arguments of these sociologists and political commentators who see Christianity as conflated with colonialism. This has brought a much-needed attention to the contradictions between religion and European imperialism in both Victorian Britain and the wider world. It has also enabled scholarship to move beyond oversimplified notions of Christian⁹⁸ and missionary⁹⁹ imperialism. Missionary rhetoric also needs to be taken with a grain of salt. Nationalism and evangelicalism could rhetorically come together and serve the colonial cause. But missions had to appear 'loyal' to a home audience. They were dependent upon home donations for roughly 50 to 60% of the costs of mission schools. Missionaries did become bellicose towards the end of the nineteenth century in this respect. But this was also a reflection of their weaknesses and coming to terms with a rapidly secularising society,¹⁰⁰ more than genuine core

⁹² C.A. Watt, 'Social Service and the Culture of Association in North India. c. 1900-1920', unpub. PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1999.

⁹³ R.K. Ray, *The Felt Community: Commonality and Mentality Before the Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (New Delhi, 2003).

⁹⁴ R. Pandey, 'Archaic Knowledge, Tradition and Authenticity in Colonial North India, c. 1780-1930', unpub. PhD diss., London University, 2003.

⁹⁵ N. Pityana, 'What is Black Consciousness', in B. Moore, ed., *Black Theology: the South African Voice* (London, 1973), p. 59.

⁹⁶ T. Balasuriya, 'Towards the Liberation of Theology in Asia', in V. Fabella, ed., *Struggle for Full Humanity* (New York, 1980), pp. 20-1.

⁹⁷ R.W. Davis, R.J. Helmstadter, eds., *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society* (London, 1992); B. Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester, 1990).

⁹⁸ A. Mathew, *Christian Missions, Education and Nationalism: from Dominance to Compromise, 1870-1930* (New Delhi, 1988), p. 236.

⁹⁹ G. Studdert-Kennedy, *Providence and the Raj: Imperial Mission and Missionary Imperialism* (New Delhi, 1998), *British Christians, Indian Nationalists and the Raj* (Delhi, 1991).

¹⁰⁰ D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies in a Victorian Ideal* (London, 1961), pp. 195-240.

convictions regarding Britain's role as an imperial power in India. Missions believed Providence was acting in India, but this did not necessarily mean it was primarily for the benefit of British rule. They were convinced that it was an opportunity to expand the other-worldly empire more so than the temporal one in which they found themselves.

Schools' interaction with students and politics needs to be given further context. Missionary educationists had their finger on the pulse of Indian society, in a period when the colonial state was relatively less informed in its knowledge of Indian religious and cultural nuances. The state was more removed from Indian society than ever before and knowledge become more static, as both scholars¹⁰¹ and other Europeans in India¹⁰² have demonstrated. The colonial state may have had an extensive intelligence gathering apparatus at its disposal, but it was still virtually impossible for it to be as knowledgeable of educated Indian sentiment as mission schools and educationists. They spent time with their students on a daily and more intimate basis. The state was further prone to information panics, especially after 1905,¹⁰³ and a genuine network of spies and informants in schools was lacking until after the partition of Bengal. The colonial state had difficulty in getting informants and runners in schools and other institutions, especially in the United Provinces.¹⁰⁴

This coloured the state's knowledge of student activity and political consciousness in several ways. Firstly, Government sought to identify signals of 'dissent' and what they considered to be politically subversive activism; this precluded them from being able to digest comprehend criticism of British rule. Secondly and as a result, the colonial authorities interpreted any political activity and consciousness as automatically challenging to British rule. Thus, the very aloofness of British officialdom and the knowledge to which it had access guaranteed that they would interpret supposed agitations amongst the educated classes differently from those who knew students more intimately.

¹⁰¹ P. McGinn, 'Governance and Resistance in North Indian Towns, 1860-1900', unpub. PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1993, pp. 232-44; C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, 1996); K.H. Prior, 'The British Administration of Hinduism in North India, 1780-1900', unpub. PhD diss., Cambridge University 1990.

¹⁰² B.K. Boman-Behram, *Educational Controversies in India: the Cultural Conquest of India under British Imperialism* (Bombay, 1946), viii; D. Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography: Being Extracts from the Panjab Census Report of 1881, Treating of Religion, Language and Caste* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 2.; R.N. Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays: Written from the Year 1847 to 1887* (London, 1887), p 152.

¹⁰³ D.K. Choudhury, 'Sinews of Panic and the Nerves of Empire: the Imagined State's Entanglement with Information Panic, India c.1880-1912', *MAS*, 38 (4), pp. 965-1002.

¹⁰⁴ R.J. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904-1924* (London, 1995), pp. 8-124, esp. pp. 75-7.

The official colonial mind largely discounted Indian nationalism, at least before the mass agitations following 1919, as crude and misguided. They ran roughshod over the sentiments of students and those demanding political participation. Yet this was partly a consequence of the state's inability to interpret political aspirations and grievances as either anything but a rejection of British rule or purely desires for better employment prospects. Demands for participation in Government came from supposedly 'state-quack'¹⁰⁵ students. Thomas Lewis, the Director of Public Instruction in UP, called Indian patriotism 'a poor copy taken from English history and literature'.¹⁰⁶ Missionaries themselves were subjected to this antagonism and hostility. Rev. Charles Biscoe, headmaster of the CMS high school in Srinagar, was frequently approached by British officials who told him that educating Indians was 'fatal' to British rule. They cited instances of disloyalty to His Majesty and even called his work a waste of time.¹⁰⁷ During Biscoe's years in India he never met a British official who was sympathetic with educating Indians. One particular officer even advised him to pack up his bags and go home where he could be of use.¹⁰⁸

Government myopia in this respect was pointed out by missionaries. They were aware that colonial officialdom acted out of ignorance. Teachers of mission schools and hostels were quick to challenge the official reactions to Indian political consciousness. Missionary educationists stressed that if only Indian students were listened to, then most misunderstandings would be eliminated. They accused Government of simplistically conflating patriotism with anti-foreign nationalism. In some cases educationists were quick to correct officialdom. Andrew Fraser of the CMS, and former Bishop of Bombay, maintained that the rising national consciousness was not necessarily to be feared. He interpreted it in apolitical terms, arguing that 'it is not primarily political nor does it involve any necessary hostility to British rule'.¹⁰⁹ He ascribed a good deal of official ignorance to the manner in which the colonial state reacted to student activism. Charles Andrews thought 'it would be a grave calamity if this true love of country were misunderstood by Government in the sphere of politics'.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ R.N. Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays: Written from the Year 1847 to 1887* (London, 1887), pp. 151, 163.

¹⁰⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 39-55, 1901, T.C. Lewis, 12 September 1898, NAI.

¹⁰⁷ C. Biscoe, 'Seeing is Believing: a Scene in Kashmir', *The East and the West*, 1915, pp. 275-6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ A.G. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 29.

¹¹⁰ C.F. Andrews, 'The Effect of the Japanese Victories upon India', *The East and the West*, 1905, p. 371.

The aftermath of the 1905 Bengal partition was a case in point. The *bande mataram* ('I bow to you mother') recitation, quickly interpreted by the colonial authorities as pure political sedition, was given a corrective by missionaries. They understood that the 1905 disturbances contained a degree of patriotism which, in their actions and words, was not necessarily an immediate challenge to British rule. One CMS schoolteacher, citing a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* which called schools nothing but 'nurseries of sedition', rebuked the commentator. He argued that schools were not breeding sedition and that theoretically the *bande mataram* recitation was not purely political. Although understanding that it was obviously being merged with political agitations, he pointed out that it technically referred to Kali, the mother goddess.¹¹¹ Government and Anglo-Indian hostility to this song, he pointed out, was as informed as much by its own relative lack of knowledge as their own fears of social and political 'disturbances'.¹¹² What was important here was not whether *bande mataram* was purely political or not, but that Government, whose aim it was to maximise British power, could only view such occurrences as manifestations of what they considered a direct threat to British rule, rather than patriotism. It also demonstrated that British knowledge of Indian culture and religion, because it had its own political agenda, was sometimes stunted, myopic and simplistic.

Mission teachers and educationists, however, were able to view the panoply of student sentiment, not just those to be reported to the colonial authorities. They had a different prism from the colonial state. Educational missionaries spent much time with their students. This informed the way in which they understood an educated and politically-aspirant section of Indian society. They bore witness and listened to their student's concerns in the classroom and the hostel, as well as being heavily involved in the bazaar chatter and human intelligence. They rarely indulged in the essentialising stereotypes which characterised a post-Mutiny colonial ideology, save their appeals to home for funds. William Miller, principal of Madras Christian College, reasoned that those in education have the best possible feel for rising Indian nationalism.¹¹³ Others conceded that the Government was lacking in their religious and cultural knowledge of students and Indian society in general.¹¹⁴ Native newspapers remarked that if the colonial

¹¹¹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1908-9, pp. 100-1.

¹¹² *Ibid.*; D.K. Choudhury, 'Sinews of Panic and the Nerves of Empire: the Imagined State's Entanglement with Information Panic, India c.1880-1912', *MAS*, 38 (4), pp. 965-1002.

¹¹³ W. Miller, *Unrest and Education in India* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 4-5.

¹¹⁴ F. Pincott, *Social Reform by an Authority in India* (London, 1892), pp. 21-2; W. Miller, *Unrest and Education in India* (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 47.

state followed in the steps of the missionaries, then all the misunderstandings between Indians and Europeans would be removed.¹¹⁵ Many others confided that missionary educationists had the best feel for students' aspirations; for these missionaries education was not a profession but a vocation.¹¹⁶ When the editor of *The Englishman*, A.J. Fraser Blair, called for greater interactions between Englishmen and Indians, he excluded missionaries, to whom he referred as some of the greatest social actors in India.¹¹⁷ Mission teachers and headmasters even played regular sport with their students.¹¹⁸

Constructive nationalism and Christocentricism, c.1890s-1910s

Missionaries therefore were more intimate with their students and their political sentiments. These teachers and headmasters were by no means collaborative or unequivocally supportive of British attitudes and measures. They viewed Indian political sentiment differently from the colonial state, and were in greater (but not complete) sympathy. Alexander Duff's dictum that Christianity would make Indians amenable to the Raj¹¹⁹ did more justice to rhetoric than reality. Mission school teachers were quick to point out officialdom's many faults and roughshod approaches. Educationists and the colonial government held different views towards colonial rule in India and its *raison d'être*. Lord Salisbury's warning to missionaries to stay out of politics¹²⁰ also concealed a general uneasiness and awareness that missionaries knew Indian students best and were not necessarily unwavering imperialists. Mission schools were by no means factories of royalist allegiances. Some missionaries may have hoped for the eventual Christianisation of India, but these sentiments were shared by those most removed from student life. Missionary desires to maximise their influence upon Indian society precluded the possibility of mass conversion and eventual 'Christianisation'. The aftermath of the 1905 partition was seen as an augury of future political developments. And if schools were to have any influence, then it would lie in the realm of social and civic values rather than anything explicitly religious. Missionaries were somewhat cautious¹²¹ when it came to Indian nationalism. Yet this did preclude them from contributing to its development. The

¹¹⁵ *Advocate*, Lucknow, 17 July 1910, SVN, UPSA.

¹¹⁶ V. Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London, 1910); *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, 1911, p. 179.

¹¹⁷ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1905, p. 546.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1883, p. 496.

¹¹⁹ A. Duff, *The Indian Rebellion, Letters* (London, 1858), p. 161.

¹²⁰ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1900, p. 548; *CMS Intelligencer*, 1901, p. 942.

¹²¹ E.S. Alexander, *The Attitudes of British Protestant Missionaries Towards Nationalism in India* (New Delhi, 1994).

argument that empire mattered little to missionaries¹²² also misses the point. They had a genuine but more qualified interest in empire: British rule allowed them to maximise their own influence upon an upcoming Indian generation. Their constructive nationalism could be both negative, in their criticisms of the British, positive, in their venerations of Indian patriotism, and in more subtle forms of nation-building. Charles Andrews' letter to the *Civil and Military Gazette*,¹²³ writing in support of Indian nationalism, was only the tip of a larger and often overlooked iceberg.

Missionary educationists engaged in constructive nationalism. This included forms of nation-building which did not yield ostentatious political results, but nevertheless contributed towards the civic foundations of a future Indian state. South Asian historiography has acquired an immensely sophisticated history of Indian nationalism. Scholars have more recently begun to move beyond the linear and purely anti-foreign ideal of Indian nationalism. They have brought attention to subtle, 'foundational', and constructive forms of nation-building.¹²⁴ 'Constructive nationalism' here is taken as any activity or undertaking which has in mind the betterment of the country, even if it does not have in mind the immediate goals of sovereignty, political demarcation or unification.

The emergence of student political consciousness was also welcomed by educationists for the opportunity it would give them to influence its students. Educationists became selfishly sympathetic with rising Indian nationalism; they were convinced that the hand of God was at work and giving them an opportunity. They sought to engage Indians in preparing a future ruling generation and to maximise missionary influence. Many future political leaders would pass through mission colleges and schools. William Holland rightfully observed that 'the formative and depending lines of Indian history in the next twenty years will very largely depend on the men who are in college today'.¹²⁵ Schools' influence was to be informed but not guided by Christian morality. George Westcott stated that 'what you want to put into the life of a nation, put into its schools'.¹²⁶

At a larger and more political level, educationists were fully aware that Hindu and Muslim revivalist politics would do more to keep India divided rather than united. Because of this, mission schools felt that their influence, even though foreign, would prove more conducive to 'Indianness' and multiculturalism. Again, this was primarily out

¹²² J. Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940* (Stanford, 2002).

¹²³ *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 1906.

¹²⁴ R. Ray, C.A. Watt, *op cit.*

¹²⁵ 'Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Magazine', 1905-6, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹²⁶ J. Haythornwaite, Annual Letters, 1908, p. 279-80, BUL.

of a selfish desire to maximise missionary influence. Denominational schools were seen as counterproductive to the 'national' ideal. Schools which aligned themselves on the basis of religion, especially those patronised and supported by Government, would only serve to stifle the advance of Indian national consciousness, and could never be in harmony with the national movement. William Holland believed that 'only in Missions colleges...can there be any real hope of brotherhood and for the realisation of the ideals of Indian Nationalism'.¹²⁷ John Haythornwaite believed that politicised Hinduism and Islam would tear India asunder; hence missionaries had to bridge these increasing divides.¹²⁸

Mission schools were therefore to serve as a Christian influence in the process of constructive nationalism. Missionaries were put off by acute and uncompromising anti-foreignness. To further their own aims, evangelicals wanted the best of east and west in a fusion, which would come to influence the rising Indian generation. Charles Andrews, even in 1908, could not recall a single instance of purely anti-foreign agitation in a mission school outside of Bengal.¹²⁹ Henry Pakenham-Walsh envisioned an opportunity for missionary educationists to set it aright through constructive nationalism. This would lay not in political loyalty towards England, but in the development of truth, and a 'Christian-inspired' public-ethoses of civic service.¹³⁰

The desire not to pass up this massive opportunity to influence students mandated that mission teachers act sympathetically with Indian political sentiment. They were unmistakeably selfish and Christocentric, but many teachers nevertheless described Indian national awakening, even after the Bengal partition, as 'beautiful',¹³¹ 'admirable',¹³² and 'as a healthy sign'.¹³³ John Haythornwaite never believed that India should be denied political independence, for he believed that the mission school had a duty to influence 'a generation which will not be less distinguished for its love of freedom, mainly independence, and a desire for self-government'.¹³⁴ Henry Pakenham-Walsh thought that missionaries 'should rejoice therefore to see the first signs of the coming harvest, and should guide, direct and purify this new spirit of patriotism'.¹³⁵ Andrew Fraser envisioned mission schools moulding and creating a new generation of

¹²⁷ W.E.S. Holland, *Annual Letters*, 1911, p. 148, BUL.

¹²⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1911-2, p. 84.

¹²⁹ C.F. Andrews, *North India* (London, 1908), p. 217.

¹³⁰ H. Pakenham-Walsh, 'The Attitude of Educated Hindus towards Christianity', *The East and the West*, 1906, p. 396-7.

¹³¹ Bishop Montgomery, 'India', *The East and the West*, 1914, p. 288.

¹³² *CMS Intelligencer*, 1897, p. 45.

¹³³ *Annual Report of the London Missionary Society*, 1909, p. 15.

¹³⁴ St. John's College Prospectus and Report, 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹³⁵ H. Pakenham-Walsh, 'The Attitude of Educated Hindus towards Christianity', *The East and the West*, 1906, p. 396-7.

Indian political leaders who, in contrast to the scepticism the Indian Government displayed towards students, would genuinely speak for the nation. To deny mission-educated Indians the right to represent India would be both treason and inimical to exercising missionary influence.¹³⁶ F.J. Watson wanted instructors to embrace student desires, rather than turn adverse to any nationalistic sentiments: 'the policy I found in the College when I came and which I have been glad to try to help work out, is that of not standing aloof from the students' political hopes and beliefs, but of showing all possible sympathy with them and trying to guide them'.¹³⁷

It was understood by most mission teachers that their students were in their formative years and that an Indian patriotic movement was beyond its embryonic stage. When the LMS considered withdrawing from work in northern India, in the early 1900s, some thought it 'unthinkable' since the next ten to fifteen years would see the rise and consolidation of a unified nationalist movement.¹³⁸ Mission schools aimed to provide educated Indian society with 'Christian' morals and influence, and if they monopolised anything, it was their insistence that only their morals could make India a nation. This was advocated by John Farquhar.¹³⁹ This arrogance was informed not only by their own Christocentrism but also by increasing Hindu-Muslim tension and emerging 'communalism' towards the end of the nineteenth century. Andrew Fraser wanted to mould the future ruling generation which would come to lead India as a nation: 'we must aim in education as creating national leaders, men in touch with the thought-life and the noblest aspirations of their people, men thoughtful and independent and loyal and true'.¹⁴⁰ Fraser did not want to see this future generation overly-Anglicised; they should represent India and her own uniqueness. Government colleges, he confided, produced Anglicised and agnostic individuals, but Fraser believed that such tendencies were inconsistent with the preparation of a rising Indian generation.¹⁴¹ Mr. Partiger at St. John's believed that the College was 'building up a new type of man...this new Indian will play a very important part in the future history of India'.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ A.G. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, pp. 39-40.

¹³⁷ CMD, 31, 'The Guardian', 26 May 1911, RHL; Rev. James Carter prophesied that if schools such as St. Stephen's kept bringing up this rising Indian generation, the west would inevitably come to submit itself to the east, viz. CMD, 31, 'Church Times', 21 May 1909, RHL.

¹³⁸ North India, Incoming Correspondence, 1910-2, Box 21, Ashton to Thompson, 5 March 1910, SOASL.

¹³⁹ J.N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism* (London, 1912), pp. 153-210.

¹⁴⁰ A.G. Fraser, 'The Place and Policy of Educational Missions', 1907, H/H5/E2, pp 5-6, BUL.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 6.

¹⁴² *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1886-7, p. 97, BUL.

Mission schools and hostels consequently accepted Indian nationalism as inevitable and natural. This was a pragmatic approach missionaries took, as they were fully aware that a lack of sympathy would both compromise their aims and diminish their influence. Consequently, they were by no means fearful of this potent force. Instead of just dismissing students' personal grievances as a result of their inability to secure employment, educationists universalised the idea of patriotism and nationalism. They argued that these were not unique and exclusive inventions of the west, and consequently questioned the Eurocentric belief that non-Europeans could not feel larger national sentiment beyond community and caste. Indian national feeling was to be expected, not discounted. John Haythornwaite observed that 'the rising tide of patriotism and national aspiration cannot be checked...it is a natural outcome'.¹⁴³ One individual lauded this rising consciousness, observing that 'the Hindu reaction is thus a very real force, moved by reasons we cannot but respect. Patriotism lives behind and within it; in it the Orient stands up against the Occident, defies it, challenges its right to come to the East and impose itself'.¹⁴⁴ One mission teacher argued that steps towards Indian self-government would be 'the merest justice' to a natural and inevitable outcome.¹⁴⁵

Missionaries were constructive in critical ways. Curzon's educational reforms, primarily the Universities Act (1904), drew an unfavourable response from missionaries. Although they favoured the Government's plans to withdraw from secondary and higher education, they were seriously concerned that limiting overall access would stifle any freedom whatsoever their schools had in fostering religious and spiritual discussion; not to mention opportunities for exercising influence. This was seen even as far back as the 1880s. The 1882 Education Commission itself was worried that students were acquiring 'seditious' feelings. Rev. John Hewlett was asked if the number of English-educated graduates was either too large or becoming too politically conscious. He simply replied 'no'.¹⁴⁶ Rev. Henry Durrant of the CMS, in the discussions which preceded the 1904 act, maintained that the educational system was not overproducing graduates. Durrant criticised Government, pointing out that they had created the problem of sedition themselves, by not tending to the well-being and personalities of their students, and refuted the charge that the system was merely producing 'seditious rebels'.¹⁴⁷ Due

¹⁴³ St. John's College Prospectus and Report, 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁴⁴ H.E.P., 'Indian Notes', *CMS Intelligencer*, April 1899, p. 786.

¹⁴⁵ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1915, p. 16.

¹⁴⁶ North India, Incoming Correspondence, 1881-2, 'Education Commission of 1882-Evidence of Rev. John Hewlett', SOASL; *Report by the NWP and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence taken Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission* (Calcutta, 1884).

¹⁴⁷ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1903, p. 649.

sympathy should be shown with their aspirations rather than overlooking students' well-being.¹⁴⁸ The CMS criticised Curzon for taking a political rather than a moral approach to supposed 'problems', for it would hinder students' moral progress and push them into even more radicalism. On the one hand, they welcomed the abolition of a non-affective Utilitarian educational system, which they criticised for being agnostic. Yet on the other they had serious reservations about stifling access. The Calcutta Missionary Conference of that year sent a petition to the Viceroy. It contended that to have University senates to be comprised mostly of Government appointments would inhibit their influence.¹⁴⁹ Their critique extended further, claiming that the combination of minimal set rate fees and the disaffiliation of Second Grade (F.A., First Arts degree) schools from Universities would limit access to higher education.¹⁵⁰ During the discussion amongst Government officials regarding cutting numbers to university, Edward Oakley¹⁵¹ and others¹⁵² were talking about expanding access in order to accommodate Indian demand. Charles Andrews exposed the hypocrisy of colonial rule and the exultations of English liberty when he stated that 'England and the English Church owe to much to the struggle for national liberty in the past to grudge that liberty to India and Indian Christians in the present'.¹⁵³

Missionary educationists were also constructive when it came to confronting Government on more apparent political issues. Missionaries could never openly and harshly criticise officialdom, and thus did this more subtly. When A.K. Chatterjee was appointed to teach at the Jubilee high school, Charles de la Fosse, the Director of Public Instruction, was furious that he would inflame political agitation amongst the school's students. He demanded that Chatterjee respond to a few questions and be reconsidered for an alternative desk job. The first person to defend Chatterjee was Patrick Davis, the principal of St. Andrew's College in Gorakhpur.¹⁵⁴ When Amir Chand had to testify before a Magistrate's Court in the bomb attack on Lord Hardinge in Delhi, he was defended by Rev. Samuel Scott Allnutt, his teacher at St. Stephen's.¹⁵⁵ One of J. Jackson's pupils, an Arya Samajist, caught the attention of local Government officials. They were afraid he would encourage religious trouble in the LMS high school in Dudhi. Jackson, however,

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46; W. Gray, 'Mission Societies and Higher Education in India', *CMS Intelligencer*, January 1889, p. 217.

¹⁴⁹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 66-67, 1903, NAI.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ North India Report, 1903, E.S. Oakley, SOASL.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, B. Wilton, G.M. Bulloch, SOASL.

¹⁵³ C.F. Andrews, 'The Effect of the Japanese Victories upon India', *The East and the West*, 1905, p. 371.

¹⁵⁴ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 320, 1908, Restricting Numbers of Admissions, UPSA.

¹⁵⁵ D. Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1881-1997: An "Alexandria on the Banks of the Jamuna"?', in M. Hasan, ed., *Knowledge, Power and Politics: Educational Institutions in India* (New Delhi, 1998), p. 74.

refused since he felt that such discussions were good both for schools.¹⁵⁶ After the 1909 Morely-Minto reforms, missionaries pushed to have the word 'Native' replaced with 'Indian' in Government proceedings and communications. They argued that the former was condescending.¹⁵⁷ John Ellwood was another constructive nationalist. He insisted that *mulki*, *quam*, and *desi* should be used when conversing in Hindi and Urdu, for they denoted country and nation.¹⁵⁸

Educationists also criticised what they considered the more negative and undesirable side-effects of British rule. Racism was a case in point. They did much to repudiate and criticise the dominant and racialist themes of the Anglo-Indian cadre and of the colonial state. This was because missionaries had a different prism. *The Christian Patriot* chided British administrators and officials for maintaining strict racial divisions, which hindered students from taking more of a share in Government and ultimately their place amongst the world's nations.¹⁵⁹ Rev. William Hooper observed with satisfaction that mission schools proved that 'race and religion have no necessary connection'.¹⁶⁰ Mission schools were seen as the 'most effective solvents of race hatred'.¹⁶¹ Indians and *The Advocate* extolled missionaries who, despite their religious differences with Hinduism and Islam, were popular since they 'were free from race pride and are desirous of removing the obstacles which stand in the way of a better understanding between the East and the West'.¹⁶² The influence of St. Stephen's College, it was observed, presented 'an opportunity of conquering racial prejudices'.¹⁶³ John Haythornwaite hoped that schools would serve as centres of discussions between Europeans and Indians. Here Europeans and Indians would interact and 'racial antipathies and suspicion, will pass away'.¹⁶⁴ One St. Stephen's teacher wrote to *The Guardian* that more than anything else India needed friendship between Englishmen and Indians. Reactionary and heavy-handed policies hindered India's development into a modern nation.¹⁶⁵ Dr. Stanton of St. Stephen's was against appointing a European headmaster to the College. This was counterproductive in

¹⁵⁶ North India, 1912, J.C. Jackson, SOASL.

¹⁵⁷ C.F. Andrews, 'The King's Announcement at Delhi: its Missionary Bearing', *The East and the West*, 1912, p. 341n.

¹⁵⁸ J. Ellwood, Notes, February 1901, G2/I6/O, BUL.

¹⁵⁹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1902, p. 771.

¹⁶⁰ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1903-4, pp. 197-8.

¹⁶¹ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1910, p. 63.

¹⁶² *Advocate*, Lucknow, 17 July 1910, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁶³ CMD, 31, 'The Guardian', 13 October 1911, RHL; also see D. O'Conner, et. al, *Three Centuries of Missions: the USPG, 1701-2000* (London, 2000), pp. 104-5.

¹⁶⁴ St. John's College Prospectus and Report, 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁶⁵ CMD, 31, 'The Guardian', 26 May 1909, p. 11, RHL.

fostering better relations between Europeans and Indian students.¹⁶⁶ In the end Sushil Rudra was famously appointed as Principal.

One way missionaries were constructive was in their criticism of British officialdom and its attitude towards students' political aspirations. Government officialdom was chided for being aloof and impersonal, which not only ensured that they would misinterpret student activism, but that a stringent European-Indian racial divide was perpetuated. Government education, with its informal atmosphere and lack of prominent residential systems, would hinder greater understanding between Europeans and Indians. Educationists' subtle critiques of Government's hidebound approaches became more frequent, articulated and sympathetic with their students after the 1905 Bengal partition. Again, this was due to missionary selfishness and concern with their own abilities to project their influence. John Haythornwaite observed that to frustrate India's desire for national awareness and realising her goals would be treason. He spoke of the 'New Spirit', which was to encourage the rising generation to lead India in their political aspirations. This should be 'encouraged and directed, wisely and sympathetically, by College professors and by Englishmen...not repressed and banned as a thing of evil'.¹⁶⁷ Haythornwaite wanted the rising generation to be brought up in a residential hostel so that it would not become bitterly anti-foreign. Such ill-feeling, he believed, would shatter nearly 150 years of European-Indian dialogue.¹⁶⁸

Other defects were pointed out, which were inimical to exercising missionary influence. Here, missionaries could be unusually forthcoming in their criticism. Rev. John Maconachie criticised Anglo-India and the Government for their 'selfish greed, cupidity, petty intrigue and reckless want of principle' in dealing with university graduates.¹⁶⁹ William Holland declared that British rule over India 'must be service, not rule or exploitation',¹⁷⁰ and that the colonial Government's chicanery and hypocrisy were pitiful.¹⁷¹ The belief that the British could maintain their rule over India by force was called 'absurd'.¹⁷² John Farquhar, the main proponent of Fulfilment ideology, was himself a constructive nationalist. He chided Anglo-India for being critical rather than sympathetic with the student political movement, and lauded the educated class's desire

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Dr. Stanton to Bishop Allnutt, 19 September 1905, RHL.

¹⁶⁷ J. Haythornwaite, Annual Letters, 1908, p. 279, BUL.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 279-80.

¹⁶⁹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1903, p. 91.

¹⁷⁰ W.E.S. Holland, *The Indian Outlook* (London, 1926), p. 238.

¹⁷¹ W.E.S. Holland, *The Goal of India* (London, 1917), pp. 195-6.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

for self-government.¹⁷³ Charles Andrews was the most exceptional example of missionary sympathy. But even he was preceded by George Hibbert-Ware of St. Stephen's. As early as 1905 he joined the nascent nationalist movement with swinging and gregarious enthusiasm, throwing himself into student activism and giving encouragement to political societies and debate.¹⁷⁴ Hibbert-Ware had been critical of the 1905 Bengal Partition and lamented the mimicry of Anglicisation amongst the educated classes.¹⁷⁵

These sentiments were also shared by numerous other educationists. An Indian convert, K.P. Mukherjee, Headmaster of the LMS School in Khaga, argued that the 1905 partition was in the end beneficial towards India's nationhood. He believed that it would ultimately bring Hindus, Muslims and Indian Christian together.¹⁷⁶ Rev. Bernard Lucas quickly rebuked one Anglo-Indian observer who referred to Indians as 'subject peoples'. He riposted that 'the time has gone by for speaking of the people of India as a subject people...the one inalienable right of a subject people is to throw off foreign yoke...this desire to emancipate themselves is perfectly natural, whether it be regarded as seditious or not'.¹⁷⁷

Mission schools were also positive in their constructive nationalism. Educationists emphasised India's unity over its purportedly 'hindering' diversity. They conceived India as an nation inherently composed of multiple faiths and communities. This was championed by many educated Indians, one example being Zaka ul-Lah of Delhi.¹⁷⁸ Missionaries held similar views. William Holland, for his part, admitted that the general diversity of India's numerous kingdoms, communities and castes was greatly overemphasised.¹⁷⁹ Matthew Sherring's anthropological taxonomy of Banaras' races and castes has often been overshadowed by his subtle insistence that Hindus, the dominant but not essential community of India, possessed a striking degree of unity. Even though he was convinced that social reform needed to precede independence, he still argued that India was a nation, rather than a smattering of different castes and religions: 'must we on these grounds separate them [castes] from one another, and regard them as so many distinct nationalities and races? Obviously not'.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷³ J.N. Farquhar, *A Primer of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1912), p. 155.

¹⁷⁴ CMD, 31, S.S. Allnutt to Stanton, 16 March 1906, RHL.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ North India Report, 1905, K.P. Mukherjee, SOASL.

¹⁷⁷ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1909, p. 154.

¹⁷⁸ C. F Andrews, *Zaka Ullah of Delhi* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 110, 116, 119.

¹⁷⁹ W.E.S. Holland, *The Indian Outlook* (London, 1926), p. 23.

¹⁸⁰ M. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes as Represented in Benares* (London, 1872), Vol. II, p. 272.

The plurality of Indian society was also de-emphasised through the manner in which missions dealt with caste. This was another form of constructive nationalism, to which both Indians and missionaries contributed. Caste, as mentioned, was intricate to the Indian debate on nationhood.¹⁸¹ Missionaries may have held different views regarding the inimitability of caste in relation to Indian nationhood, but this did not preclude them from contributing to an increasingly vibrant Indian debate. Their schools and hostels as arenas contributed to changing *jati* and *varna* norms. One school convinced a student to readmit his wife after she committed adultery, whilst one of Biscoe's students risked 'defiling' himself by helping to carry the load on a donkey which was near collapse.¹⁸² Henry Gulliford recounted an incident at the same school when a Brahmin student at the school saw a sweeper woman being abused by some local residents. In her efforts to escape she fell and injured herself, whereupon the student immediately came to her assistance, helped her up and brought her to a doctor.¹⁸³ One St. John's missionary encountered a few of his old Brahmin students at the Agra rail station, who handed and shared with him fruits and refreshment, much to the shock of fellow passengers.¹⁸⁴ One YMCA student hostel was found to be a caste-eclectic lot, who were living 'on a basis of strict unorthodoxy'.¹⁸⁵ At the Lucknow high school, run by the CMS, a *baniya* student, against all social pressure and risk of alienation, tended to an ill European, fully aware that he would be outcasted once word got round.¹⁸⁶ Numerous other examples of caste practice being modified and challenged by mission students abounded.¹⁸⁷

Mission schools and hostels encouraged social service and community-based initiatives. These activities propagated the notion of *sewa* (service), and was participated in by both students and teachers. This was another example of how missions not only became less Christian in orientation, but how they unwittingly contributed to Indian nationalism in their desires to perpetuate their influence. At the CMS high school in Srinagar, the headmaster Charles Biscoe encouraged fraternity amongst the different pupils in his class by running a prize system that ran on the average marks of the class,

¹⁸¹ S. Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge, 1999).

¹⁸² C. Biscoe, 'Seeing is Believing: a Scene in Kashmir', *The East and the West*, 1915, pp. 282-4.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1886-7, p. 89.

¹⁸⁵ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1904, p. 575.

¹⁸⁶ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1894, p. 146-7.

¹⁸⁷ See S. Ketkar, *An Essay on Hinduism: its Formation and Future* (London, 1911), pp. 89-90; *Samrut*, Kalakankar, 12 May 1910, SVN, UPSA; *Advocate*, Lucknow, 21 January 1904, SVN, UPSA; *Abhyudhya*, Allahabad, 23 December 1909, SVN, UPSA; *Anand*, Lucknow, 12 February 1907, SVN, UPSA; *Harisha Chandas Magazine*, 15 February 1874, SVN, UPSA, for the Ahmaq Shahi Sect, which repudiated caste and envisioned a universal brotherhood based on theism.

rather than individual results. This, he observed, promoted cooperation rather than what he considered 'selfish individualism'.¹⁸⁸ His students were instructive in this process. They formed a Social Service Committee & Charity Organisation, which worked with the Srinagar poor. They also formed a Knights-Errant Society, which worked with widows.¹⁸⁹ Rev. George Bulloch cited with satisfaction student activism and fraternity in the form of debating, literary and social improvement societies.¹⁹⁰ Rev. D. Hutton of the LMS College in Banaras maintained that mission education, because of its ethical and moral component, would do for the Indian nation what state education would and could never: prepare their students for participation in Government.¹⁹¹ He looked with approval upon the actions of his students. They formed a Material Improvement Society, which met to discuss social and political issues, whilst pooling together funds to assist the poor, buying clothes for the destitute and helping the sick.¹⁹² William Holland's students exhibited a 'growth in patriotism and the desire to serve' by forming improvement societies and community service groups.¹⁹³

Mission schools encouraged social and political discussion, and the formation of societies which would transcend caste, class and religion. This was another form of subtle yet constructive nationalism. Edward Oakley formed a Literary and Fraternal Society for his Ramsay College students, held weekly in the Almora Public library, with a view towards fostering fraternity between Hindus and Muslims.¹⁹⁴ Oakley himself admitted that although he was no politician, he thought it better and more constructive to encourage discussions of political topics rather than repress them.¹⁹⁵ At the LMS high school in Bhowanipur, Rev. A. Warren ignored the Risley circular and spoke to his students in the form of a public lecture, on 'The Kind of Men India Needs', referring to the aftermath of the Bengal partition.¹⁹⁶ When the CMS was pressured by Anglo-Indian society to segregate mission students along religious lines, missionaries retorted by arguing that integration, not segregation, was the best solution to any restlessness amongst students.¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁸ C. Biscoe, 'Seeing is Believing: a Scene in Kashmir', *The East and the West*, 1915, p. 282.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ North India Report, 1896, G.M. Bulloch, SOASL.

¹⁹¹ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1889, p. 64.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 86.

¹⁹³ W. Holland, Annual Letters, 1911, p. 141, BUL.

¹⁹⁴ North India Report, 1892, E.S. Oakley, SOASL.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1907, E.S. Oakley, SOASL.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1909, A. Warren, SOASL.

¹⁹⁷ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1897, p. 283.

This constructivism led educationists to see the Empire as secondary, something that was to be transcended by religion and morals. Exerting long-term influence ensured that these institutions would engage with students in a more theistic and religiously-plural manner rather than anything explicitly Christian. If missionary educationists ever endorsed or condoned British colonial rule, it had more to do with the opportunities it afforded missions rather than genuine convictions that the Raj was the most blessed thing on earth. The *Bombay Quarterly Review* in the years before the Mutiny gave a taste of this, acknowledging that ‘if in the end the brightest jewel in the crown is to be taken from it, let it be so’.¹⁹⁸ Another missionary asserted that India was not the jewel in the crown of the British Empire, but the Jewel in God’s Crown.¹⁹⁹

Religious plurality and emerging theistic moralities

Missionary concerns and interactions with nationalism, therefore, guaranteed that schools and hostels would approach their students in religiously-plural and theistic ways. This was necessary in order to maximise missionary influence. Missionaries were unwitting constructive nationalists and, combined with the aims and intentions of mission schools, a religiously-plural atmosphere sphere was engendered. This was the ‘secular sphere’ which, as scholars have demonstrated, coexisted with ‘communal’ common sense—Indian society already possessed a degree of secularism.²⁰⁰ Some scholars²⁰¹ have argued that Christianity itself possesses innate proclivities towards secularisation. Anglican mission schools encounters with Hinduism and Islam were instances of Christianity itself, to a degree, being ‘toned down’ as a result of interaction with other religions. Missionary attempts at discussion with their students and India’s religious traditions were also representative of a subtle uneasiness with a rapidly secularising world. These evangelicals sought certainty and clarity in the tapestry of moralities and religions with which they came into contact. This witnessed both a refashioning and reconstitution of religion and morality within the enterprise.

The Indian case of secularism took on a theistic and almost deistic form. This was not secularism in the agnostic sense; religion was unmistakably important. It was a

¹⁹⁸ Cited in V. Ghosh, ‘The Dynamics of Scientific Culture under a Colonial State: Western India, 1823-1880’, unpub. PhD diss., London University, 1999, p. 54.

¹⁹⁹ M. Euker, ‘The Truth of Religions’, *The East and the West*, 1916, p. 199.

²⁰⁰ F. Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (Oxford, 2002), esp. pp. 380-1.

²⁰¹ B. Wilson, ‘The Process whereby Religious Thinking, Practice, and Institutions Lose Social Significance’, in B. Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London, 1966).

religiously plural ideal which was knit together under a predominant notion of general theism. It was also slightly reinforced by a humanistic morality—this was propagated by both mission schools and students. *The Pioneer* wrote that ‘the people of India are free to choose...whether Christian or not, its foundation will rest upon Christian principles’.²⁰² Yet rather than being indicative of the clandestine nature of secularism, this concealed the metamorphosis which missionary Christianity had undergone in India.

Missions schools felt it was necessary to both recognise and build upon what they considered an India composed of many faiths and creeds. They constructed curricula and wrote examination papers which were theistic and religiously-plural. Rev. Lawrence Meurvin of Bombay felt the need for a moral text for Indian students. He recognised that time for Bible instruction was scarce, and that a treatise on human ethics and universal morals would gain students’ approval, especially if it was part of examinations. He wished to have a textbook available that would be ‘free both from anti-religious tendencies and so to be in harmony with the feelings of educated Natives’.²⁰³ Meurvin proposed a theistic text based on the religious principles which were ‘admitted alike by Christians, Jews, Mohammedans and Hindus’.²⁰⁴ Rev. John Murdoch, who as mentioned submitted a reader for consideration, raised an eyebrow or two with his ‘Indian Empire Reader’. It was rejected by the Education Department for being too political; a few pages indicated that it was counterproductive to India’s nationhood for Indian Muslims to stand aloof from the Congress Party.²⁰⁵ Many of the papers for Allahabad University were also written by educational missionaries. One of the English Second Examination papers, written by Rev. J. Johnson, suggestively promoted theism

6—Give a precise statement of the following passage: When I consider the cheerful state of mind in is third relation, I cannot but look upon it as a constant habitual gratitude to the Great Author of Nature. An inward cheerfulness is an implicit praise and thanksgiving to Providence under all its dispensation. It is a kind of acquiescence to the state wherein we are placed and a secret approbation of the divine will in His conduct towards man.²⁰⁶

Thomas Carmichael of the CMS believed that the regeneration of India, that is in the form of a modern nation, should be significantly influenced by Christianity.²⁰⁷ One teacher at St. Stephen’s posited that ‘the unifying force of *religious approximation* is the

²⁰² CMD, 92, Reprint from the ‘Pioneer’, 12 December 1891, RHL.

²⁰³ HD, Ed. Files, No. 59-67, 1888, J. Ferguson, 5 November 1887, NAI.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, L. Meurvin, 12 September 1887, NAI.

²⁰⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 33-38, 1898, H. Luson, 28 February 1898, NAI.

²⁰⁶ *Allahabad University Calendar, 1891* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 225, UPSRR.

²⁰⁷ T. Carmichael, Annual Letters, 1888-9, pp. 77-80, BUL.

only thing which can weld...the peoples of India into a nation...I firmly believe that Missionary Colleges have a noble part to play in actualising this'.²⁰⁸

Mission schools and hostels were also in a better position to draw out the plurality of India than Government institutions. When some sought to identify 'Indianness' with Hinduism,²⁰⁹ and others aimed to further the interests of Muslims,²¹⁰ missionaries often enough emphasised India's religious plurality. They did this by taking a panoptic approach. Their selfishness and religocentricism was, in one sense, no different from that of the Arya Samaj and Deoband movements. They envisioned a role for themselves in building bridges between different religious communities and in minimising Hindu-Muslim ill-feeling (which was inimical to missionary influence). Consequently, they emphasised India's diversity and multiplicity not as a barrier to nationhood, but as a justification for it. Mission schools had more Muslims, percentage-wise, in their schools than Government institutions (c. 30% vs. 18%).²¹¹ The latter usually found a mission education preferable to the agnostic secular instruction of Government institutions. St. John's College was a case in point. Out of its 559 students, 19% were Muslim.²¹² This was much higher than in most Government colleges, where Muslims only made up about 8% of the students.²¹³ Mission schools may not have been explicit in their efforts to bridge strained Hindu-Muslim relations, but they did so in more subtle and nuanced ways. They did not wholly overcome these antagonisms, but checked their spread. Mission schools were thus more representative of the Indian nation than state-run schools. Rhetorically speaking, they could then serve as better instruments of nation-building than their Government counterparts. These schools and hostels may not have been explicitly bridging divides, but they nevertheless pursued this goal, albeit selfishly, under the banner of a religiously-pluralistic and often theistic morality. By the 1890s these ethos had come to dominate their institutions. Many outside of the mission enterprise attested to such subtle forms of nation-building. One ICS officer observed that mission education was forging a cohesive unity amongst Indians.²¹⁴ Shridar Ketkar

²⁰⁸ CMD, 31, 'Church Times', 21 May 1909, p. 7, RHL, italics are my own.

²⁰⁹ V. Dalmia, *The Nationalisation of Hindu Tradition: Bharatendu Harishchandra and Nineteenth Century Banaras* (New Delhi, 1997); see V. Dalmia, 'Harishchandra of Banaras, the reassessment of Vaisnava Bhakti in the late nineteenth century', in R.S. McGregor, *Devotional Literature in South Asia: Current Research, 1985-88* (Cambridge, 1992), esp. pp. 280-98, for Harishchandra's views towards Hinduism, Indian nationhood and religious pluralism.

²¹⁰ A.R. Khan, *The All-India Muslim Educational Conference: its Contribution to the Cultural Developments of Indian Muslims, 1886-1947* (Oxford, 2001).

²¹¹ S.K. Chaturvedi, 'Ashraf Identity in Early Urdu Fiction', M.Litt, Oxford University, 2002, p. 67.

²¹² *CMS Annual Review*, 1915-6, p. 108.

²¹³ Chaturvedi, p. 67.

²¹⁴ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1886, p. 61.

confided that missionaries were uniting Hindus and Muslims as 'Indians' rather than separate communities.²¹⁵ William Holland himself argued that Indian Hindus and Muslims had a common patriotism.²¹⁶ Missionaries also wrote examination papers which belied the colonial constructions of communal²¹⁷ identities. The Arabic afternoon paper for Allahabad University suggested that the author, Rev. H.M. Hackett, had in mind a desire to promote more amiable Hindu-Muslim relation. This was a paper which would have been taken primarily by Muslim students

Translate into Arabic: on leaving our mosque, where we had eaten, I saw a Hindu to whom I had spoke and found out that he was from Bombay, and was then a merchant in Aden...he told me that there was a temple in Aden—those of Mahadev, Hanuman and another, the name of which I had forgotten, all of which had been built by contributions from Hindus visiting the place.²¹⁸

Insistence upon separate communities of Hindus and Muslims took away a means of and reason for influence. This would hinder missionary influence and eliminate a need to step in and provide a 'neutral' influence. The Government system of education, with its unmistakable dominance by Hindus, had undoubtedly contributed to Muslim alienation and 'separatist' tendencies, especially amongst the *Ashraf* classes, who had long depended upon the state as a source of patronage and employment.²¹⁹ This was something which caused missionaries some anxiety, primarily for their own reasons. Schools and hostels did not downplay religious identities, but emphasised India's religious plurality. They did not envision or treat Muslims as a separate or 'imagined community' for political purposes. They were part and parcel of a multicultural India, even if missionaries devoted more attention and scholarly work towards Hindus and Indian Christians. Charles Andrews cited with approval a student who, although he never converted, went to extraordinary lengths to fraternise with Muslims as fellow Indians, rather than follow his father's advice and take a post under Government.²²⁰ This would 'continue and political and national aspirations should be encouraged, with a view to fostering a truly Indian national life to include all'.²²¹ John Haythornwaite spoke of Indian Muslims and Hindus as a 'brotherhood'²²² and argued that Hindu and Islamic schools, such as the Dayanand Anglo-Vernacular and Deoband Schools, would 'never be in

²¹⁵ S. Ketkar, *An Essay on Hinduism: its Formation and Future* (London, 1911), pp. 126-7.

²¹⁶ W.E.S. Holland, 'Indian versus English Virtues', *The East and the West*, 1909, pp. 306-7.

²¹⁷ G. Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Oxford, 1990).

²¹⁸ *Allahabad University Calendar, 1891* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 259, UPSRR.

²¹⁹ F.C.R. Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923* (London, 1974).

²²⁰ C.F. Andrews, *North India* (London, 1908), pp. 193-4.

²²¹ *Review*, Allahabad, January 1909, SVN, UPSA.

²²² *CMS Annual Review*, 1911-2, p. 84.

harmony with the national movement'.²²³ One missionary blamed Annie Besant for championing Theosophy over India's plurality of faiths. This was inimical to the nation.²²⁴

Mission schools also sent some of their students into the political arena, at either their own insistence or their teachers'. Here again, teachers and headmasters unwittingly contributed to nation-building in a desire to maximise their own ends. Influence in the colonial government, through a mission-educated Indian, was seen as an opportunity to set aright the sometimes very 'un-Christian' Government policies.²²⁵ Educationists were also worried that the secular nature of Government instruction encouraged students to become apolitical and apathetic towards Government. Educationists maintained that their non-statistical influence would be felt in the future, when India gained independence. In the meantime, they were vindicated with a few instances of former students who went on to lead political lives. Even though they rarely ended up becoming national leaders in the patriotic movement, they were often seen at the state level. One of Rev. Henry Tubb's former students, then a civil servant in the UP Government, approached him at a garden reception one afternoon and informed the teacher that his son was to enrol at St. John's, citing its moral and humanistic benefits.²²⁶ The editor of the *Hindustan*, an influential Hindi newspaper, was the product of a mission school.²²⁷ One student at St. John's went on to become a member of the UP Legislative Council. He petitioned the Education Department to increase its annual grant to the College, citing its civic and moral benefits to the Indian community.²²⁸ Most students who passed through St. Stephen's corridors went on to join both the Arya Samaj and more importantly the nationalist movement.²²⁹

In their drive to exert influence upon Indian students in the form of nation-building, educationists would inevitably seek to engage in a nation-building which was defined more by fusions of east and west than representations and imitations of a colonial and Anglicised elite. Again, this was primarily done in order to further evangelical interests. Mission schools aimed to temper forms of Indian political consciousness which rejected everything foreign. They aimed to train students in the morals and ethics of life which would be put to use in a future Indian state. Increasing missionary bellicosity towards

²²³ J.P. Haythornwaite, *Annual Letters*, 1910, p. 148, BUL.

²²⁴ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1899, p. 783.

²²⁵ CMD, 31, 'Church Times', 21 May 1909, p. 7, RHL.

²²⁶ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1912-3, p. 129.

²²⁷ H.W. Nevison, *The New Spirit in India* (London, 1908), p. 303.

²²⁸ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1912-3, p. 129.

²²⁹ N. Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth* (New Delhi, 1987), pp. 111-2.

Indian nationalism had more to do with its anti-foreignness rather than a rejection of Indian political aspirations in principle. Andrew Fraser was unequivocal in his insistence that India, as a land which would undoubtedly become a nation in time, should not copy the west: 'her future and glory will lie not in the imitation of ourselves and our life, but in being true to her own self, as God made her...our work, as Christian educators, will be to draw out and reveal her own highest character....[and a] desire to bring to light all that is pure and beautiful in her own national life and aspiration'.²³⁰ George Hibbert-Ware advised missionaries to prepare a textbook which would fuse the best of Indian and European tradition, and prepare India for her 'regeneration'.²³¹ Samuel Allnutt was aware of the new-found political consciousness of his Stephenian students. It was made up of 'complimentary forces, the result of the interaction between the East and the West'.²³² Edward Oakley and his students formed the Ramsay College Union, where they were urged to discuss politics and the 'current events of awakened India'. They held a theatre performance which included Julius Caesar and Hindi political-cum-social commentary on social reform.²³³ John Haythornwaite did not believe that Indian independence should be rushed, but that it should grow organically from Indian and European discussions. He wanted missionaries to interact with the young, educated generation.²³⁴ He wished to see this amongst his students at St. John's College.

Similar examples of this religiously tolerant morality abounded. It could at times be humanistic, in the sense that a degree of focus on humankind and the human condition over God and the spiritual was engendered. Indians themselves acknowledged these influences. A.J. Rau observed that mission success lay in its propagation of humanistic and theistic moralities rather than Christianity.²³⁵ Lala Lajpat Rai admitted that one of the greatest difficulties the Arya Samaj faced was the fact that Christian morals had taken on a universalistic and humanistic tone in India.²³⁶ A speech given by an educational official at Canning College was ridiculed by the *Hindustani* because it was given to separate Hindu and Muslim audiences. The editor remarked that it was a 'matter of surprise and regret that separate addresses were allowed...which in a way tended to strengthen...ill-will

²³⁰ A.G. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 35.

²³¹ *Shri Raghavendra*, Allahabad, September 1905, SVN, UPSA.

²³² CMD, 31, 'Church Times', 10 June 1910, p. 12, RHL.

²³³ North India Report, 1907, E.S. Oakley, SOASL.

²³⁴ St. John's College Prospectus and Report, 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²³⁵ A.J. Rau, *Christianity and Education in India, a Lecture* (Ramsgate, 1871), p. 17.

²³⁶ L.L. Rai, *The Arya Samaj: an Account of its Aims, Doctrine and Activities with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder* (London, 1915), pp. 261-83.

[between communities]'.²³⁷ William Holland envisioned a place for India which, rather than consigned to difference,²³⁸ would contribute to a worldly humanism and globalised community, albeit under strong evangelical influence. Its future was to contribute to the great mosaic of humanity. India must be 'developed to the utmost of its God-given genius and capacities, [she] must mean so much for the spiritual and intellectual enrichment of mankind'.²³⁹ In Jubulpur the hostel attached to the CMS high school was opened by Hindu students with both Vedic chants and Gospel readings.²⁴⁰ The Christian, Muslim and Hindu teachers at St. John's were called 'more Unitarian in their belief' than specifically Christian.²⁴¹ F.F. Monk admitted that he felt a great deal of satisfaction that the Sermon on the Mount provided 'a cosmopolitan ethical criteria'²⁴² for Indian students. Henry Squire refuted the criticism that mission schools which gave less time to religious instruction were necessarily bad. He reasoned that even if students never converted or accepted any basic tenets, 'they shall at least be taught the fundamental principles of faith in God and duty to man'.²⁴³ The motto for the CMS high school and hostel in Srinagar was 'In All Things Be Men'.²⁴⁴

The moralities engendered were not just limited to the eliteness of pure English education. There were a good many Anglo-Vernacular (AV) mission schools. A theistic and religiously-plural morality was therefore diffused by numerous less-known students into the hinterland. St. John's College, for instance, had a large attached Anglo-Vernacular Department.²⁴⁵ Many middle and high schools had attached AV sections. The CMS itself maintained over eight-five Anglo-Vernacular high schools all over UP.²⁴⁶ The LMS ran many Anglo-Vernacular schools in Rani Khet, Banaras, Almora, and Mizrapur. Most of these were either attached or served as branches in rural and remote areas.

Conclusion

One theme throughout this chapter has been the paramountcy of social and political developments within the educational enterprise. Mission schools by 1900 had lost their

²³⁷ *Hindustani*, Lucknow, 6 November 1895, SVN, UPSA.

²³⁸ R. Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford, 1990).

²³⁹ W.E.S. Holland, Annual Letters, 1908 p. 258, BUL.

²⁴⁰ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1900, p. 124.

²⁴¹ 'Meeting of the Educational Committee, 11 July 1902, E/C1/1, BUL.

²⁴² F.F. Monk, 'Evangelistic Work in Indian Mission Colleges', *The East and the West*, 1915, p. 76.

²⁴³ H. Squire, 'Missionary Education for non-Christians', 11 January 1889, Acc. 53/Z2, p. 5, BUL.

²⁴⁴ C. Biscoe, 'Seeing is Believing: a Scene in Kashmir', *The East and the West*, 1915, p. 280; also see C. Biscoe, 'School life in Kashmir', *The East and the West*, 1909 for similar examples.

²⁴⁵ 'Eleventh Report of the A.C.C.', 1905, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

pedagogic characteristics and were forced by circumstance, internal developments and evangelical selfishness to focus on non-educational and affective forms of knowledge. Hostels were seen as a key to maintaining missionary influence. Yet this was also informed by a rising student political consciousness. Student lodges became centres of religious pluralism and theism as a result of missionary efforts to maximise their influence. These were both preconditions and by-products of the educational enterprise. Mission schools and hostels as institutions understood and acted upon the opportunities they had in influencing a rising Indian generation. This was done out of selfish and Christocentric arrogance. Consequently, they unwittingly engaged in constructive nationalism. Students and teachers also informed this process, which was defined not so much by Christianity and religiosity, but by religious pluralism and at times humanistic morality. Yet this was not simply a story of colonial action and Indian reaction. Indians brought their own forms of religious pluralism into classrooms and hostels. The latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not, from a larger perspective, just simple stories of increasing religious divides. Religious plurality, knitted together by a theistic morality, defined much of Anglican missionary interaction with Indian students.

6 Failures of education: infrastructural limits and internal reproductions

The previous chapters have examined education from within, outlining the limits of pedagogic efficiency and the degrees to which the enterprise became dominated by larger social and political concerns. Schools and hostels came to rely upon personal relationships in order to maximise their influence. This gave mission institutions and interactions with Hinduism and Islam in late colonial India a strong secular feel, and made these schools more theistic and holistic rather than Christian. The structure of education seemed dominating and restrictive. Yet on closer inspection, it rested upon a tenuous and shaky infrastructure. The very conducive atmospheres which were to give mission schools their religious character were as elusive as the converts for which their benefactors hoped. Mission schools had to deal with the creeping pressures of examinations and demands of the Education Department and Allahabad University. A closer analysis reveals that such a scenario was inimical to both Christian morals and general spirituality. Ultimately, the diffusion of western and useful knowledge was fragmented, underfunded and heavily dependent upon Indian agency. Indians appropriated, altered and reproduced the very means of pedagogy.

Compromised aims: missionary finances and Government reliance

Missionary educationists had their activities constrained in a myriad of ways. One of the most important was in relation to finance. This was intricately related not only to the composition of their student and teacher bodies, but also to their reliance upon Government for financial backing. Missionary educationists' ability to be persuasive agents of Christianity was further restricted by the fact that, much like the Department upon which they were dependent, schools were fiscally restricted in the activities they could undertake. Neither did it have the desire to undertake an aggressive evangelical policy nor the means to do so. Missionary dependence upon state funds as a means of subsidisation hindered the aims of mission schools from the onset. This was due to the

very infrastructure they built. As one missionary remarked, 'the whole question [of education] is a financial one'.¹

Mission schools were subject to the vicissitudes of the labour and education markets. Inadequate missionary finances made schools further dependent upon, and consequently constrained by, Government. The home mission authorities may have been led to initially believe that the acceptance of Government money 'in no way interfered with the missionary objects of the school',² and that the state, as representative of a Christian nation, would not actively undermine their educational enterprise. However they were unable to comprehend the inherent difficulties and constraints which mission schools faced, and cared primarily for more ostentatious returns on their money in the way of converts. Thus, missions had to dress-up and popularise their rhetoric, much in the same way that Britain's empire was by the beginning of the twentieth century.³ What teachers and principals told their home audience was therefore less informed by missionaries' own convictions and more by the need to secure solvency for their schools. When John Haythornwaite travelled to London to solicit funds for educational missions in north India, he was rebuffed by an individual on the ground that the CMS was 'unable to do anything' with his money.⁴ Rev. S.A. Barnett, emblematic of missionaries less-involved with India, complained by asking why money from Church goers should be used to enable Indians to gain Government posts.⁵ Donors to the mission cause became increasingly parsimonious, when it was felt that their money did not produce converts. They cared little for non-statistical progress and hostel work. One missionary admitted that it was difficult justifying funds spent on hostels to his home audience,⁶ whilst Henry Squires observed that 'those who advocate missionary education most ardently are those who have [actually] engaged in it themselves'.⁷

Most mission schools were subsidised by the Government to a substantial and binding degree. Grants normally covered anywhere between 30% and 60% of non-fee based revenue.⁸ This was important, for non-fee derived revenue exacerbated schools'

¹ Ellwood to H. Durrant, 10 April 1895, G2/I7/O, BUL.

² Educational Sub-Committee, 'Regulations on Education', n.d., Educational Auxiliary, E/C1/1, BUL.

³ J. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: the Manipulation of British Public Opinion* (Manchester, 1984).

⁴ J. Haythornwaite to Allahabad C.C., 18 August 1895, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁵ S.A. Barnett, *The Contemporary Review*, Jan/June 1892, p. 514.

⁶ CLR, Westcott to Tucker, 28 September 1899, p. 69, RHL.

⁷ H.C. Squire, 'Missionary Education for non-Christians', 11 January 1889, Acc. 53/Z2, p. 12, BUL.

⁸ There were four conditions to receive aid: to have competent and trustworthy management; to be a stable institution, not prone to volatile fluctuations; to demonstrate that the institution can supply a distinct and unique need; that the teaching staff was adequate. The reports which were sent to the Education Department had to include a comprehensive list of the following: the name(s) of person(s)

dependence upon Government. Mission schools would therefore subject themselves to the pressures of examination. This ensured that mission schools had to give more attention to the secular matters of education rather than the religious component they were paid to propagate. Andrew Fraser admitted that mission schools were ‘compelled by starvation to accept as the directors of their policy abroad Government officials who may or may not be hostile, but who, however sympathetic, are never free to throw themselves heartily into the realisation of our object and aim’.⁹

Table 13: Sources of (non-fee) revenue, Rs., in select Mission Schools:¹⁰

School	GIA	Other	GIA as %
CMS HS, Lucknow	1,750	1,968	47
CMS Branch Schools, Lal, Nahari	220	733	23
CMS School, Jubulpur	378	373	50
CMS School, Jaunpur	1800	873	67
CMS District School, Basti	--	--	63
CMS AV School, Faizabad	446	275	62
LMS HS, Almora	--	--	65
Ramsay College	--	--	50
LMS School, Rhani Khet	--	--	60
CMS Schools, Gorakpur	50	170	30
St. John’s College	4,800	7387	40
SPG Banda School	35	126	20

Mission schools were dependent upon the Department for other projects, such as the Hostel constructed for St. John’s College. This residence had been thought up by John Haythornwaite, and had a third of its cost subsidised by a Government grant.¹¹ And in 1908 the CMS Lucknow High School received a special grant of Rs. 3,000 to construct a

responsible for management; the class or level of school; resources hitherto available; names and salaries of instructors; textbooks to be used; dimensions and suitability of buildings, and their scholastic regulations. The amount of the grant was to be determined by the funds available, the type of education given, the average number of pupils enrolled and, ultimately, the reports of the Inspectors themselves; without being open to inspection, a school could not expect to be considered for aid. The grant given was not exclusively earmarked for tuition or general expenses. Funds could also be given for furniture, hostel beds, laboratory equipment, and, in some cases even Remington Type-A typewriters. See Report by the NWP and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence taken Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission (Calcutta, 1884), pp. 87-110.

⁹ A.G. Fraser, ‘The Place and Policy of Educational Missions’, 1907, H/H5/E2, p. 5, BUL.

¹⁰ Author’s calculations, from *Allahabad University Calendar, 1891* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 140-1, 157-9, UPSRR; ‘A Short Sketch of CMS Work in Lucknow’, 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL; J.A. Warren to A.H. Wright, 10 July 1897, G2/I7/O, BUL; W. Sanders to C. Gill, 9 March 1900, G2/I7/O, BUL; R.J. Kennedy, G2/I7/O, BUL; ‘CMS Agra 1905: Pastoral and Evangelistic Report’, 1905, G2/I7/O, BUL; North India, 1906, Annual Report, E.S. Oakley, SOASL; North India, 1896, Annual Report, G.M. Bulloch, SOASL; North India, 1887, Annual Report, G.M. Bulloch, SOASL; ‘Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain’s Free School’, 1880, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 24, BUL; J.M. Paterson to H. Durrant, 26 February 1895, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹¹ ‘Recommendations of Group Committee’, 20 December 104, G2/I7/L6, BUL.

science laboratory, without which the Education Department stated that the school would not be efficient.¹² The Jaunpur Mission School cost Rs. 10,000 to open in 1873; Government covered half the initial cost.¹³

Schools were pressured to conform to Departmental standards and enhance their own prestige with their Government-connected credibility and semblance of legitimacy. The CMS high school in Narhai, for instance, had to compete with a new Government school. Rev. Stanley Morse, the headmaster, received a letter from Edward Richardson offering the School an increased grant if it concentrated more of its educational expenditure in urban centres.¹⁴ Morse's school was perpetually running on the cheap, and he grudgingly referred to the letter as one of 'disproportionate persuasion'.¹⁵ A grant was offered to Christ Church College if it hired a fourth European instructor. The SPG was both unable and unwilling to do this.¹⁶

Government was also unflinching when it came to control over textbooks. The Home Department asserted that 'financial assistance and control ought to go together',¹⁷ and that 'control is as necessary as freedom...[but] control must rest with the Departmental'.¹⁸ The Department had clear control over the textbooks used in mission schools. Government could withdraw grants on the account of 'offensive' or 'insulting' texts. One Home Department official asserted that 'if Government helps a school with a grant-in-aid it is clearly entitled to demand that a proper system of education is pursued in it, and that suitable textbooks are used'.¹⁹

Even hostels, seen as the most effective way of influencing young Indian pupils, were also prey to such fiscal shortcomings. The earnestness with which George Westcott petitioned and worked to erect a hostel for Hindu and Muslim students was by 1902 to no avail. This hostel, which was to be attached to the very school of which Westcott was headmaster, could not solicit grants for its construction costs. He expressed his 'regret at the Society's inability to aid in building a hostel for students at Cawnpore'.²⁰ Rev. Henry Tubbs, of the CMS, desired to open a hostel for Hindus and Muslims in Gorakpur. But when the CMS could not give him any funds, he was forced to borrow £500 from a friend,

¹² 'A Short Sketch of CMS Work in Lucknow', 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹³ W. Sanders to C. Gill, 9 March 1900, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁴ E.A. Richardson to S.R. Morse, 16 March 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 612, 1899, GIA to Christ Church College, Kanpur, UPSA.

¹⁷ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-105, 1909, H.G. Stokes, 26 October 1908, NAI.

¹⁸ HD, Ed. Files, No. 5-7, 1890, C.J. Lyall, 5 December 1890, NAI.

¹⁹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 25-36, 1900, C.M. Rivaz, 30 August 1899, NAI.

²⁰ CLR, 53, Minutes, October 1900 to February 1902, RHL.

whom he paid back after annual profits from St. Andrew's College.²¹ Andrew Birkett, working at the Lucknow high school, found his institution so strapped for cash that he even paid for new school buildings out of his own pocket.²² Edward Heansley, teaching in Jubulpur, had to purchase Rs. 100 worth of science equipment out of his own salary in order to satisfy Departmental requirements.²³

Marginalisation of religion: examination and secularisation pressures

It was not just financial considerations which detracted from the effectiveness of missionary education. These schools also failed to influence their pupils because of the palpable pressures enforced upon them by the Education Department. School finances were dependent upon Government and would be subjected to the secularising and examination forces to which they, as recipient of Government money, would inevitably become bound. They had to conform to particular regulations which all but guaranteed that examinations were given a priority at the expense of spiritual discussion and Biblical pedagogy. Ironically, this was due to the inherent structure of the enterprise missions built up themselves; it vitiated its own religiosity. The Government connection had a greater effect than anyone could have anticipated. This 'secularisation' of the classroom was also informed by the educational system's larger infrastructural shortcomings.

Examination pressures were high and palpable. In UP examinations were more numerous than in other provinces. This encouraged cramming and cramped out time for religious and spiritual discourse.²⁴ In fact, students in UP had to face six different sets of examinations before the age of twenty-one. This was higher than in any other province.²⁵ At Allahabad University, students were required to take two when at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras only one was required.²⁶ William Boufflower reported at the Shimla Conference (1901) that Allahabad covered more subjects than any other university, which put an unusual amount of pressure on its students.²⁷ This was even recognised by the presses far away in both Madras and even Burma not only as excessive by Indian standards but also as detrimental to students.²⁸ Many instances were cited of students who

²¹ Educational Sub-Committee Minutes, 15 March 1911, Educational Auxiliary, E/C1/1, BUL.

²² A.J. Birkett, 16 September 1904, Précis Book, G2I6/P2, BUL.

²³ E.A. Heansley to C. Gill, 27 November 1902, G2I6/O, BUL.

²⁴ HD, Ed. Files, No. 66-69, 1900, NAI.

²⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 25-27, 1899, J.S. Cotton, NAI.

²⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 47-61, 1901, M. Boufflower, NAI.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ HD, Ed. Files, No. 25-27, 1899, J.S. Cotton, 'Madras Mail', 19 April 1999, 'The Rangoon Times', 17 April 1899, NAI.

had lost unhealthy amounts of weight during their schooling and suffered from serious malnutrition; half of all students developed short-sightedness.²⁹ Hindi and Urdu newspapers cited examples of underweight, malnourished students who had lost their entire personality.³⁰ Many students double-enrolled, taking both a degree and professional course, usually in law.³¹

At a larger religious level, mission schools' Government connection also encouraged schools to become more defined by their plurality and theistic morality rather than their religious orientation. This was largely a result of the pressures of examination, which affected the spiritual character of mission schools. Teachers spent so much time reviewing course material that Bible lessons, the distinguishing factor of mission schools, were steadily marginalised and phased out. Schools had to impart moralities which were wide-ranging and universalistic, rather than specifically Christian. Preparations for examinations were called 'an almost crushing burden',³² whilst one Allahabad newspaper observed that mission schoolteachers had 'partialities for a plurality of offices'.³³

Nearly all mission schools fell victim to this squeeze. The Hindu hostel at Jay Narain's College had to cancel its Bible lessons many times on account of preparing for examinations,³⁴ whilst LMS schools in the Murshidabad district rarely gave them consistently,³⁵ and other mission schools at most once per week.³⁶ At the CMS high school in Lucknow, John Ellwood reported that only thirty minutes of Bible instruction could be given to the entire school weekly,³⁷ only thirty minutes every other day in the Gorakpur H.S.,³⁸ and infrequently at Christ Church College.³⁹ Religious instruction was made optional at the Ghaziabad Middle School,⁴⁰ the CMS high school in Meerut,⁴¹ the CMS School in Peshawar,⁴² and the CMS high school in Lucknow.⁴³ Other schools found themselves in similar situations. Even St. John's College found it increasingly difficult

²⁹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1902, p. 199.

³⁰ *Zamana*, Kanpur, December 1909; *Rohilkand Gazette*, Bareilly, 1 January 1901; *Arya Samanchar*, Meerut, 20 September 1901; *Anis-i-Hind*, Meerut, 2 March 1898; *Hindi Pradip*, Allahabad, September 1892, SVN, UPSA.

³¹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 23-38, 1895, T.C. Lewis, 1 July 1895, NAI.

³² *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1911-2, p. 84.

³³ *Indian People*, Allahabad, 3 April 1903, SVN, UPSA.

³⁴ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1912-3, p. 130.

³⁵ North India Report, 1902, O. Stursberg, SOASL.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1905, M.J. Cockerton, SOASL.

³⁷ J. Ellwood, Annual Letters, 1903, p. 417, BUL.

³⁸ 'Meeting of the Educational Committee', 11 July 1902, E/C1/1, BUL.

³⁹ D-Series, 190, No. 1/56, Bishop of Lucknow to Montgomery, 15 July 1909, RHL.

⁴⁰ W.G. Proctor, Annual Letters, 1903, pp. 443-4, BUL.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1892, p. 394, BUL.

⁴² W. Jones, 'On Educational Missions', *CMS Intelligencer*, April 1889, p. 220.

⁴³ 'A Short Sketch of CMS Work in Lucknow', 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

to give religious instruction regularly. Rev. James Carpenter, before the CMS Educational Subcommittee, confided that by 1908 there was in fact no regular Bible instruction given; any claims to the contrary were designed to attract badly-needed funds.⁴⁴ Where religious instruction was still haphazardly given, it had to be done in the form of public lectures, which tended to detract from the very personal intercourse for which mission schools aimed. Bible teaching had become so cramped by regular coursework and preparations for examinations at St. John's that it now had to be imparted to the entire school, in one giant auditorium, for thirty minutes daily.⁴⁵ Andrew Fraser admitted that 'too often we produce mere candidates for examinations',⁴⁶ and that he spent most of his time on bookkeeping, bureaucracy and serving his students at tables.⁴⁷

The effects of examinations upon missions schools' religiosity was also acknowledged by outsiders. Roper Lethbridge, an instructor at Hooghly and Presidency Colleges, suggested that mission schools were usually Christian in name only and that he would be hard pressed to name a school which regularly gave an hour of Scripture teaching.⁴⁸ Secularising pressures led mission schools to marginalise their spirituality and religiosity. Inspector J.M. Tagore observed that Christian morality was not necessarily palpable and that 'the standard of morality and discipline there [mission schools] is not in any degree higher than in the Government or private schools...the pupils of the missionaries are not found to be more orderly, respectful or obedient than the students of the schools conducted on secular principles'.⁴⁹ Some mission teachers were not even aware that Bible instruction was required.⁵⁰ Missionaries recognised that it was 'not only in our schools that the acceleration is felt. Every branch of human activity shows it'.⁵¹

At times the demands of the Education Department forced schools to hire more European teachers than they wanted. Missions did not want nominal or agnostic European Christians as teachers. This was argued on the grounds of efficiency, and also prevented schools from being as 'Christian' as they hoped, for not all Europeans in Government employment were keen evangelicals. Rev F. Longman of the LMS high school in Mizrapur felt that the necessity of keeping pace with Government schools forced missions

⁴⁴ Educational Sub-Committee, 'Regulations on Education', 18 December 1909, Educational Auxiliary, E/C1/1, BUL; 'Report of Sub-committee appointed by Group No. 11 Committee of May 13 to Consider Present and Future Arrangements for St. John's College, Agra', G2/I7/0, 1908, No. 176, BUL.

⁴⁵ J.F. Robertson, Annual Letters, 1888-9, p. 74, BUL.

⁴⁶ A.G. Fraser, 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement', *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 38.

⁴⁷ A.G. Fraser, 'The Place and Policy of Educational Missions', 1907, H/H5/E2, p. 5, BUL.

⁴⁸ R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India* (London, 1882), p. 104.

⁴⁹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 36-39, 1888, J.M. Tagore, 5 December 1887, NAI.

⁵⁰ Report of R. Macdonald, 8 November 1904, Educational Auxiliary, E/C1/1, BUL.

⁵¹ A.E. Birkett to Machonochie, 29 November 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

schools to hire more Hindus, Muslims and agnostic Europeans than they would like. And even though this was undesirable, he understood that they nevertheless had to go along with the times.⁵² The CMS schools in Jubulpur, for instance, were staffed with what missionaries considered fine Indian workers. But in order to maintain the current grant they received, they had to let them go and hire European teachers in their stead.⁵³ At the CMS high school in Basti, the Department pressured the school to hire another European teacher due to 'inefficiency', and tempted the school with an increased grant from Rs. 50 to 75 per month.⁵⁴ St. Andrew's College also had its grant revoked for similar reasons, forcing the College to hire another European instructor.⁵⁵ It was trying to keep most of its Indian teachers, but the Department offered it Rs. 40,000 for new buildings and an annual grant of Rs. 1,000 if it hired three more Europeans.⁵⁶ When all aided schools had to raise their fees in 1887, John Hewlett protested vehemently, and saw enrolment at the LMS College in Banaras drop by one hundred students,⁵⁷ whilst the Ramsay College saw a similar decrease.⁵⁸ St. John's found itself in a similar situation. Not only did it wish to have more Indian Christians on its teaching staff, but their receipt of aid, as a first-rate BA College, was required by the Departmental to have four Europeans.⁵⁹ The problem, however, was that the CMS could simply not afford another European who would demand a salary of at least Rs. 150 per month; this was much more than the average of Rs. 30.⁶⁰ The grant which the CMS high school in Meerut received was reduced on similar grounds.⁶¹

Rote memorisation, an outcome of examination pressures, had also come to dominate the character of such schools. Teachers praised their students for their fine and remarkable memories, but this prevented students from comprehending and digesting much of the material that was to influence them. This encouraged student to learn through a 'surface approach',⁶² which meant that students were routinely memorising facts and figures, rather than critically engaging with the material being taught ('deep approach')—the latter was requisite for the aims of mission and general pedagogy. This itself was the very result

⁵² *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1907, p. 62.

⁵³ J.A. Warren to Ellwood, 8 July 1898, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁵⁴ A.H. Wright to H. Durrant, 4 August 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ ACC Proceedings, 20 January 1915, G2/I7/P3, BUL.

⁵⁷ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1888, pp. 80-1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1896, p. 71.

⁵⁹ J. Haythornwaite to Subcommittee for Education, 24 April 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ H. Durrant to W. Gray, 1 August 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁶² F. Marton, R. Säljö, 'On Qualitative Differences in Learning. 1—Outcome and Process', *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 46, pp. 4-11.

of the manner in which these educational institutions were built up. This critical analysis and learning process, instrumental to the mission school and its superiority as vindicated by its curriculum, was therefore minimal. Many mission teachers and Indian observers took note of this. One student found himself in a 'state of acute intellectual distress' when a moral maxim was found to be different between Miruvali's *History of the Romans* and Bacon's *Essays*; the student could not see that there was more to the lessons than the memorisation of the passages.⁶³ At the Bulandshahr CMS School students answered questions 'without any thought...repeated too mechanically'.⁶⁴ And even if moral and religious dictums were memorised, this did not mean that they were necessarily understood. Henry Douglas sighed, observing that 'the Christianity thus achieved by rote is in almost every case of this parrot nature...their consciences are removed from the knowledge which they so glibly utter'.⁶⁵ For Douglas, textual religious instruction was the equivalent of 'casting pearls before swine', for most students neither understood nor digested the religious lessons.⁶⁶ These sentiments were shared by many other schoolteachers, and even those in Government institutions.⁶⁷

The pressures of examination and the engendering of 'surface learning' also encouraged a blind submissiveness amongst students. This complicated mission efforts to encourage free-thinking in spiritual and scholastic matters. Mission teachers may have commended their students for their 'moderate' behaviour, especially when compared to those in Bengal, but this did not necessarily help the aims of a mission school. Students took orders blindly, rather than think for themselves. Some were particularly frustrated with the perennial question of *sarkar ka hukam kya hai* (what is the Sahib's wish/order)?⁶⁸ And it was because of this very pressure that students were forced to such memorisation. Lessons were absorbed as pieces of information which were rarely understood and questioned. Indian students, Leonard Alston observed, excelled in memorising 'many valueless facts'⁶⁹ and following instructions to a par.

Pressures were high because substandard marks or poor maintenance could financially jeopardise a school. In most cases pressure to achieve Departmental efficiency was paramount, for a poor inspector's report could either lessen or cancel a grant. Mission

⁶³ L. Alston, *Education and Citizenship in India* (London, 1910), p. 67.

⁶⁴ Aligarh Gleanings, 1 August 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

⁶⁵ H. Douglas, *Missions in India: the Religious Education of Unbelievers* (London, 1877), p. 63.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁷ E. Arnold, *Education in India: a Letter from the ex-Principal of an Indian Government College to His Appointed Successor* (London, 1860); R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India* (London, 1882);

⁶⁸ A.E. Johnston, 'Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain's Free School', 1898, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 15, BUL.

⁶⁹ L. Alston, *Education and Citizenship in India* (London, 1910), p. 67.

schools, as Andrew Fraser admitted, were ‘bound by poverty to the Government grant, [and] have scarcely ever had an educational policy of their own’.⁷⁰ Henry Durrant understood that the CMS was at the mercy of the Education Department and even suggested that the whole *raison d’être* of education should be questioned.⁷¹ Rev. John Warren observed that the Departmental was ‘most exacting in its demands and anything but generous in its grants’.⁷²

There was also a social component to mission schools’ constraints. The loss of aid or Departmental recognition was also complicated by factors in Indian society. Schools which had poor test results would suffer in reputation. Students would go where education was affordable and more likely to guarantee a ‘pass’ and future employment. At the CMS UP Conference in March of 1909, this was the dominating concern. Rev. John Warren warned that ‘unless these schools receive such grants they must eventually lose their High School standing’.⁷³ It was admitted that ‘were our institutions cut off entirely from our connection with Government they would probably lose in prestige and attractiveness for the scholars we most wish to secure’.⁷⁴ John Haythornwaite stated that ‘so long as Mission Schools and Colleges maintain the necessary standard, there will be no difficulty in securing good attendance’.⁷⁵ J.P. Hewlett admitted that his school would not be attended if it did not keep pace with Government.⁷⁶ This issue had already been addressed by William Gray, who feared that the intellectual education would win out over a spiritual one since it was much easier to ‘win the applause of [Hindu and Muslim students] by the achievements of scholarship’.⁷⁷ Rev. A.E. Johnston of Jay Narain’s College felt the palpable pressures from examination and even ‘hesitated to offer up at such times distinctively Christian prayers’,⁷⁸ fearful that his students might rebel. Andrew Wright’s school had to excel in secular subjects such as physics, chemistry and literature, lest its students leave for where they would have better prospects.⁷⁹ Rev. Worthington Jones in Peshawar failed to present a few pupils for examination and these students consequently left for another school.⁸⁰ Henry Gill observed that the other two high schools, the

⁷⁰ A.G. Fraser, ‘Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement’, *The East and the West*, 1908, p. 38.

⁷¹ H. Durrant to Grey, 11 May 1894, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁷² J.A. Warren to Ellwood, 8 July 1898, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁷³ J.A. Warren, ‘CMS Annual Report of Work in Meerut District and Ghaziabad’, 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁷⁴ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1905, p. 7.

⁷⁵ J. Haythornwaite to Machonochie, 20 November 1902, G2/I6/O, BUL.

⁷⁶ North India Reports, 1884, J. Hewlett, SOASL.

⁷⁷ W. Gray to G.B. Durrant, 1 August 1894, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

⁷⁸ A.E. Johnston, ‘Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain’s Free School’, 1898, H/H5/E1/I11, pp. 10-11, BUL.

⁷⁹ A.H. Wright, Memo, 1892, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁸⁰ W. Jones, ‘On Educational Missions’, *CMS Intelligencer*, April 1889, p. 220.

Arjunman Muslim School, and the Heetkari Sabha Hindu School, would pinch students from under their influence if they did not achieve 'acceptable' examination marks.⁸¹ Edwin Greaves and other missionary educationists were 'badgered' in Kachwa if they failed to command the prestige of either Government or money—they would lose students.⁸² Andrew Gill was perpetually concerned that mission schools would suffer in reputation if they failed to have successful candidates and keep their connection with Government.⁸³

Shortcomings of personal influence: demographic realities and imparters of knowledge

At a larger level, mission schools were popular and extensively sought after in northern India. Yet beneath the surface it did not function effectively as a missionary vehicle. The established requisite for such education to be effective as a Christian influence was absent. The marked paucity of Christian teachers seriously hampered the efficacy of mission schools as religious institutions. Rather than being irrelevant to the impartation of knowledge,⁸⁴ the impact and efficacy of mission education was in fact determined by who taught it. Tenuous finances not only subjected schools to the forces of examination and made them strikingly secular, but this also ensured that they were unable to afford the types of teachers necessary for their intentions. Missionary desires to make education more the purview of Indians ironically turned out to be true. Missionary educationists ultimately failed to prepare an environment wherein the very purpose of their educational mission was to be realised. The demographic reality of mission schools, combined with the creeping pressures of secularisation, allowed students to thwart its originators' intentions. If the power of the text was now relegated, and the primacy of personal influence championed, then mission schools were unable to provide a setting in which they could realise their goals. Combined with the mercy at which Indian agency put them, schools' general attitudes of religious tolerance and theism were as much a by-product as they were preconditions of the educational enterprise.

Upon closer inspection, these institutions were handicapped demographically in both their student bodies and teaching staff. In fact most Government schools and colleges had a higher percentage of Europeans and Christians on their teaching staff than mission

⁸¹ Gill to CMS Secretary, Allahabad, 15 December 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁸² *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1895, p. 75.

⁸³ Gill to CMS Secretary, Allahabad, 15 December 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁸⁴ K. Kumar, *The Political Agenda of Education: a Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideals* (New Delhi, 1991).

schools. Mission schools were more Indian than anything else. The CMS in 1888 already admitted the inefficacy and shortcomings of their own schools.⁸⁵ U.S. Rawat, an Indian convert, reasoned that ‘it goes without saying that a mission school where almost all of the lecturers are [either Muslim or Hindu] cannot fulfil its chief object’.⁸⁶ Rev. Henry Squire observed that Christian influence was thoroughly lacking in mission schools due to the paucity of Christian instructors.⁸⁷ Lala Lajpat Rai argued that the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College in Lahore (DAV) was distinguished from English and Anglo-Vernacular schools by its teaching staff being entirely Indian.⁸⁸ Yet mission schools were not terribly different. Demographic realities and the subjection of schools to the vagaries of student temperament put the educational enterprise more in the hand of Indians than Europeans. The latter could at times be the subservient partner.

Hindus and Muslims dominated the ranks of schools. They composed usually around 85% of the teaching staff and settled for smaller salaries than Europeans and Indian Christians. Most mission schools had at least four Hindus and Muslims, pundits and moulvies with assistants on their staff. European Christians were already deemed too expensive, whilst educated Indian converts tended to be dissatisfied with salaries lower than Europeans and on par with Hindus and Muslims. The CMS Educational Committee observed that they had higher expectations ‘as to dress and expensive tastes...the Christian teacher gets a higher pay only because he had a higher market value—the demand is greater than the supply’.⁸⁹ They usually had to be paid at least Rs. 80 per month, whilst Hindus and Muslims would easily work for Rs. 40 or less.⁹⁰ The UP Missionary Conference in 1906 addressed this very problem, and resolved to hire more European Christian teachers.⁹¹ But at the same time it understood that not only was it impossible from a financial perspective, but also because it would prove inhibiting to the very close, personal atmospheres which mission schools were supposed to have created.⁹² George Westcott told Henry Tucker that it would be indispensable to have a Christian Headmaster at the SPG Banda Mission School. The only problem, however, was that it would cost the

⁸⁵ ‘Resolution on Higher Education in India’, G2/I7/P2, BUL.

⁸⁶ North India Report, 1914, U.S. Rawat, SOASL.

⁸⁷ H.C. Squire, ‘Missionary Education for non-Christians’, 11 January 1889, Acc. 53/Z2, p. 7, BUL; Roman Catholic schools, with their higher percentage of Christian teachers, were amongst the best in India. Robert Clark of the Punjab wrote that ‘the best schools in many places in India are now those of the Roman Catholics’, which had higher percentages of Christian teachers, R. Clark, 13 December 1893, G2/I4/L2, BUL.

⁸⁸ L.L. Rai, *The Arya Samaj: an Account of its Aims, Doctrine and Activities with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder* (London, 1915), p. 189.

⁸⁹ ‘Meeting of the Educational Committee’, 11 July 1902, E/C1/1, BUL.

⁹⁰ Gill to CMS Secretary, Allahabad, 15 December 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL.

⁹¹ Memo by P. Webber in Allahabad, 20 August 1906, G2/I7/L6, BUL.

⁹² *Ibid.*

Society dearly; even by 1910 the slot was never filled.⁹³ At the Dera Ismail Khan CMS high school, the CMS was unable to obtain a Christian headmaster for years on account of a salary of Rs. 80 per month; none would settle for less than Rs. 140.⁹⁴ In the Punjab only fifty-nine out of the 262 CMS teachers were Christian.⁹⁵ The Banda Mission School of the SPG,⁹⁶ was without a Christian Headmaster. Even in 1880, there was no resident missionary at Jay Narain's School in Banaras.⁹⁷ There were no resident European or Indian missionaries at the Azamgarh high school.⁹⁸ At the CMS high school, Basti, there was only a single Christian teacher at the school. He was the Headmaster and could barely find time to teach Classes IX and X, leaving I through VIII to be taught by Hindus and Muslims.⁹⁹ In 1893 the CMS high school, Azamgarh, was without a single resident missionary.¹⁰⁰

Table 14: Teacher Demographics in select CMS Mission Schools:¹⁰¹

School	Total	Christ.	Others
St. John's College	9	2	7
St. Andrew's College	7	1	6
St. John's A-V School	24	7	17
High School, Azamgarh	15	6	9
_____, Basti	17	4	13
_____, Jai Narain's	28	8	20
_____, St. Andrew's	19	3	16
_____, Jaunpur (2)	16	3	13
_____, Agra Girls'	2	1	1
_____, Lucknow	17	4	13
_____, Meerut	18	5	13
Middle School, Agra (2)	12	4	8
_____, Sikanderabad	5	2	3
_____, Ayodhya	5	3	2
_____, Chunar	5	1	4
_____, Gorakpur	16	3	13
_____, Ghaziabad	11	3	8
_____, Generalganj	16	4	12
Jay Narain's Free School	33	5	28
Total	305	69	236

⁹³ D-Series, 121b, No. 1659, Westcott to Tucker, 28 July 1897, RHL.

⁹⁴ W. Thwaites to R. Clark, 20 June 1889, G2/I4/L2, BUL.

⁹⁵ C. Atchinson, 30 August 1888, G2/I4/P2, BUL.

⁹⁶ CLR, 43, Bishop of Lucknow to H. Tucker, 2 September 1898, pp. 16-17, RHL.

⁹⁷ 'Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain's Free School', 1880, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 24, BUL.

⁹⁸ A.E. Johnston, 'Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain's Free School', 1898, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 14, BUL.

⁹⁹ A. Wright, 22 August 1904, Précis Book, G2I6/P2, BUL.

¹⁰⁰ H. Durrant to E. Baring-Gould, 23 August 1893, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁰¹ Author's calculations, from Eleventh Report of the A.C.C., 1906, G2/I7/O, BUL; D-Series, 121b, No. 15200, no author, RHL; 'Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain's Free School', 1888, H/H5/E1/I11, pp. i-ii, BUL; *Allahabad University Calendar, 1891* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 446, UPSRR.

Table 15: Teacher Demographics in select LMS Mission Schools:¹⁰²

School	Total	Christ.	Others
Ramsay College	32	2	30
College, Banaras	22	2	20
High School, Mizrapur	20	3	17
Total	74	7	67

Table 16: Teacher Demographics in select SPG Mission Schools:¹⁰³

School	Total	Christ.	Others
Christ Church College	14	4	10
Banda School	14	4	10
Total	28	8	20

In addition to the paucity of Christian teachers throughout the missionary educationist enterprise, the lack of fellow pupils also detracted from the very ‘influencing examples’ of Christian students. Mission teachers found their schools lacked the influence of Christian pupils to serve as a motivation for religious speculation, spiritual curiosity and examples of ‘Christian morality’. Robert Wilson estimated that the ratio of Hindus and Muslims to Christian students, at the most, was three to one.¹⁰⁴ Edward Hensley recalled that of all the 537 students at the CMS high school Jubulpur, he could account for all the Christian students with both his hands.¹⁰⁵ At the Bulandashar CMS School, there was but one Christian student amongst eighty-nine other students.¹⁰⁶ Even at the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, which supposedly had a most ‘conducive Christian’ atmosphere, there were never more than two Christians at any given time compared to almost two hundred Hindus and Muslims.¹⁰⁷ The LMS high school in Banaras had a few Christian students amongst its two hundred.¹⁰⁸

Table 17: Student Demographics in select CMS Mission Schools:¹⁰⁹

School	Total	Christ.	Others
Middle, Generalganj	225	1	224
Jay Narain’s College	508	30	478
Azamgarh HS	106	4	102
Total	839	35	804

Table 18: Student Demographics in select LMS Mission Schools:¹¹⁰

School	Total	Christ.	Others
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¹⁰² Author’s calculations, from *Allahabad University Calendar, 1891* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 140-1, 157-9, UPSRR.

¹⁰³ Author’s calculations, from D-Series, 129d, No. 15311, Westcott to Tucker, 10 May 1899, RHL; D-Series, 121b, No. 15311, RHL.

¹⁰⁴ R.S. Wilson, *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India* (London, 1928), p. 134.

¹⁰⁵ E.A. Hensley, *Précis Book*, 10 October 1900, G2/I7/P1, BUL.

¹⁰⁶ A.E. Bromley, *Memo*, 1898, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁰⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS, 1909-10*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁸ *Annual Report of the LMS, 1912*, p. 105.

¹⁰⁹ Author’s calculations, from Eleventh Report of the A.C.C., 1906, G2/I7/O, BUL, D-Series, 121b, No. 15200, no author, RHL; D-Series, 117a, No. 6654/96, Table of Banda School Stats, RHL; ‘Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain’s Free School’, 1880, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 52, BUL; ‘Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain’s Free School’, 1898, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 25, BUL.

High School, Mizrapur	365	6	359
High School, Banaras	389	23	366
Total	754	29	725

Table 19: Student Demographics in select SPG Mission Schools.¹¹¹

School	Total	Christ.	Others
Christ Church College	101	6	95
Rurkee College	194	58	136
Banda Mission School	198	14	184
Total	493	78	415

Not only were the staff of most mission schools bereft of Christian teachers, but they were also lacking a cogent and influential European presence. Their staffs were predominately composed of Indians, leaving much of the agency of instruction was in the hands of the students' fellow countrymen. In fact the European and Christian staff of Central Hindu College was more than the entire number of those engaged in missionary education.¹¹² There were Hindu headmasters at the Lal and Nahiri schools,¹¹³ the CMS high school in Azamgarh,¹¹⁴ the LMS high school in Khagra,¹¹⁵ Ramsay College until 1885,¹¹⁶ Jay Narain's,¹¹⁷ and the CMS high school in Lucknow,¹¹⁸ the latter of which was without a single European missionary.¹¹⁹ The entire staff of St. Andrew's College was Indian.¹²⁰

These institutions were not always run by Europeans. Indian converts ran not a few mission schools. These included the Jaunpur School¹²¹ and Ramsay College.¹²² More famously, St. Stephen's embarked on what was called a 'splendid and bold experiment' of making Sushil Rudra, an Indian convert, headmaster.¹²³

Other duties were continually devolved to Indians, especially in those which were central to the *raison d'être* of mission schools. Bible lessons, controversially but reluctantly, were often given by Hindus and Muslims. Schools' spirituality was primarily in the hands of those to whom the pedagogy was originally directed. At the CMS high

¹¹⁰ Author's calculations, from *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1894, p. 109, *Allahabad University Calendar*, 1891 (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 157-9, UPSRR.

¹¹¹ Author's calculations, from D-Series, 129d, No. 15311, Westcott to Tucker, 10 May 1899, RHL; D-Series, 141, No. 25283, 'SPG Mission Kanpur: Educational Work', 11 August 1902, RHL.

¹¹² *Report of Rev. W. Bolton, A.W. Whitley, and Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Deputation to India* (London, 1907), p. 198.

¹¹³ 'A Short Sketch of CMS Work in Lucknow', 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹¹⁴ 'Annual Reports of CMS Banaras & Jay Narain's Free School', 1898, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 25, BUL.

¹¹⁵ North India Report, 1902, K. Mukherjee, SOASL.

¹¹⁶ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1885, p. 59.

¹¹⁷ W. Gray to Mr. Ellwood, 22 May 1896, G2/I6/L1, BUL.

¹¹⁸ 'A Short Sketch of CMS Work in Lucknow', 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹¹⁹ A.J. Birkett, 16 September 1904, Précis Book, G2I6/P2, BUL.

¹²⁰ A.H. Wright, 10 April 1900, Précis Book, G2/I6/P2, BUL.

¹²¹ 'Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain's Free School', 1898, H/H5/E1/I11, p. 25, BUL.

¹²² *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1900, p. 123,; it was run by U.S. Rawat, an Indian convert to Christianity.

¹²³ CMD, 31, 'Church Times', 29 May 1908, RHL.

school in Gorakpur, Rev. John Warren was so busy that he hired a moulvie to give Bible lessons.¹²⁴ Such instruction was usually given by Indian converts.¹²⁵ Prizes for scripture reading, which usually entailed a prize of Rs. 3-5 per month, were normally awarded by Hindus—this was common at St. John's,¹²⁶ the CMS high school in Lucknow,¹²⁷ and an LMS high school.¹²⁸ The Sunday School of the LMS high school at Khagra was run by a Hindu pundit.¹²⁹ Ramsay College had a Hindu, Mahish Sinha, undertake the Bible instruction in 1885,¹³⁰ whilst at the Hindu and Muslim Hostel at St. John's, a Muslim student, Mohammed Hamid, gave Bible instruction and for a while replaced John Partiger.¹³¹ Rev. T. Law was sitting in his carriage in Banaras station when a former Muslim student poked his head through the window and asked if he wished to purchase a Bible.¹³²

Worldliness and other-worldly knowledge: the marginalisation of religious and spiritual speculation

Mission schools were, as we have seen, limited infrastructurally in their abilities to not only impress students but also in their religiosity. Yet one more factor complicated missionary intentions. Not only were mission schools demographically handicapped, but the generation with which they dealt were highly unlikely to engage in the spiritual and religious conversations which their schools hoped to encourage. The educational enterprise was confounded by the strikingly secular and materialistic orientation not only of the education system itself but also of Indian society. By the end of the nineteenth century, Indian society bore witness to multiple social and religious revival movements. But mission schools dealt with a section of Indian society which was, at least in good parts of northern India, secular and worldly in outlook. This morality also confounded missionaries through its ability to reconcile materialism, spirituality and religion in ways which baffled these expatriates. The colonial government regularly maintained that students had enough trouble 'paying attention to their own particular theologies,'¹³³ and that the theistic morality of the Brahmo Samaj failed to 'touch the fringe of educated

¹²⁴ J.A. Warren to A.H. Wright, 16 July 1896, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹²⁵ H. Stern, *Annual Letters*, 1892, p. 410, BUL.

¹²⁶ 'Indian Notes', *CMS Intelligencer*, January 1901, p. 21.

¹²⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1885-6, p. 86; by Solomon Nahal Singh, from the SPG Delhi mission.

¹²⁸ North India Report, 1899, G.M. Bulloch, SOASL.

¹²⁹ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1898, p. 78.

¹³⁰ North India Reports, 1886, H. Coley, SOASL.

¹³¹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1901-2, p. 101.

¹³² *CMS Gleaner*, February 1913, pp. 26-7.

¹³³ NWP & O Ed. Procds., C.F. Balfour, No. 213a, 1901, UPSA.

Hinduism'.¹³⁴ Yet mission schools encountered a theism and religious plurality which was supposedly unrepresentative. In this sense official colonial knowledge was somewhat reactive, wanting and simplistic. Mission schools found a morality amongst their students which challenged Orientalist notions of India's unbending religiosity and the increasing tendency of British administrators and Anglo-Indians to see the archaic and traditional as incompatible with 'modernity'. Indian society did display signs of religious revival, but it was also religiously tolerant and at times humanistic; it was not just a question of a spiritual east and materialist west. Material considerations were also part of students' religious tendencies. What mattered was not whether students were secular and materialistic, but that there was a mismatch between the aims of mission schools and those of their students. The demands and temperament of Indian society had as much to do with the expansion and continuance of education as did missionaries' own convictions as to its inherent utility and ability to influence.

Missionary schools' efforts to promote religious and spiritual discussion amongst their students usually amounted to naught. This was due not only to the pressures as a result of examinations, but also because of students' own religious proclivities. Edward Oakley admitted the difficulties of engaging with higher Hinduism and his students, for they were usually unfamiliar with their own religious books.¹³⁵ The *Church Times* of Delhi wrote that religious zeal was non-existent in the United Provinces, which were 'agitated now and then by a little philosophy, but that is all'.¹³⁶ Robert Baker recalled an incident at the CMS high school in Lucknow. At the optional Sunday school students came for but a few minutes and immediately asked about the *bakshish* (tip, gifts) in the form of free pens, paper and pencils.¹³⁷ Rev. John Maclean reasoned that if nearly ninety percent of Indian society had been relatively untouched by colonial rule and its effects, then it would be easy to explain why the apparent 'worldliness' of this part of Indian society was so prevalent. He reasoned that this could not have been perpetuated by English education and the creeping of global capitalism, but must have predated the British.¹³⁸

Many missionaries questioned the very generalisations made by the British and Anglo-India about the religiosity of Indian society. Only one out of one hundred of

¹³⁴ HD, Ed. Files, No. 17-72, 1889, Sir A. Croft, 28 October 1888, NAI.

¹³⁵ E. Oakley, *Holy Himalaya: the Religion, Traditions and Scenery of a Himalayan Province, Kumaon and Garhwal* (Edinburgh, 1905), pp. 11-3.

¹³⁶ CMD, 31, 'Church Times', 17 May 1912, RHL.

¹³⁷ R. Baker, Annual Letters, 1892, p. 140, BUL.

¹³⁸ J. MacLean, 'Is Hinduism Conducive to Unworldliness?', *The East and the West*, 1907, p. 154.

William Holland's students consulted him on the Bible and religious questions.¹³⁹ Henry Durrant, after spending many years in Agra with his students, questioned the Orientalist notion that India was a religious and spiritual country

before I came to India I pictured Indian students as either passionate opponents of Christianity and upholders of their own creed or else hungry and unsatisfied seekers after truth. The facts differ very widely from the picture. Very much as in England [sic], the prevailing attitude is of comparative indifference to religious matters altogether.¹⁴⁰

George Westcott admitted that very few of his students approached him about spiritual matters.¹⁴¹ Another LMS educationist mentioned that it was 'very irritating' to be told lectured by uninformed persons about the spirituality of India.¹⁴²

Mission teachers were constantly baffled by what they perceived to be their students' relative indifference towards religious matters. They testified to the secular orientation of their students. William Holland remarked that schoolteachers would be hard-pressed to name a single student who had devoted their life to the spiritual.¹⁴³ The Headmaster of the CMS high school, Mr. Cecil, bitterly complained that not only were his classrooms overcrowded, effectively preventing adequate and more intimate religious instruction, but that his students were indifferent towards any form of religious speculation whatsoever.¹⁴⁴ He ultimately asked the CMS to let him go.¹⁴⁵ Another mission teacher argued that 'everywhere one feels that not Islam and not Hinduism are the chief hindrances to the spread of Christianity, but sheer selfish worldliness'.¹⁴⁶ As the years went by general interest in the Bible diminished steadily.¹⁴⁷ Teachers were frustrated with the 'strange and utter opaqueness in all spiritual concerns which characterises the student population'.¹⁴⁸

Of course, missionary frustrations did not mean that students were necessarily irreligious. Hinduism possessed a strong materialistic component,¹⁴⁹ even at more ostentatious religious and spiritual affairs such as the *kumb mela*. Students attached a greater importance to Hinduism's outward observances and ritualistic aspects. They could be 'religiously eclectic' yet still maintain their Hindu identity. This continually frustrated

¹³⁹ Oxford and Cambridge Hostel Magazine, 1905-6, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁴⁰ H. Durrant, Annual Letters, 1911, pp. 148-9, BUL.

¹⁴¹ D-Series, 141, No. 25283, 'SPG Mission Kanpur: Educational Work', 11 August 1902, RHL.

¹⁴² *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1914, p. 21; *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1916, p. 215.

¹⁴³ W.E.S. Holland, *The Indian Outlook* (London, 1926), p. 19.

¹⁴⁴ H. Durrant to Harvey, 8 June 1906, G2/I7/L6, BUL.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ 'Report of the St. Paul's Divinity School, Allahabad', 1906, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁴⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1891-2, p. 98.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1893-4, p. 162.

¹⁴⁹ C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 126-7.

missionaries' desires to have their students speculate on religious and spiritual matters. There was at heart a fundamental difference between missionaries and students over their conceptions of religion and spirituality. Students saw religion more as a ritualistic and philosophical ideal, whilst missionaries propagated an affective and less-contemplative one. Sushil Rudra, himself an Indian convert, questioned the very Orientalist idea that India was a spiritual country. He maintained that custom and ritual, not inquiry and speculation, defined student religion. Rudra termed India's religious atmosphere 'passive and conservative, rather than active...it has its strength in custom rather than thought'.¹⁵⁰ He observed that the very atmosphere wherein missionary education was to flourish, one which was open, willing and dominated by religious and spiritual speculation, was non-existent. Even though the educated classes were the most open to influence, they saw no reason to jettison India's religious and social traditions in their entirety.¹⁵¹ George Westcott also observed that comments on the spirituality of India were 'apt to mislead and to raise false hopes. The religious character referred to...savour[s] rather [than] of religiosity, which is the importance that it attaches to outward observances, discourages rather than develops the inner, spiritual life'.¹⁵²

This material component of Hinduism further subjected schools to the vagaries of student temperament. High schools and colleges perceived as unsuccessful and as a hindrance to either students passing of examinations or their prospects of employment would suffer in reputation and face a dwindling enrolment. Students enrolled in missionary schools were more preoccupied with their own socio-economic advancement and material gain, rather than probing questions of the spiritual and non-worldly. Mission schools' fees were also cheaper vis-à-vis Government schools and missionaries felt pressured to 'sell' and make their institutions as efficient and successful as possible. Mr. Coley of the LMS Almora high school admitted that since the demand for English education as a means to Government employment already existed, all missions could do was to meet it.¹⁵³ Westcott had to continually 'divert his pupils from their dreams of Government employment'.¹⁵⁴ Rev. Henry Stern had three inquirers in his school in Gorakpur about Baptism, but found out that they had been 'upon a tour of baptism, for worldly considerations'.¹⁵⁵ When Rev. John Maclean arrived in India, his colleagues told

¹⁵⁰ S. Rudra 'Is India thirsting for Religious Truth?', *The East and the West*, 1906, p. 1.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵² LR, 141, 'Things that Let', August 1902, RHL.

¹⁵³ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1885, p. 59.

¹⁵⁴ LR, 105b, Westcott to Tucker, 20 November 1893, RHL.

¹⁵⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1890-1, pp. 99-100.

him that main subjects of his conversations with students would be rupees, annas and pies.¹⁵⁶ This is what William Holland told him most people would hear in the bazaars and in the streets,¹⁵⁷ with another SPG teacher remarking that ‘rupee is always heard in every question and answer’.¹⁵⁸

More specifically, teachers and headmasters found their students in search of the School Leaving Certificate (SLC). It was introduced by the UP Education Department in 1909 as a way to certify that students were proficient and had been instructed in particular courses of study. It was more importantly required in order to be considered for Government employment. Mission students, similar to those under Government instruction, sought this certificate above nearly everything else. Many even passed up their BA course and sought to obtain the certificate instead. Rev. John Warrant acknowledged that the SLC was ‘the goal of the majority of our students’ ambition’.¹⁵⁹ Rev. William Ball attributed the popularity of English education solely to the fact that it guaranteed better employment prospects.¹⁶⁰ Rev. H. Lewis of the CMS, in fact, had to give the first of his term lectures entitled ‘The Gospel of Jesus Christ not dependent upon circumstances for success’.¹⁶¹ Rev. John Carpenter observed that schools ‘will not attract men till we are able to hold out definite hopes and prospects for them at the end of their course’.¹⁶² This happened at St. John’s when local residents boycotted the school and brought it to a virtual standstill, accusing it of failing to provide an ‘open sesame’ for Government employment.¹⁶³ One teacher was booed out of his classroom, followed by a student demonstration. His students claimed that his incompetence would prevent them from earning their BAs and their livelihood.¹⁶⁴ In the CMS high school at Ghaziabad, hostility arose to the regular Bible course when one student asked how it was to profit them in examinations.¹⁶⁵ In some cases demand effectively forced schools to open vocational courses. In 1904 St. John’s had to open a Business Department. John Haythornwaite felt compelled to provide his students with ‘practical training for a clerical career’. This included English Dictation, Bookkeeping, Shorthand, and Typewriting, and

¹⁵⁶ J.H. Maclean, ‘Is Hinduism Conducive to Unworldliness’?, *The East and the West*, 1907, p. 1523

¹⁵⁷ W.E.S. Holland, *The Indian Outlook* (London, 1926), p. 19.

¹⁵⁸ N. Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth* (New Delhi, 1987), p. 113.

¹⁵⁹ J.A. Warren, ‘Annual Report of Meerut District’, 1909, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁶⁰ W.H. Ball to A.H. Wright, 7 August 1896, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁶¹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1884-5, p. 99.

¹⁶² J.N. Carpenter to Parent Committee, 27 November 1900, G2/I6/O, BUL.

¹⁶³ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1903, p. 191.

¹⁶⁴ HD, Ed. Files, No. 67-76, 1904, H.H. Risley, Circular to Local Governments, 11 March 1904, NAI; HD, Ed. Files, No. 36-39, 1888, J.B.P, 2 January 1887, NAI.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Report for Meerut Division’, 1903, G2/I7/O, BUL.

thirty minutes of moral instruction.¹⁶⁶ Otherwise, Haythornwaite admitted, the college would suffer in reputation and lose students to other institutions which held out better prospects of employment.¹⁶⁷ At one SPG school in Delhi, its predominately *bania* student body induced their instructors to abandon the Government curriculum and introduce *Mahajani* tables.¹⁶⁸

Indians themselves testified to students' materialism. They dispelled the Orientalist ideal that India was essentially a religious country. Yet Hindus in particular, as recent scholars have demonstrated, had accommodated themselves with materialism and worldly lifestyles in ways which Christian and 'secular and modern' Europe was unable.¹⁶⁹ Manech Kavasji Patel, speaking to the Teachers' Association of Bombay, observed that the only subject which was popular and taught thoroughly because of the opportunities of employment was English.¹⁷⁰ One Indian newspaper confided that most Indian students adhered to a 'shallow Voltaireism'.¹⁷¹ One confessedly Hindu student told his teacher that he would pray to Jesus, but only so that he could pass his course and purchase a *bara makan* (large house).¹⁷² One student of a mission school confided that higher education was sought solely for what it would fetch in the market.¹⁷³ The *Indian People* newspaper commented that missionaries should not delude themselves in thinking that students came to their schools for the spiritual inquiry; they came for the practicalities of education, for which 'much credit is due to the missionaries'.¹⁷⁴ Even Annie Besant, the pioneer of Theosophy, admitted that most of her students cared for commercial and material gain rather than spirituality.¹⁷⁵ An educated Brahmin wished to convert and forsake his inheritance and livelihood. His mother then shouted: 'I don't care what he believes, I don't care what he worships. He may worship the pot, he may call that pot God if he likes, but why should he break his caste'?¹⁷⁶ Another missionary, who worked in a girls' high

¹⁶⁶ 'Prospectus of St. John's Business Department', 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ N. , *Delhi Between Two Empires 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth* (New Delhi, 1987), p. 113.

¹⁶⁹ R. Pandey, 'Archaic Knowledge, Tradition and Authenticity in Colonial North India, c. 1780-1930', unpub. PhD diss., London University, 2003, pp. 223-6.

¹⁷⁰ HD, Ed. Files, No. 25-27, 1899, J.S. Cotton, 'Bombay Gazette', 31 January 1899, NAI.

¹⁷¹ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1903, p. 48.

¹⁷² R. Baker, Annual Letters, 1892, p. 141, BUL.

¹⁷³ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1882, p. 460.

¹⁷⁴ *Indian People*, Allahabad, 18 August 1906, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁷⁵ K.W. Jones, 'Organised Hinduism in Delhi and New Delhi', in E.R. Frykenberg, ed., *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society* (Delhi, 1986), pp. 340-1.

¹⁷⁶ H. Pakenham-Walsh, 'The Attitude of Educated Hindus towards Christianity', *The East and the West*, 1906, p. 391. The boy was then locked up in his house for six months to successfully persuade him otherwise.

school, was told by one of her students that 'the Rupee has no caste'.¹⁷⁷ When queried about religious and spiritual matters, some students quickly replied 'go away, we don't want Providential interference; we are BAs and MAs'.¹⁷⁸

Other Indians made similar observations. Mohan Mukherjee, Secretary of the British-Indian Association, who as we have seen earlier informed British administrators of the stout secularism of students, was but one example of many who testified to students' non-spiritual orientation.¹⁷⁹ The *Bombay Gazette* elaborated upon the utilitarian orientation of education that Indian society demanded; this left little room for the spiritual and religious: 'of what advantage is it to anybody that a boy can tell us that the Kingdom of Gandhu is traversed by the Niger or that the Juniata is a tributary of the Susequahana River...it is thoroughly useless and is a fine specimen of the waste of memory'.¹⁸⁰ Bhudev Mukhopadhyaya, Inspector of Schools in the Azamgarh District, observed that education's population stemmed not from desire for general and enlightening knowledge, but for appointments as *patwaris*, *maharas* and *panditships*.¹⁸¹ Mukhopadhyaya cited a secondary desire to please the revenue authorities and a vague hope for some sort of resultant good.¹⁸² The famous Parsi social reformer Malabari admitted that the educated classes were simply not interested in religion, let alone the *Shastras*.¹⁸³ Lala Lajpat Rai confided that most Indians 'do not care a brass farthing for religion'.¹⁸⁴

There were many cases which underscored the secular leanings of educated Indian society. When religious instruction was allowed to be given after school hours in the United Provinces after 1896, students predominately availed themselves of secular tuition. One student in particular, Kumar Kirtyananda Sinha, at Muir Central College, availed himself of the opportunity to seek extra instruction in English and Maths and even offered to pay above and beyond normal school fees.¹⁸⁵ Mohammed Abbas Khan from Partargash, sent an appeal over the head of the UP Government, and directly asked the Calcutta for help with learning English so that he could secure a Government post.¹⁸⁶ Such petitions were by no means rare. The Indian Government tended to receive about four or five

¹⁷⁷ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1914, p. 256.

¹⁷⁸ L.B. Nath, *Social Reform for the N.W. Provinces* (Allahabad, 1886), p. 23.

¹⁷⁹ HD, Ed. Files, No. 36-39, 1888, M. Mukherjee, 2 March 1888, NAI.

¹⁸⁰ HD, Ed. Files, No. 25-27, 1899, *Bombay Gazette*, 31 January 1899, NAI.

¹⁸¹ R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India* (London, 1882), p. 181.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ L. Nath, *Social Reform for the N.W. Provinces* (Allahabad, 1886), pp. 36-7.

¹⁸⁴ L. Rai, *The Arya Samaj: an Account of its Aims, Doctrine and Activities with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder* (London, 1915), pp. 244, 267.

¹⁸⁵ HD, Ed. Files, No. 23-24, 1899, November 1899, NAI.

¹⁸⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 40-41, 1887, Petition from Mohammed Abbas Khan, NAI.

similar petitions monthly which made their way up through the state bureaucracies.¹⁸⁷ The Indian Government had begun to receive so many that it could no longer acknowledge their receipt.¹⁸⁸ The editor of *Jasus* observed that students chose missionary schools because they were usually cheaper than those of the Government, and that they essentially tolerated Bible instruction.¹⁸⁹ The *Hindustani* wrote that the only reason young Indians entered school, be it missionary or Government, was to obtain remunerative employment.¹⁹⁰ Another editor loved English education so much because it was certain to increase one's material gain.¹⁹¹ According to the editor of *Sri Raghavendra*, missionaries were wasting their time with educated Hindus, since students were 'unable to bear the yoke of their own religion; they can hardly be expected to like that of any other's religion'.¹⁹² Pandit Madho Ram defended the proliferation of English Education since it enabled anyone who was willing to work hard enough to earn a salary higher than anyone could possibly imagine.¹⁹³

Hindu revivalist movements, some of which were very much inspired by Christian theology and missionary methods of organisation and preaching (primarily the Arya Samaj), also found their 'back to the Vedas' appeals foiled by affairs of the material and very worldly. Swami Saraswati's attempts to establish the primacy of the Vedas, through the example of the Anglo-Vedic College in Lahore, were compromised due to similar circumstances. George Westcott observed that the Swami's efforts to religiously stimulate students was ineffectual: 'Hindu parents desired for their children an education likely to produce immediate results of a material character...the Swami's ideal was sacrificed on the alter of Western Utilitarianism'.¹⁹⁴ Also cited was an extract from one instructor at the Arya Samaj's Jamna Prasad School in Ludhiana. Even though this particular institution was run to be run as a 'reviver' of Hinduism, none of the boys took up Hindi as an optional subject. They instead chose to focus on English in order for better employment prospects. Even Sanskrit did not have a single taker.¹⁹⁵ If the Arya Samaj and other similar organisations were ineffective in reaching their pupils in this regard, then mission societies possessed an even greater handicap. One western-educated Indian Christian

¹⁸⁷ HD, Ed. Files, No. 100-101, 1887, Petition from Hirje Kaithawar, NAI.

¹⁸⁸ HD, Ed. Files, No. 32-33, 1887, Petition from Kisharlal Hara Lal Mehta, Dargushankar Arundran Pandya, NAI.

¹⁸⁹ *Jasus*, Agra, 21 December 1906, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹⁰ *Hindustani*, Lucknow, 30 March 1898, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹¹ *Tohfah-i-Hind*, Bijnor, 13 April 1898, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹² *Sri Raghavendra*, Allahabad, September 1905, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹³ *Zamana*, Kanpur, July 1908, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹⁴ D-Series, 50, No. 21730, 'Missionary Educational Work in NWP & O', p. 1, RHL.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

claimed that it was not just educated Indian society which was secular, but also revivalists and Theosophists. Their rhetoric was only skin deep, and that they were stoutly secular. He also argued that Indians were not religiously conservative, but religiously indifferent.¹⁹⁶ Even at Central Hindu College, with instruction of the Upanishads and Hindu philosophy at its core, secularism was dominant. When groups such as the Arya Samaj criticised the Government for giving money to Christian organisations, an instructor at Hindu College was quick to point out that true religious neutrality was observed. Teachers were free to introduce religion when they pleased and it was good that Government kept out.¹⁹⁷ The Hindu Educational Conference in 1912 passed a resolution to promote moral over religious instruction in school.¹⁹⁸

Even western-educated Indian Christians were more concerned with finding Government jobs, rather than serving the mission. As European Christian teachers were already rare, it was hoped that Indian Christians could fill this role. But not only did they find this impossible, but that educated Indian Christians passed up mission work for pay; most declined to enter into the service of the CMS. The posts they were offered paid poorly, leading Gill to remark that 'no doubt one deterrent cause is the sight of experienced faithful agents...inadequately provided with the necessities of life and struggling to maintain their position and educate their children with great difficulty'.¹⁹⁹ Edward Oakley of the LMS observed that he knew of not a single instance of where an educated convert who went into the service of the Church. Most converts, even if they failed to secure Government employment, would still refuse work in the mission.²⁰⁰

Indian contributions to plural moralities

Students' striking worldliness and materialism did not necessarily mean that they were either irreligious or agnostic. The demand for mission education emanated from a desire for general and moral education, rather than anything explicitly religious. Mission schools were increasingly sought out for this very purpose. In a way, Indians themselves made these institutions more secular than evangelicals would have liked. It also informed the temperament of mission schools and the 'less-than-Christian' morality which they ultimately engendered. Indians were instructive in this process. Within this context, the

¹⁹⁶ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1898-9, p. 166.

¹⁹⁷ *Central Hindu College Magazine*, Banaras, March 1907, SVN, UPSA.

¹⁹⁸ NWP & O Ed. Procds., No. 235, 1908, Religious Education in Schools, UPSA.

¹⁹⁹ C. Gill to H. Durrant, 18 April 1901, G2/I6/O, BUL.

²⁰⁰ E.S. Oakley, 'Missions and Modern Hinduism', *The East and the West*, 1907, p. 446.

religiously-plural morality of Rabindranath Tagore²⁰¹ was not just the purview of a select group of English-educated students; it was more widely diffused. Numerous mission-run secondary and high schools were Anglo-Vernacular, ensuring that such ethos would be common amongst both the purely English educated and those in Hindi and Urdu.

Students attended mission schools for general moral rather than religious benefits. Parents sent their children to mission schools not because of Christianity but in spite of it. Rev. George Gill observed that the only type of extra-curricular inquiries he received from students in Allahabad was for more secular instruction.²⁰² One educationist observed that the proposal to establish a theological training college in Allahabad was flawed not due to a lack of demand, but because Indian students forced schools to teach mostly secular subjects. Even missions as institutions of bureaucratic organisation, missionaries admitted, had succumbed to this indigenous pressure.²⁰³ William Hutton of the LMS found most of his students not to be irreligious, just religiously eclectic.²⁰⁴ Even the 1882 Education Commission discovered that indigenous Hindu schools were usually secular and deist rather than explicitly religious.²⁰⁵

Hinduism and 'tradition' also possessed humanistic, universal and more 'modern' traits. This also demonstrated the degree to which students and western-educated Indians were defined by their more 'modern' moralities and tendencies. They did much to contest the notion that the 'vanguard of humanity'²⁰⁶ lay with the west, as Henry Cotton argued. They demonstrated that India possessed a deistic and religiously-plural tradition. Shridar Ketkar was one educated Indian who believed that unbending religiosity had no place in a future India, and that indigenous tradition and thought already possessed a degree of humanistic and theistic morality. He was representative of the type of English-educated student who had come to argue that modern and western moralities were found in Indian tradition and thought. He argued that India needed a universal morality, all of which Hinduism already possessed.²⁰⁷

Dr. Narayan Vishnu Bam was an example of a western-educated Indian who was able to refashion the supposedly 'archaic' as 'modern' and generally 'moral'. He presented a petition to the Indian Government which argued that Indian students were still too

²⁰¹ W. Cenkler, *The Hindu Personality in Education: Tagore, Gandhi and Aurobindo* (New Delhi, 1994), pp. 17-72.

²⁰² G.H. Gill, Précis Book, 14 February 1900, G2/I7/P1, BUL.

²⁰³ Wigram to A.H. Wright, 5 August 1896, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁰⁴ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1879, p. 19.

²⁰⁵ *Report by the NWP and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence taken Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission* (Calcutta, 1884), p. 87.

²⁰⁶ H.J.S. Cotton, *New India, or India in Transition* (London, 1885), p. 133.

²⁰⁷ S. Ketkar, *An Essay on Hinduism: its Formation and Future* (London, 1911), pp. 155-7.

frequently engaging in early marriage to the detriment of both their studies and their health. In this sense, he did not write religiously, but refashioned the 'ancient' as a means to adapt to modern conditions. Although he cited the observance of *brahmacharya* (celibacy), normally taken as archaic and orthodox, Bam believed that this Hindu ideal was not necessarily religious. It could have an integral and constructive role in a modernising society.²⁰⁸ He petitioned the Government to allow him to speak at numerous schools, both Government and Missionary, in order to promote a 'morality of education'.²⁰⁹ He spoke at two separate mission schools, earning plaudits from his mission hosts for his zestful social and moral reform.²¹⁰

Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandia was another example of someone who refashioned Hinduism to a more 'modern', theistic and to a degree secular morality. He contested the notion that modern secularism and civic ethos were the sole repository of the west, by demonstrating that such ideals were found in the canons of Hinduism. As a member of the State Council in Megwar, he forwarded a proposal to the Indian Government and wished to establish a fund which would award Rs. 1,000 to one student at each of the five Indian universities (Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Punjab) who, in his words, exhibited the 'highest moral character at their school'.²¹¹ But most importantly, he stipulated that there would be no religious criteria at all, and that these virtues should be theistic in morality, focusing on the multifaceted nature of God.²¹²

Mission schools and students engendered a theistic morality. Both instructors and Indians were keenly aware of this. One education official confided that Hindu students would pay more attention to the very theistic Pertab Chunder Mozumdar and the Brahmo Samaj rather than orthodox pundits.²¹³ William Holland's former hostel students formed their own Church-cum-temple and called it the 'Church of One God'. It was inundated with theism and offered prayers to God as the Supreme Being, and was attended by Hindus, Muslims and Indian Christians.²¹⁴ One of Herbert Lewis's former Muslim students told him that people everywhere would achieve salvation if they just trusted in God.²¹⁵ Sometimes this engendering was almost humanistic. Former mission schools

²⁰⁸ HD, Ed. Files, No. 64-65, 1900, NAI.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ HD, Ed. Files, M.V. Pandia, No. 46-52, 1890, NAI.

²¹² *Ibid.* His plan was eventually refused on the ground of the infeasibility of ascertaining who possessed the best moral character amongst college students

²¹³ HD, Ed. Files, No. 36-39, 1888, A.P.M., 6 September 1886, NAI.

²¹⁴ W.E.S. Holland, 'The Aim of Educational Missions', *The East and the West*, 1912, pp. 82-3.

²¹⁵ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1883, pp. 228-9.

pupils admitted that the Bible lessons were ‘much good sense and much good literature’²¹⁶ rather than actual religious pedagogy. One Hindu parent confided to Rev. John Hewlett that the LMC College in Banaras should be lauded not for its theology, but for its moral and humanistic tone.²¹⁷

Indian and missionary reproductions: educational expansion and the demands of Indian society

Thus far, we have seen that the infrastructure of education was shaky and not conducive towards evangelical interests. Yet what actually moved this infrastructure was telling. The expansion of missionary education towards the end of the nineteenth century was not a process dictated by European and missionary agency alone. Indian society played an instructive role in expanding such opportunities, and they prompted missionary educationists to open new schools and courses. Mission schools and their educational activities relied on the patronage of Indian elites, both urban and rural. Indian initiatives pushed the boundaries of pedagogy as much as Europeans themselves and their purported desires to ‘uplift’ and ‘civilise’. Education proved immensely popular with families and students, who quickly saw it as a form of welfare and possible social advancement which the colonial state had largely failed to provide. Parents disliked their more religiously ostentatious goals, yet in most cases there was little antagonism towards mission schools and the moralities they imparted. Yet these ethos tended to defend the pre-existing dominance of learned groups who gave legitimacy to the utility of education by utilising the rhetoric of modernity and progress. Educational sociologists have argued that education represents both the power and authority of the ruling elite and attempts to control society and exert power according to such ethos.²¹⁸ Yet both the reliance upon Indian society to fill mission schools and the striking demand for English education irrevocably complicated and contested these representations. In the Indian sense it was a qualified reproduction. These schools tended to reproduce Indian ethos as often as they did British or Christian ones.

²¹⁶ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1915-6, p. 83.

²¹⁷ North India Reports, 1884, J. Hewlett, SOASL.

²¹⁸ P. Bourdieu, J.C. Passeror, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (London, 1977), pp. 199-201; also see T.S. Papkewitz, M. Brennan, eds., *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education* (New York, 1998); P.G. Altbach, G.P. Kelly, eds., *Education and Colonialism* (New York, 1978); B. Bernstein, ‘On the classification and framing of educational knowledge’, in M. Young, ed., *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education* (London, 1971) for similar arguments.

Recent studies on education in colonial India have shed new light upon it serving as a focal point of contestation, especially in the princely states.²¹⁹ But they have overlooked education's infrastructural nuances and sources of patronage, suggesting that Indians could only either blindly accept modernising educational initiatives or resist them. Yet documents of high policy did not always necessarily bare a resemblance to reality. We must account for the inherently interdependent nature of pedagogy. The advent of English education was one of the more significant changes wrought under colonialism, but its 'imposition' has, to a degree, been somewhat overemphasised. Other recent studies have followed this note, demonstrating that the eliteness of English education owed as much to Indian as to European agency and will.²²⁰ For mission schools, Indian demand was indispensable to the Anglican educational enterprise. Indians sometimes dictated and moved education more so than educationists themselves, by demanding schools, offering their teaching services and providing the money to underwrite new institutions and courses. In a way, Indians themselves were somewhat responsible for granting the access to students which Anglican missionaries sought. Missionary desires to make education the purview of Indians rather than Europeans became increasingly true. This section requires particular attention to address the acute demand for education, which had become so marked that Sayyid Ahmad Khan remarked that they tended to spread 'like bad rashes'.²²¹ Rather than serving as curious outposts of a bizarre and self-contradictory religion, mission schools were supported by Indian elites who understood their valuable social and moral utility. Pedagogy was not so much a monopoly of the colonial state²²² as it was an Indian demanded and supported enterprise. This did much to belie both Henry Cotton's claim that in north India hostility towards missionaries was on the rise²²³ and Roper Lethbridge's that schools' innate 'proselytising aspirations' would be resented by Hindus and Muslims.²²⁴

Apart from their dependence upon state governments, mission schools relied upon an indispensable amount of patronage from religious, landed and royal Indian elites. Indians had historically supported private educational initiatives,²²⁵ and they demonstrated similar

²¹⁹ M. Bhagavan, *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India* (New Delhi, 2003).

²²⁰ V. Naregal, 'English in the Colonial University and the Politics of Language: the Emergence of a Public Sphere in Western India, 1830-1880', unpub. PhD diss., London University, 1998.

²²¹ A.R. Khan, *The All-India Muslim Educational Conference: its Contribution to the Cultural Developments of Indian Muslims, 1886-1947* (Oxford, 2001), p. 60.

²²² N. Kumar, *Lessons from School: the History of Education in Banaras* (New Delhi, 2000), pp. 13-6.

²²³ H.J.S. Cotton, *New India, or India in Transition* (London, 1885), pp. 155-9.

²²⁴ R. Lethbridge, *High Education in India* (London, 1882), p. 123.

²²⁵ P. Acharya, 'Indigenous Education and Brahmanical Hegemony in Bengal', in N. Crook, ed., *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: essays on Education, Religion, History and Politics* (New

levels of support for mission schools. Yet they were also supported because they reproduced pre-existing occupational and social distinctions. The rhetoric of morality and religious-pluralism concealed Indians' desires to reproduce their own social distinctions, especially when Zamindars and Maharajahs served as patrons of 'progressive' and 'modern' institutions. Most Indian students in mission schools were from communities with pre-existing traditions of learning, such as Brahmins and Kayasths. One mission teacher remarked that most of his students were 'sons of gentlemen and shopkeepers'.²²⁶ They were joined by a higher percentage of Muslims and low-caste students (*chamars* and *bhangis*) than in Government institutions. But the patronage and direction of mission education, and its reproductive efforts, were led largely by elites.

Local magnates and those with both old and new wealth patronised these institutions. Many mission schools in Delhi, for example, were supported during the 1860s and 70s by Indians. Channa Mal, reputedly one of the city's wealthiest inhabitants and of *Mahajan* background, funded the construction of a house for SPG Zenana teachers.²²⁷ In Pali, a group of influential Zamindars pooled their money together to construct a High School to be bequeathed over to the CMS.²²⁸ The LMS College at Banaras, teaching up to the BA standard, was endowed with an annual grant of Rs. 120 by the Maharaja of Banaras,²²⁹ whilst Ramsay College was annually supported by the Raja of Teri and Garhwal,²³⁰ Pandit Badu Datt Joshi,²³¹ and was lent land by the late Raja Bhém Sinha when Government declined to provide assistance.²³² A Raja from Agra, Chaudari Amar Singh, gave the CMS thirteen acres of land for the site of a Christian hostel, whilst a local Zamindar had a high school built at Pali (in Bulandshahr) to be given over to the CMS with a 'sum of money' for its upkeep.²³³ Mr. Hackett of the CMS, observed that in Ahrauha, the desire to start a girls' school came from a local Pandit. This school was to be partly-administered by the CMS. Hackett, who had no desire to start a new school, confided that 'if it were not for the[ir] influence, the school could not possibly exist'.²³⁴ Mrs. Maclean of the CMS was approached by a pundit in Agra who asked her if she would come to teach his five

Delhi, 1996).

²²⁶ N. Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth* (New Delhi, 1987), p. 113.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ J. Banerjee, *Annual Letters*, 1911, pp. 155-6, BUL.

²²⁹ *Allahabad University Calendar, 1891* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 140-1; conversion rate taken between 1899-1925, £1=Rs. 20, see B.R. Tomlinson, *The Economy of Modern India, 1860-1970* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 153.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-9.

²³¹ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1897, p. 89.

²³² North India Reports, 1885, H. Coley, SOASL.

²³³ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1911-2, p. 115.

²³⁴ CMS Proceedings, 1881-2, p. 82.

daughters to read and write. She acquiesced, adding that so long as she was able to give Bible instruction. Mrs. Maclean ended up with a large classroom, filled with thirty-odd young girls which was, she ironically remarked, ‘under the very wall of an idol temple’.²³⁵ And in Bilaspur, a school which had been opened by local Brahmins for *gujar* children had its management given over to the CMS.²³⁶ Rev. S. Susunkar recalled that one village *thakurani* (head village woman) begged him to open a mission school for her two daughters, and offered her services as a teacher, even at a reduced salary.²³⁷ The Rajah of Pali gave money to the CMS to erect a boys’ school on his estate and guaranteed an annual donation for its upkeep, and a prosperous Brahmin doctor asked the CMS to open a girls school, by offering a donation.²³⁸ The Raja of Shivapur, a small princely-ruled state, paid a visit to Muttra in February of 1910. A devout Hindu, he called for all the women in the area to his audience; some 600 to 700 gathered. The Raja asked them to provide as many female teachers as possible for a CMS school, which he planned to permanently endow and pay the costs of the building and the headmaster’s salary.²³⁹ He also beseeched husbands and wives to teach others to read and write, and offered to pay for the required salaries and costs.²⁴⁰

Local governments and municipalities also funded and encouraged the growth of mission schools. The various schools in Jubulpur, for instance, were praised by the local Municipal Council and consistently given pecuniary aid on the ground of ‘public benefit’.²⁴¹ The Indian members of the Municipal Council in Meerut overwhelmingly supported an increased grant to the CMS high school.²⁴² A former student at St. John’s, who became a member of the UP Legislative Council, petitioned the Governor-General to increase the College’s annual grant.²⁴³

Demand for education also came from local communities and non-elite members of Indian society. This welter of requests for instruction overwhelmed missionaries. In Khurja, for instance, local Jains built an orphanage to give children elementary instruction. They then asked the Rev. J. Banerjee, of the CMS, to take over its administration and faculty.²⁴⁴ The CMS also constructed and ran a primary school for boys

²³⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1900-1, p. 247.

²³⁶ J. Banerjee, *Annual Letters*, 1911, pp. 155-6, BUL.

²³⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1910-1, p. 124.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1881-2, p. 81.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 1887-8, p. 104.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1912-3, p. 129.

²⁴⁴ J. Banerjee, *Annual Letters*, 1911, pp. 155-6, BUL.

due to local demand in Ayodhya.²⁴⁵ St. John's was near to financial extinction in 1884, when the UP Government proposed to withdraw its grant. Both Hindus and Muslims in Agra petitioned to the Government not to strip away its grant, even though the secular Agra College could already supply their educational needs.²⁴⁶ The CMS Orphanage in Gorakhpur was inadvertently turned into a Girls Anglo-Vernacular School due to local pressure and demand.²⁴⁷ Locals petitioned the Government and missionaries to open an English school in Kakori, and missionaries were asked to serve as managers.²⁴⁸ In Pilkhua, for instance, local pressure forced the CMS to open a few primary schools, at the request of local residents who were demanding such instruction.²⁴⁹ The headmaster of a Hindu high school in Manhar asked Rev. K.C. Day to teach Bible lessons on Saturdays to his students and local Hindus contributed Rs. 75 towards the costs.²⁵⁰ The LMS was given Rs. 6,000 for the erection of new High School buildings by locals in Mirzapur,²⁵¹ and found its pre-existing mission high school more popular than the Government one.²⁵² When Ramsay College was near extinction in 1914, local residents managed to raise £400 (Rs. 8,000) to keep it afloat and upgrade it to the BA standard. This secured its affiliation to Allahabad University.²⁵³ In villages around Sultanpur, a western-educated Muslim doctor asked Rev. Qulandar to open a mission school for his neighbours.²⁵⁴ In Agra, a group of Kayasths took the initiative to run and manage their own schools, some of which later came under mission management at the request of Indians themselves.²⁵⁵

Both at a wider level and as a result of this patronage, Indians reproduced high caste and socially-elite ethos through the medium of English education. It became a marker of social respectability, and Indians utilised it as a means to enhance their own social positions and caste standings at both the *jati* and *varna* level. Matrimonial advertisements began to be inflicted with specifics such as 'educational qualifications' as criteria

wanted—a match for a girl of eight. Caste: Saraswat Brahmin. She can read and write Hindi, and her father holds a respectable post under Government. The boy must have at least passed the entrance examination.²⁵⁶

²⁴⁵ A.R. Cavalier to Gray, 24 October 1892, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁴⁶ HD, Ed. Files, No. 90-93, 1884, Memorial to Lord Ripon, December 1884, NAI; *CMS Intelligencer*, 1884, p. 227.

²⁴⁷ C. Gill to H. Durrant, 23 January 1903, G2/I6/O, BUL.

²⁴⁸ *Hindustani*, Lucknow, 20 October 1908, SVN, UPSA.

²⁴⁹ W.E.S. Holland, CMS Proceedings, 1911, p. 124.

²⁵⁰ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1908-9, p. 104.

²⁵¹ *Annual Report of the LMS*, 1912, p. 111.

²⁵² *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1916, p. 104.

²⁵³ CWM, U.S. Rawat, Annual Letters, 1914, SOASL.

²⁵⁴ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1910-1, p. 129.

²⁵⁵ B. Chunder, *The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India*, 2 Vols., (London, 1869), pp. 389-90.

²⁵⁶ *CMS Intelligencer*, August 1900, p. 607.

A match for a very healthy, wealthy, intelligent, handsome, educated youth of twenty-one with an income of 51,000 Rupees per year, and a Hindu of high class. The girl should be very beautiful, middle-sized, and aged about fifteen years. She should at least have acquired preliminary education.²⁵⁷

MATRIMONIAL WANTED: Young Husband, Fair, independent person, real reform spirit, to marry accomplished Iyengar Virgin Widow of 15 and one half. Minimum conditions: School Final Pass and some property, or Graduate on decent employment or large property.²⁵⁸

Hindi and Urdu newspapers criticised the western educational system set up by the British when it allowed social mobility amongst low-caste groups. The *Istibar* of Rae Bareli ascribed Indian students' unrest to the system of imparting higher education to unworthy persons, mainly communities who never had a tradition of learning.²⁵⁹ Editors of the *Anis-i-Hind*, *Riaz-ul-Akhbar*, *Bharat Jivan*, *Nur-ul-Anwar*, *Brahman Samachar*, *Saharapur*, and *Istibar* newspapers all decried the indiscriminate reach of mass English education. They wrote that upper castes now had much to fear for the fact that social mobility was now higher than ever.²⁶⁰ The editor of the *Anjuman-i-Hind* argued that it was 'very disagreeable to persons of high castes to appear as suitors or vakils before a low-caste judge, or to place their sons under the instruction of a low-caste schoolmaster. Government should regard the feelings of the people and exclude the lower classes from schools'.²⁶¹

Missionaries themselves found that their schools tended to reproduce pre-existing social ethos. Sometimes there was little teachers and principals could do to challenge these. When the manager of a mission school in the Central Provinces admitted two low-caste pupils, his entire staff and student body left to start a new school just down the road.²⁶² It went on to receive grants from Government as an aided school. One St. Stephen's instructor observed that Indian converts to Christianity, instead of breaking down the barriers of caste, were looked upon as their own unique *jati* within their pre-conversion *varna*.²⁶³ Bishop Whitehead, as we have seen, lectured students in Patna on the 'Brotherhood of Man'. After twenty minutes he realised that his audience believed that he was referring to Indian and European relations. This elicited numerous cheers and

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ R.S. Wilson, *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India* (London, 1928), p. 125.

²⁵⁹ *Istibar*, Rae Bareli, June 1910, SVN, UPSA.

²⁶⁰ *Anis-i-Hind*, Meerut, 2 March 1898; *Riaz-ul-Akhbar*, Gorakpur, 8 May 1898; *Bharat Jivan*, Banaras, 2 January 1888; *Nur-ul-Anwar*, Kanpur, 17 September 1892; *Brahman Samachar*, Saharapur, June 1910; *Istibar*, Rai Bareli, June 1910, SVN, UPSA.

²⁶¹ *Anjuman-i-Hind*, Lucknow, 26 February 1898, SVN, UPSA.

²⁶² HD, Ed. Files, No. 49-75, 1889, Inspector-General of Education, C.P., 2 November 1888, NAI.

²⁶³ CMD, 31, F.J. Western, 'Memo on the Principalship of St. Stephen's College', RHL.

applauses. But once he started to talk of caste relations, the rest of the speech was received in cold silence.²⁶⁴

The demand for mission education was striking and did much to guide the enterprise. Schools became overcrowded and admission to some unduly selective. The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel was an institution which was effectively guided by the demands of Indian society, alert to the advantages of western education. At its largest, the hostel held over one hundred students, most of whom were enrolled at Muir College. Upon its opening in its custom made buildings, an eclectic mix of Islamic, Persian and Gothic architecture, it received eighty applications for sixteen spots²⁶⁵ and incessant demands for extra accommodation. Five years later 170 students applied for fifty spots,²⁶⁶ this increased even more the following two years.²⁶⁷ William Holland remarked that the hostel was being 'besieged', and he was unable to spend adequate time with all his lodgers.²⁶⁸ Holland had so many students who wanted instruction that they just walked into his classroom, as if they were checking into a hotel.²⁶⁹ Some CMS schools in Calcutta, which charged higher fees than Presidency College, each received three times as many applicants per spot than its Government counterpart.²⁷⁰ In Mirzapur, one Zenana teacher was so overwhelmed with the seventy requests she received for instruction than she simply could not supply them all.²⁷¹ The Gorakpur CMS high school closed for the purposes of a Hindu *mela*, but the students protested and demanded that they receive instruction; this forced the Principal to reopen the school for classes.²⁷² Students at the St. John's Hindu Hostel, upon learning that their master had resigned, petitioned John Haythornwaite to have a Christian rather than a Hindu graduate of the College installed.²⁷³ The increase of the Gorakpur high school's enrolment from 400 to 537 in the few years after 1898 was due entirely to local demand; this forced Mr. Gill to overcrowd his classrooms and accept more students than for which he had room.²⁷⁴ The CMS middle school in Azamgarh, in the autumn of 1910, was temporarily shut down due to pressure from the Arya Samaj, who circulated that the school would convert all of their children. But once this had

²⁶⁴ B. Whitehead, 'The Future of Indian Christianity', *The East and the West*, 1905, p. 3.

²⁶⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1906-7, p. 164.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1911-2, p. 113.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1912-3, p. 126.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1910-1, p. 123.

²⁷⁰ W.E.S. Holland, *A Conscience Clause in Indian Schools and Colleges* (Calcutta, 1917), p. 11.

²⁷¹ *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1916, pp. 104-5.

²⁷² *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1894-5, p. 146.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1897-8, p. 210.

²⁷⁴ G.H. Gill, 21 August 1900, Précis Book, G2I6/P2, BUL.

passed, local demand exploded, with many requesting that more CMS schools be opened.²⁷⁵ The CMS high school in Meerut saw its enrolment rise by 34% in one year, by thirty-one students, due to local agitation; the school then required another teacher and commensurate funds to accommodate the new students.²⁷⁶ A similar situation took place amongst the all the other CMS schools in Meerut. Enrolment in the High School and other normal schools rose from 200 in 1894 to over 300 three years later. This forced the CMS to outlay more money and men in this district and appeal to a home audience for more funds.²⁷⁷ Enrolment at St. Stephen's doubled in the course of a decade, largely due to requests from Delhi residents.²⁷⁸

Students were alert to the social and economic value of English education and were at times curiously enthusiastic. One of Rev. George Longridge's students swam across flooded rivers with his book balanced on his head to come to school.²⁷⁹ One St. John's student showed his instructor with unbridled enthusiasm the 'CMS' logo he had tattooed on his arm.²⁸⁰

Indian educational initiatives themselves usually tended to be secular in orientation. More specifically, they were defined by their lack of religious orientation. The demand for mission education was primarily on account of their general and holistic moral tones. The Female Normal School at Banaras, for instance, was founded by the Maharaja of Vizanagram. Started as a Government school, it was predominately run by zenana women, whilst the Maharaja provided the bulk of the expenses. He asked the CMS to allow women to teach in Zenanas, which implied Bible teaching; this was refused. But not only was the Bible disallowed, but also the Vedas and the Upanishads.²⁸¹ When it came to theologies, one Brahmin Educational Inspector confided that the general humanistic and moral lessons of the Gospel were beneficial, and that Indians wanted neither Christian theologies nor those of any other Hindu sect.²⁸² When the Hindu hostel at Jay Narain's College in Banaras had to cancel its Bible lessons due to examination preparations, its seventeen lodgers petitioned. They had the lessons re-instated not for its theological

²⁷⁵ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1910-1, p. 124.

²⁷⁶ Hall to P.I. Jones, 14 July 1896, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁷⁷ Hall to A. Wright, 15 February 1897, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁷⁸ D. Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1881-1997: An "Alexandria on the Banks of the Jamuna"?', in M. Hasan, ed., *Knowledge, Power and Politics: Educational Institutions in India* (New Delhi, 1998), p. 72.

²⁷⁹ G. Longridge, *Missionary Lessons on India* (London, 1900), p. 35.

²⁸⁰ *CMS Gleaner*, August 1913, p. 133.

²⁸¹ C.B. Leupolt, 'Recollections', *CMS Intelligencer*, 1879, p. 551.

²⁸² *Chronicle of the LMS*, 1915, p. 126.

lessons, but for its general moral ones.²⁸³ Another missionary observed that students regarded Bible teaching ‘as of immense moral value for mankind’.²⁸⁴

Others Indians noted similarly and attested to the general moral influences of mission schools. A Brahmin judge in Agra told people in his district that ‘if you want your sons to become upright and noble men, let your sons study the Bible; they need not become Christians’.²⁸⁵ He later went on to give money to a CMS school for their ‘moral instruction’ which he cited as beneficial to the community.²⁸⁶ One former student of St. John’s, even though he never converted, praised the College and its staff for their propagation of truth and morality, in both the public and private spheres; this helped him become an honest and responsible public servant.²⁸⁷ One UP newspaper lauded mission schools for their ‘character benefits’ and humanistic philosophy.²⁸⁸ And even the future nationalist leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale confided to an educational conference in Srinagar that Hindu schools could not serve the cause of nation-building. Only mission schools’ cosmopolitan morality and religiously-plural tones could do this.²⁸⁹

Assimilation and competition: Indian society and challenges to missionary dominance

At one level, as we have seen, the demand for education very much responsible for the expansion and popularity of missionary education, with Indians themselves playing an integral role. But at another level, Indians began to challenge missionary dominance of education. They were able to found new schools and institutions, and were not necessarily innocent victims of polemics and intrusive colonial infrastructures. Yet this was not so much a reaction to western educational methods and intrusions as it was the culmination of a longer process of adaptation to the new-found opportunities of western education. Indians were already alert and active to the utility of western education, and pioneered their own schools. Parsis in Bombay had been active supporters of higher education in

²⁸³ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1912-3, p. 130.

²⁸⁴ R.S. Wilson, *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India* (London, 1928), p. 133-4.

²⁸⁵ *CMS Intelligencer*, 1904, p. 335.

²⁸⁶ *CMS Annual Review*, 1911-2, pp. 129-30.

²⁸⁷ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1886-7, pp. 89-90.

²⁸⁸ *Report of Rev. W. Bolton, A.W. Whitley, and Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Deputation to India* (London, 1907), p. 231.

²⁸⁹ *Proceedings of the CMS*, 1911-2, p. 85; also see G.K. Gokhale, *Speeches of the Honourable Mr. G.K. Gokhale*, C.I.E. (Madras, 1909).

western India,²⁹⁰ whilst the Arya Samaj²⁹¹ and other organisations²⁹² did much to found their own schools and expand the frontiers of pedagogy. Missionary educationists would have to come to terms and compete with these new and better-endowed institutions. Hindus in particular were able to raise larger amounts of capital and out-compete these Anglican mission schools.

Indian society found that it could hold its own against missionary educational initiatives. Of course, they were able to compete with these Anglican mission schools. Catholic institutions, by comparison, were better endowed and smaller than their Protestant counterparts. This partly explains why Catholic institutions remain in India today whereas few of these Anglican ones do not. Indians were able to attract and command larger amounts of patronage, funding and sometimes students. They were more importantly able to draw students away from poorly-endowed and financially-shaky Anglican mission schools. One mission teacher sighed that ‘we *must* go forward somehow, or else lose our boys through the competition of other schools’.²⁹³ In Meerut, for instance, the Arya Samaj built a rival youth hostel to the CMS high school, and managed to draw away 130 students.²⁹⁴ In fact the decrease in the numbers at the CMS high school between 1896 and 1898 in Azamgarh was directly attributed to the founding and quick expansion of a competing Muslim High School in the area.²⁹⁵ Some Indian students even knew their material better than their instructors: ‘the English professor, thus laying himself open to the secret mockery of the highly amused undergraduate, never succeeds in learning half so well as he, the pupil who is unjustly kept down in subordinate position by the racial arrogance of the brutal European’.²⁹⁶ Some students were said to be better versed in subject material than their teachers,²⁹⁷ and in 1899 an Indian student even took first prize in the maths tripos at Cambridge University.²⁹⁸ There were four other Hindu schools in direct competition with the CMS in Banaras by 1899 and they were pinching student from Jai Narain’ College. Its enrolment fell yearly, and this was attributed to better endowed Hindu schools which charged lower fees and commanded

²⁹⁰ Z.E. Shroff, *The Contribution of Parsis to Education in Bombay City, 1820-1920* (Bombay, 2001), pp. 99-118.

²⁹¹ V.L. Sharma, *Handbook of the Arya Samaj* (Allahabad, 1912), pp. 95-6.

²⁹² C.A. Watt, ‘Education for National Efficiency: Constructive Nationalism in North India, 1909-1916’, *MAS*, 31 (2), pp. 339-74.

²⁹³ S.R. Morse, to H. Durrant, 22 April 1908, G2/I7/O, BUL; ‘Unknown’ to A. Wright, 8 January 1898, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁹⁴ J.W. Hall to C. Gill, 14 January 1899, G2/I7/O, BUL.

²⁹⁵ A.E. Johnston, ‘Annual Reports of CMS Banaras and Jay Narain’s Free School’, 11898, H/H5/E1/I11, p.14, BUL.

²⁹⁶ L. Alston, *Education and Citizenship in India* (London, 1910), p. 67.

²⁹⁷ R.S. Wilson, *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India* (London, 1928), p. 203.

²⁹⁸ G. Longridge, *Missionary Lessons on India* (London, 1900), p. 36.

larger amounts of patronage.²⁹⁹ Some students even organised their own separate school and got a Bible teacher, amazingly, at only Rs. 10 per month.³⁰⁰ The declining popularity of the CMS School in Fatehganj was a direct result of the establishment of a rival Hindu school.³⁰¹ Mr. Bennertz, testifying before the CMS Educational Subcommittee, reported that competition was forcing Jay Narain's students to leave for Central Hindu College.³⁰² The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad had struck such a cord with local Hindus that they started their own rival hostel in 1901. Even though the CMS hostel was not yet up and running, the idea prompted locals to establish their own. The CMS raised Rs. 13,644 for their prized possession, whilst locals conjured up Rs. 70,000, obtained a grant of Rs. 20,000, and hired 200 men.³⁰³ When rumours spread regarding the Arya Samaj's plan to erect a Hindu youth hostel in Kanpur, George Westcott was fearful that the new hostel would out compete the one attached to Christ Church College.³⁰⁴ This forced the College to reinvigorate its commitment to retaining students.

Conclusion

The educational enterprise rested on shaky foundations which were highly dependent upon both the vicissitudes and penury of Government finance. It exercised little in the way of dominance and was contested within by both Europeans and Indians. Externally, these schools failed to influence their pupils because of the palpable pressures enforced upon them by the Education Department. The paucity of Christian teachers and fellow pupils guaranteed that the requisite atmosphere for religious discussions and concomitant influence was absent. Missionaries possessed neither a monopoly of their enterprise nor the ability to change it. The paramount pressures of examination, a result of tenuous Anglican mission finances, concomitantly secularised mission schools and hostels. Educated Indian society was markedly theistic and at times deistic, and did just as much to thwart the missionary agenda as did Departmental demands for 'efficiency'. Schools aimed to prioritise non-worldly inquiry, yet Indian students were preoccupied with very worldly matters. At the same time students espoused theistic and religiously-plural moralities. Indians also patronised and undertook educational initiatives, rather than needing to be convinced that education invariably led to 'progress'. Schools and hostels

²⁹⁹ D.N. Basu, 21 January 1899, G2/I7/O, BUL.

³⁰⁰ J.N. Carpenter to Parent Committee, 27 November 1900, G2/I6/O, BUL.

³⁰¹ 'CMS Lucknow, Report of the Evangelistic and Educational Work', 1904, G2/I7/O, BUL.

³⁰² Educational Sub-Committee, 'Regulations on Education', 20 March 1907, Educational Auxiliary, E/C1/I, BUL.

³⁰³ W.E.S. Holland, 'The Oxford and Cambridge Hostel', 27 April 1901, G2/I6/O, BUL.

³⁰⁴ LR, 137c, No. 6969, Westcott to Tucker, 17 January 1901, RHL.

also reproduced elite Indian social ethos and norms. Indians reoriented the aims of education from within. This was not so much a struggle between a dominated Orient and an all-hegemonic 'colonial knowledge' as it was an encounter between a vibrant and responsive Indian society and at times helpless, frustrated and overwhelmed evangelicals.

As we have seen, by 1915 mission schools found their religious characteristic to be non-existent. They had succumbed to the pressures of Government examinations, which in turn secularised their institutions to a degree. This was due to their state-connection which, notwithstanding some desires to break away, was in the end necessary for the financial solvency, effective maintenance and credibility of their schools. Students were on the whole more interested in material and social betterment rather than the larger theological and spiritual questions which missionaries hoped their students would contemplate. Indian society was also responsive to missionary education; Indian support and patronage were indispensable. They also challenged missionary dominance of education, and were more importantly able to contest the 'superiority' of both the western canon and Christianity. Teachers were pleased with the vibrant exchange and inter-faith discourse that nevertheless did occur. They sought to build upon this and expand wherever they could and to maximise their influence.

Education and colonial knowledge in late nineteenth century India

This study has aimed to primarily contribute to the history of education in South Asia. It has suggested that its impact upon colonial Indian society is best understood if we analyse its functioning as a system and its reception. It has also utilised a dominant (but by no means completely representative) segment of educational missions in pursuing this line. The Anglican missionary experience in northern India, for its part, functioned as a tenuous enterprise. It was confounded by the secondary importance ascribed to the text, the deconstructive inefficacy of western pedagogy and its supposed 'proof' of British and Christian superiority. Mission schools were also hampered by the fact that students themselves reoriented their priorities through their theistic and more general moralities, preoccupations with examinations and the self-confessed inability of texts to tamper with students' religious and philosophical tenets. Few educational missionaries believed (and testified) that their students were becoming 'more Christian' as a result of their coursework.

Knowledge within the educational enterprise also became more affective. Most important for mission schools was the ability and opportunity to influence students through personal intercourse and human relationships. Yet even these opportunities were limited, given the pressures of bureaucratic organisation and resultant preoccupations with examinations. If such students were agnostic, it often had more to do with their own pre-existing religious tendencies. It also had to do with absence of religious instruction, which was prevalent in Government schools, rather than their interaction with western science and scholarship. Mission teachers rarely encountered students who were spiritually jaundiced after reading those very western and supposedly 'Christian' textbooks.

Education's 'colonial project' was also complicated by the devolution of education to bodies who did not have interests symmetrical with the colonial state. Missionaries were averse to the very Anglicising tendencies and qualities which the educational system perpetuated and which were also 'representative' of civil society. This blurred the alignment between English civil society and Christianity. For one, modern European civil society could at times be markedly secular (and agnostic) in religious matters, something which missionaries did not like. They had particular reservations about some of its very modern and 'English' aspects of colonialism and progress, such as rampant commerce, scientifically-informed agnosticism and creeping, sometimes uncompromising secularism. Missionaries moreover did not share the same concerns as Government when it came to the political ends of education. Constructive Orientalism, their own disdain for the more 'modern', and what they considered 'non-Christian' characteristics of official Anglo-Saxonism, all blurred the symmetry between education and its political agenda. The network of interdependency between Government and missions, and role of Indian agency in guiding and patronising mission schools, seems to suggest that the colonial state could not control the system even if it wanted.

Educationists also championed particular facets and traits of Indian culture and morality. Many of these were ironically observed to be closer to the very moralities they wished to reproduce than those exhibited by most Englishmen. Missionaries did not see themselves as civilisers, for they were not only averse to particular aspects of that 'modernity'. But they also saw themselves as fulfillers, attempting to draw out moral tenets of Indian religions adapted to a new, rising and mission-influenced Indian generation. They were constructive. The existence of what they considered admirable and 'Gospel-like' traits in Hinduism ensured that Indian society did not have to be 'civilised',

but merely 'guided'. This suggests that the 'civilising' ethos behind missionary activity were not always guiding principles.

The reproductive efforts of education were also constrained by the fact that the Empire was of secondary importance to most missionary educationists. They were as concerned with the kingdom in the next world as with India's temporal one. Yet this did not mean that empire was either irrelevant or of paramount importance. In a way, empire was convenient. The results of their involvement in constructive nationalism were to ultimately outlive the Raj, even if a minority still hoped for the eventual Christianisation of India in the long run. Yet missionaries never fully equated their faith and western education with loyalty to the British Empire. Mission schools and teachers felt that they were preparing this rising generation to inherit the mantle of leadership, albeit heavily influenced by Christian morals. They felt they had both an opportunity and an obligation to prepare this young group. Again, this was primarily due to their own selfishness and Christocentrism. Missionary desires to maximise their own influence ensured that the importance of Britain's worldly empire was secondary. Education at the levels which were to best influence Indians was also increasingly in the hands of bodies who did not necessarily share the colonial state's larger aims. More than a majority of secondary schools and colleges in UP were mission-run; others were under private management. The relationship between the Government and missionary societies was defined more by convenience and necessity rather than genuine sympathy. The very enterprise which was to supposedly foster colonial loyalty and perpetuate Britain's worldly empire was devolved to bodies who valued it less than its administrators and most ardent supporters. The colonial state's own appeals to the rhetoric of Christian civilising and inspiration was more a reflection of their own bafflement, anxiety and attempts to appropriate Christian morality, rather than genuine convictions over Providence's role in British rule.

This study has also attempted to contribute to the history of knowledge in colonial India by drawing education into the term's larger orbit. It has suggested, however slightly, that 'colonial knowledge' as a term is somewhat inadequate in characterising power relations. Knowledge is shared in an educational setting, and pedagogy requires the participation of those on its receiving end. Here, the diffusion of knowledge necessarily truncated its own purported dominance. Missionary education was defined by cooperation, interdependency and Indian agency, rather than simply as a colonial intrusion. When it came to the religious studies and scholarship educationists undertook, they were not so much exercises in the desire to religiously and theologically undermine

Hinduism and Islam, as they were admissions that European knowledge was anything but inseparable from its dominant faith. Christianity and western scholarship were themselves fraught with internal contradiction and ambivalence. Indian knowledge systems were also markedly vibrant during the late nineteenth century. They were able to contest and confound the western curriculum's 'proof of superiority'. Missionaries, and even at times Government educationists, began to lay greater stress on the role of personal influence, human relationships and forms of affective knowledge. This was largely a product of European encounters with Indian knowledge systems, which proved to be alert and adaptive to changes and challenges wrought under colonialism.

This research has also attempted to give some perspective, however limited, to the shortcomings of the colonial state's intelligence capabilities and its own 'colonial knowledge'. It has suggested, by using missionaries as a comparative reference, that the state's knowledge of Indian society at cultural and religious levels during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was removed. Mission teachers and resident hostel wardens, by contrast, were far more knowledgeable in the areas of human and non-statistical intelligence. The latter were relatively more familiar with Indian society and filled a 'gap' left by the colonial state. Missionaries were regularly in bazaars, urban centres and rural villages. Most importantly, they were amongst those who were politically conscious and active. They had a keen feel for the pulse of Indian society and they personally knew their pupils. Cases of students staying in touch with their former teachers and hostel wardens were common and encouraged. This was significant, for knowledge of the very students who could possibly pose an organised resistance to British rule were best known by individuals who ultimately valued the Raj less than those who supported it most.

Against this background, the manner in which officialdom interpreted Indian religion and 'traditional' India can also be ascertained. The colonial state's and Anglo-India's knowledge of students, for whom they reserved their most acute distaste, to a degree, was wanting and quick to generalise. Increasingly informed by Orientalist notions of difference and of Indian society as inherently religious, they effectively prevented themselves from interpreting an Indian morality which was not increasingly defined by religiosity. The British tended to interpret theistic moralities such as the Brahmo Samaj's as either due to their exposure to the western curriculum or dismissed it as unrepresentative. Consequently, and above all for political reasons, educational officials were averse to issuing a textbook based on 'natural morality' and 'natural religion' for

fear of upsetting 'traditional' Indian religious sensibilities. Yet the state's fears and preconceptions were usually unfounded, so far as missionary interactions can be ascertained. Mission schools were markedly popular with Indians, even if Government feared that they would stir up trouble. This was due to the strong theistic and general moral tones in mission schools, which were usually cited as reasons for attending such institutions in the first place. Mission schools encountered the very theistic and 'modern' morality which many officials claimed was on the far fringes of Indian society.

Religion, polemics and fragmentation in late colonial India

This study has also contributed to the study of religion in South Asia. Missionary activities formed one part of modern India's history. Their approaches to Hinduism and Islam demonstrated that they had little success in forcing connections between, for example, Hinduism and Christianity. Some even came to question their very activities and *raison d'être* in India. They rarely expressed outright animosity towards India's religious traditions, even if they were convinced of their own religious superiority. Missionaries remained convinced that their faith was the apogee of spiritual morality and 'truth', but to judge missionaries on this account alone is simplistic. Their purported ends may certainly have been narrow-minded and bigoted at times, but the open-mindedness of their means were constructive. Ironically, the very individuals these missionaries believed they needed to 'save' ended up being the ones who were most valued when it came to running and managing schools. Much of the changes in missionary means during the nineteenth century, at a larger level, were greatly informed by experiences in India. Their approaches to Indian religions also had an indirect bearing upon western scholarship as 'proof' of Christian superiority. Admitting themselves that there were inalienable truths in India's religions eliminated the need to both tear them asunder and to 'prove' the superiority of the west as demonstrated in its scholarship and science. Ironically, their attempts to prove Christianity's superiority ended up de-tangling it from western scholarship.

Missionary educationists also sought a significant degree of interaction with South Asia's major religions, especially Vaishnavite and devotional forms of Hinduism. To repeat, this was done out for purely selfish and Christocentric reasons, for missionaries were aware that confrontational approaches would make their tasks more difficult, not easier. Yet this also reflected a larger, albeit uneasy, trend within Anglican missionary circles to eschew polemical approaches towards Hinduism and Islam. Missionary conversations with Indian religions contributed to both Hindu and Christian thought, the

influence of which exists to this very day.¹ The colonial state, for its part, may have taken up the rhetoric and 'Christian' motives for civilising, but those most closely associated with Christianity did not. Neither their thoughts nor their actions suggested a purely religious component of any 'civilising ethos'. The campaigns led by William Sleeman in the 1830s and 1840s, for example, spoke more to 'Christian civilising' motives than the pretensions and labours of Anglican mission schools.

The spirited and undoubtedly condescending religious discussions for which mission schools aimed, most importantly, were also lacking. This was another level at which the educational enterprise failed. There were of course sections of Indian society which were defined by their religiosity and revivalism. But few students fitted the Arya Samajist profile. On the one hand, there here was indeed antagonism towards missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But this existed only at a particular and qualified level. Students, for their part, were defined not by their concerns for salvation, spirituality and defence of Indian 'tradition', but by their theistic and at times very secular moralities. Gandhi himself and many of India's future nationalists leaders were emblematic of this very type of morality. This not only scotched missionaries' original 'Christianising' plans from the onset, but also forced schools and hostels to adopt more religiously-plural and holistic approaches. Students, for their part, were able to effectively absorb and build upon the challenges put forth by missionaries and contest them. These tended to produce theistic and worldly moralities which competed with the universal claims of Christianity.

Mission education, religion and Indian nationalism

This study has suggested a role for Anglican mission schools in the longer development of Indian nationalism. It has aimed to enrich our understanding of the emergence of an India-wide nationalism by investigating Indo-European interaction within schools and at an India-wide intellectual level. The missionaries who ran schools and colleges in northern India invariably encountered an emerging Indian political consciousness. In contrast to the colonial state, missionaries neither feared a rising Indian political consciousness nor dismissed it as 'a poor copy from English literature'. Yet like the colonial state, missionaries took this stance out of their own resolute selfishness and larger aims. Mission teachers and headmasters were, unwittingly, constructive nationalists. They defended students from charges of sedition and disloyalty, and condemned reactionary British policies. Mission schools, hostels and Indians addressed particular social reforms

¹ E.J. Sharpe, *Faith Meets Faith: Some Christian Attitudes to Hinduism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1977), S. Akhilananda, *Hindu View of Christ* (New York, 1949).

which they deemed necessary for a future nation-state and, more importantly, a template for future missionary influence. Schools and hostels undertook micro-exercises in self-government and management, propagated civic ethos and engendered a form of religious plurality. When state governments were cutting access to higher education, missionaries wanted to take on more students. Political agitation by 1905 may have been relatively quiet in the United Provinces, but missionaries were aware of their students' aspirations and simmering political sentiments years before it became more acute and organised. They reconciled themselves to the fact that India would be a self-governing nation, mainly out of their own pragmatic selfishness. Their activities in hostels and in the classroom did much to define the educational agenda.

Of course, the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were marked by an increasing religious and political divide along Hindu-Muslim lines, and at a general religious level. This period witnessed the formation of the All-India Muslim League, the Deoband school, and revivalist Hindu organisations such as the Arya Samaj. On the one hand, these growing tensions and their political manifestations defined much of the late colonial period, and were increasingly aggressive when it came to issues of conversion. Yet on the other hand, these mission schools and hostels were, on the whole, rarely defined by this increasing religious polarisation. It was an atmosphere which, at least on the surface, was free of religious differences and antagonism. This was primarily due to the fact that not only did these schools rarely converted students, but that they also propagated moralities which were not recognisably 'threatening'. This study has not attempted to question these larger political developments and growing polarisations, but merely to shed light upon the somewhat different internal realities of educational institutions. In a sense they resembled a secular sphere which could co-exist with a religiously-oriented political sphere. Larger inter-religious and Hindu-Muslim relations here were not, in the missionary educational case, becoming increasingly confrontational. A degree of secularism and religious-plurality could co-exist with and run parallel with this increasing politicisation of religion. Mission teachers and headmasters themselves were surprised by the prevailing lack of religious identity amongst their students, who tended to care more for their own social advancement. If they sought recourse to 'religiosity', then it was usually in the form of a theistic morality. Of course, the religious plurality of the educational enterprise was limited. These students could often exhibit more 'traditional' and popularised forms of religion once in the political sphere, and teachers had difficulty in ascertaining their students' religious and political tendencies

within the confines of the classroom and hostel. Yet this should also serve to qualify the political importance of religion in colonial India. Religious 'conflict' was often greatly informed by its subjection to the vicissitudes of politics and economic distribution, whilst within the classroom, much of these issues were absent.

Another theme of this research has been marked secular atmospheres of these mission schools. In our case, this was a by-product of the religious plurality and theistic moralities engendered in schools and hostels. This was not secularism in the agnostic sense, but was religiously-plural and stitched together by a general theistic ideal. Religion was undoubtedly important during colonial rule and especially its ostentatious and divisive political importance by the early twentieth century. Yet religions were not always in a larger, theological conflict. Missionaries sought to maximise their influence by engendering a theistic morality which encompassed India's religious diversity. Their contributions to nation-building were unintentional and wholly Christocentric. They also tried, however arrogantly, to universalise Christianity through Fulfilment. Yet this was an admission that schools' ability to formatively alter their student's religious orientation had failed, and that the realities of multi-religious schools and hostels were not conducive to Christianity.

This study of mission education has also suggested that these schools reproduced elite ethos. In the Indian case it was qualified, for it tended to replicate elite Indian ethos as often as it did British or Christian ones. Education in mission schools was an attempt to socially reproduce both Christian values and morals. But maharajas, pandits and local elites patronised and supported mission schools to reproduce their own sets of values. Students and benefactors of mission schools, to a particular degree, colonised the educational superstructure from within. These also tended to dress themselves in the language of theism. Indians were as instructive in the expansion and patronage of mission schools as were Europeans themselves. Many mission schools owed their existence and continuance solely to local agitations and demand. Indian society and its demand for education guided educational activities. They were instructive in the expansion of education, as they led the demand for it, and vocally criticised the Government when access was restricted.

Mission schools were also reoriented since they found their students to be strikingly theistic. Students themselves contributed to this secular atmosphere. This should not be under-emphasised. They brought moralities into schools which were defined not by religiosity and revival, but by theism, religious pluralism and, at times, humanistic

morality. This was one way in which they moulded the enterprise and reoriented its means and ends. Indians thus transformed the reproductive efforts of mission schools by creating circumstances wherein missionaries had to eschew ostentatious and aggressive Christianity in order to maximise their influence. These schools, both because of their inability to convert students and their belief that 'character change' should precede conversion, came to propagate theism and concomitant religious pluralism over explicit dogma and theology. Their reliance upon Departmental aid, and the concomitant rules and regulations that followed, ensured that their schools would be less religious and spiritual than they wished. This was especially inculcated within the confines of the student hostel, which saw little in the way of both proselytisation and spiritual vibrancy.

Limits of the educational enterprise and Indian vitality

This study has also sought to go deep into the functioning of education, examining its infrastructure holistically. The infrastructures of the educational enterprise demonstrated that these institutions could never be as effective as they were intended. They were too dependent upon, and moulded by, Indian society. Missionary education existed in a complex network of state money, foreign interest and Indian agency. Their reliance upon Hindus and Muslims ensured that nearly the entire staffs of such institutions were composed of their pupils' co-religionists. This also ensued that the pressure on the remaining Christian headmasters and sparse teachers was overwhelming; the leisure time for influencing young students would be seriously limited. The Anglican missionary education enterprise was, in a way, as Indian, Hindu and Islamic as it was European and Christian. Missionaries were ultimately outnumbered, under-resourced and constrained by Departmental legislation. The enterprise was also overstretched and under-funded. Mission schools were also constrained by their Government connection. They would be subject to Government demands and see their spiritual agenda marginalised from the onset. Department demands for efficiency and standardisation would be given priority at the expense of mission schools' aims.

Students' aims also played a part. Schools were confronted by concerns for the material and very real, rather than the spiritual and non-worldly. Students thwarted mission schools' intentions through their own concerns for 'passing' and remunerative employment. Missionaries encountered a society which had little concern for comparative religious discourse and study. Most of the Hindu students who passed through mission schools not only had little difficulty responding to the questions posed by missionaries but

also took advantage of the educational-employment nexus without either seriously compromising or altering their identity. For most pupils entering missionary schools, the concerns of the material and very real issues of subsistence, rather than romantic visions of a regenerating Hindu India or Islamic *ummah*, were of primary importance.

The world of Orientalism

Of particular interest is this study's relation to the world of Orientalism as defined by Edward Said² and subsequent scholars. Said's pioneering and provocative study awakened us to the manner in which Europeans constructed their 'other' to define themselves and their 'superiority'. Other scholars later went on to apply a similar analysis. If we take Orientalism as it is traditionally defined, as there being essentialised communities of East and West, then surely missionaries blurred these distinctions through their own Christocentric arrogance. These teachers and headmasters, for their part, viewed the world through a religious lens. Religion was more likely to transcend race and nation, rather than vice-versa. This study has attempted to blur the distinctions between east and west which characterised more popular Indological and missionary forms of scholarship. Attempts to read Christianity into Hinduism should also be seen as a sign of missionary weakness and uncertainty, rather than purely as attempts to supplant the latter. Missionary discussions with higher Hinduism and other South Asian religious systems, and in particular their identification of particular traits which were seen as similar to Christianity, suggested a religiously-based affinity between Europe, as 'representative' of Christianity, and India, as representative of Hinduism.

These missionary educationists, moreover, rarely understood educated Indian society through an Orientalist and reactive lens which saw it as 'religious' and fundamentally 'different'. They were constructive Orientalists. The essentialist stereotypes of Hindus as spiritual and fatalistic, which gained increasing current in a racialised and reactionary colonial state after 1857, were absent within the confines of mission schools and hostels. Missionary scholars found much to admire in Hinduism, Indian civilisation and its moral qualities. They quickly pointed out more 'Christian' moral traits amongst their students than with uncompromising British administrators. The notion that missionaries were guilty of cultural imperialism is also dangerously simplistic. It presumes that they saw nothing worthwhile in Indian culture. Yet this was not the case. Anthropologists and literary theorists of South Asia, for their part, have reified the notion that east and west are

² E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979).

culturally irreconcilable. This is unfortunate, for it has stunted our historical literature. It has also disallowed the possibility of other moralities and religions which were a product of interaction rather than primarily confrontation and resistance. Both Orientalist scholarship in its heyday and particular post-modern studies have endorsed the notion of an inherently religious and unquestionably spiritual India which was spoilt by the experience of colonialism. Colonialism was not always defined by a condescending cultural encroachment, as scholars have demonstrated.³ Mission schools encountered a situation which was remarkably different than 'popular and bigoted' perceptions of India, Hinduism and Islam. It was defined more by fluidity, accommodation and inclusiveness. Mission societies found themselves working in an environment which was not necessarily antagonistic to Christianity.

We should also be weary of reading too much into missionary rhetoric. It was written for a home audience, upon whom mission schools were dependent for funding. This audience, because of their relative ignorance of the nuances and complexities of Indian society, would have never funded mission schools had they been aware of the relatively complex realities of education, which were rarely relayed to their main benefactors. In order to secure patronage and funding, donors needed to be convinced that their money was being put to good use. Missionaries may have spoken to their home audiences with disdain for the supposed 'heathen' Indian tendencies, but their personal reflections and interactions with educated Hindus often belied the hidebound sentiments which their home-sent reports trumpeted. This is not to deny that missionaries were not convinced of the 'superiority' of Christianity. This study merely seeks to suggest that we approach the history of missions and their activities with a cautious and nuanced insight, rather than merely dismissing them outright. When missionaries wrote of the 'heathenism' of Hinduism and 'bigotry' of Islam, they were addressing an audience who cared little for non-statistical progress; the latter were more concerned with seeing results for the money given to these societies. What missionaries said should not be taken too seriously. Their rhetoric was a reflection of their weakness and inability to adequately understand and, more importantly, influence Indian society. Their rhetoric moreover masked deeper debates amongst Christians in Britain over the place and necessity of accommodation with the world's other religious systems.

At a larger level, Indians demonstrated a remarkable ability to resist, absorb and contest the supposed superiority of western secular and religious knowledge. They utilised both Indian and western modes in doing so. Above all, this study has laid great emphasis

³ J. Mackenzie, *Orientalism, History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester, 1995).

upon the colonial encounter not simply as a story of oppression and reaction, but as a period of Indian vibrancy, agency and interaction. It has stressed the limits of the educational enterprise, the gamut of ways both in which Indians contested it, and how educational structures were themselves antithetical to missionary aims. They found that their condescending efforts to challenge pupils to rethink religion and 'improve' Hinduism and Islam, albeit as a stepping-stone to conversion via religious discourse and inquiry, proved ineffective. This encounter within mission schools was a dialectic process which involved substantial and indispensable Indian agency. The reading of cultural contact between missionaries and Indians was not a gloomy one. It was dynamic, fluid, and above all a testimony to the vitality of Indian society.

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