

**THE WAR OF PAMPHLETS (1807-1809): A SIGNIFICANT CRISIS
WITHIN THE MISSIONARY CHALLENGE TO THE EAST INDIA
COMPANY'S RELIGIOUS POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE**

by
CEMILE AKÇA ATAÇ

*A Thesis Submitted to the Institute for Graduate Studies in Economics
and Social Sciences in partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in History*

BILKENT UNIVERSITY

September, 1998

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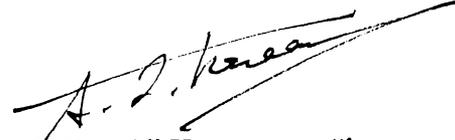
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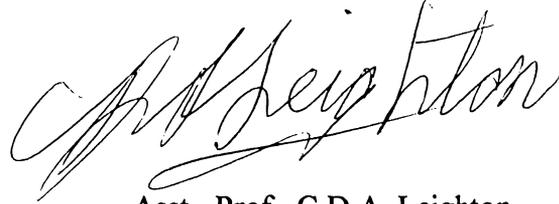
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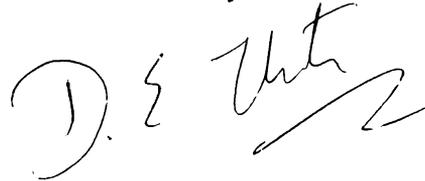
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ÖZET

1807 ile 1809 yılları arasındaki Risaleler Savaşı, misyonerlerin Hindistan'daki serbest dolaşımı üzerindeki kısıtlamalar nedeniyle misyonerler ile Doğu Hindistan Şirketi arasında varolan çekişmenin su yüzüne çıktığı önemli bir krizdir. Doğu Hindistan Şirketi, kontrolü altında gittikçe genişleyen Hindistan topraklarının yönetiminde Hindistan'a özgü dini ve sosyal adetlere karşı hoşgörü prensibini, İngilizlerin bu ülkedeki varlığının ve güvenliliğinin yegane güvencesi olarak benimsemiş; İngiliz medeniyetine tamamen aykırı bu adetlere herhangi bir müdahaleden özenle kaçınmıştır. Ne var ki, şirketin bu politikası 18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, İngiltere'deki dini uyanışın bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan misyoner hareketinin, kendine hedef olarak Hindistan'daki milyonlarca Hindu'yu Hıristiyan yapmayı seçmesi ve bu amaçla misyonerlerin ülkede serbest dolaşım hakkı için seferber olması ile tehlikeye girmiştir. Kendi kontrolü altındaki topraklara misyonerlerin girmesine izin vermeyen Şirket, her geçen gün güçlenen misyonerler karşısında 19. yüzyılın başından itibaren zorlanmaya başlar. Bu çekişme 1807 yılında Thomas Twining'in misyonerler aleyhinde yazdığı risale ile bir krize dönüşür. Yirmiden fazla yazar, otuzdan fazla risale yazarak konu hakkındaki görüşlerini bildirir. İki yıl süren ve İngiliz tarihine Risaleler Savaşı olarak geçen bu olay, İngiliz kamuoyunun ilgisini ülkelerinden millerce ötedeki gelişmelere karşı uyandırmada önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

ABSTRACT

The War of Pamphlets fought between 1807 and 1809 was a significant crisis that occurred in Britain after the imposition of restrictions by the East India Company on the free-movement of the missionaries in India. The East India Company while enlarging the territories under its control adopted a non-interference policy on the religions and social manners of India to secure the continuity of its presence on the Indian soil, and maintained it carefully, though those customs were completely incongruous from its point of view. However, this policy of the Company came under threat in the second half of the 18th century as a consequence of the Evangelical Revival which created a missionary enthusiasm for the Christianisation of millions of heathen living in India. The missionaries demanded with zeal the right to move freely in the sub-continent to preach the message of the Gospel. The East India Company began to feel the weight of this pressure when the missionaries gained strength and increased their thrust at the turn of the century. In 1807 a pamphlet written by Thomas Twining against the missionaries turned this dispute to a real crisis. More than twenty people wrote more than thirty pamphlets trying to impress the public opinion and the political establishment. This incident continued for two years and was called the War of Pamphlets. It played an important part in directing the attention of the British public from domestic affairs to the realities in the far away places.

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Last but not least I thank all my dear friends for their cheer and solidarity and my patient and loving family to whom this work is dedicated.

ABBREVIATIONS

BFBS British and Foreign Bible Society

BMS Baptist Missionary Society

CMS Church Missionary Society

EIC East India Company

LMS London Missionary Society

SPCK Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

SPG Society for Promoting the Gospel

INTRODUCTION

What is known as the history of the British missions to India can be basically described as the events that took place in the forty years between 1793 and 1833. The general tendency among historians is to consider the year 1813 not only as a mathematical midpoint of the period, but as a crucial turning point in the course of developments. The agents of the Baptist Missionary Society, who were the first British missionaries to India, arrived in the sub-continent in 1793. In the same year, the attempts of the evangelical MPs, namely the 'Saints', to insert a clause into the East India Company's charter to grant the missionaries freedom of action failed. Only in 1833 did the missionaries succeed to gain the right to act freely without possessing a license within the territories under the EIC control. Although there is consensus on these two dates (1793 and 1833) as "the appropriate limits"¹ to the beginning and end of a historical narrative, there is still a debate about whether 1813 is the "appropriate" date to be accepted as a definite turning point. Not dealing with such discussions, this study is focused on a significant crisis in the first years of the missionary activities in India.

From the very beginning, "to keep the peace" in India, the Company was anxious not to "allow anyone to wound the religious feelings of any other; but rather oblige all to show respect for each other's convictions.....with the sole object of preserving the peace and encouraging industry and trade".² However, on the other

¹ Kenneth Ingham, *Reformers in India 1793-1833: An Account of the Work of Christian Missionaries on behalf of Social Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), vii.

² Frank Penny, *Church in Madras*, 3 vols (London, 1904), 3:428.

side there were missionaries extremely zealous to Christianise the Indian sub-continent, and a conflict between these 'soldiers of Christ' and the 'worldly traders' was inevitable: "the missionaries understood the problem from their own point of view; the rulers in India understood it from their own point of view; and the points of view were far apart".³ Eventually, the War of Pamphlets (1807-1809) occurred as one of the early crises within the framework of missionary challenge to the EIC's religious policy of non-interference. After this significant incident, the discussions on whether Britain had a religious duty towards her Indian subjects gradually began to interest ever larger parts of the public.

Chapter 1, which is largely introductory, studies the awakening of the missionary interest in India. Between the Evangelical Revival of 1740s and the arrival of the first British missionary in India in 1793, the evangelicals assured themselves that India was the most appropriate place to fulfil Christ's command "Go, ye therefore". In the light of the prevalent millennial expectations, the idea of converting heathens gained meaning in minds as a feature of the Second Coming of Christ together with the other 'apocalyptic' events such as the French Revolution and the decline of the Ottoman Empire which referred to the fall of the Catholic and Turkish Antichrists. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the missionaries grouped in various voluntary societies, began to force the gates of India which were tightly closed by the EIC against any enthusiastic movement. However, the Company was not the only obstacle before them: the Church of England had already expressed her disapproval for such a movement with Dissent origin. Be that as it may, the venture

³ Penny, *Church in Madras*, 3:429.

of which these zealous men were dreaming for more than fifty years finally started when William Carey, the first British missionary, left for India in 1793.

Chapter 2 studies the events that took place on the eve of the War of Pamphlets within the framework of the features embodied the Company's religious policy and the missionary challenge to them. The Company directors adapted an uncompromising policy of non-interference with the religions in India. They strongly believed that the fall of the overseas Portuguese superiority was due to their aggressive proselytizing attempts, and on this account the British government in India should beware not to make the same mistake. Eventually, the missionaries found some advocates among the Company chaplains and directors, and even several Governors, though not openly, supported them. Thus, in the closing months of 1807, the debates on the missionaries' free entrance to India were getting more and more heated every day. Meanwhile the Church of England kept her firm position and was still an obstacle just as determined as the Company before the course of the missionary activities. In 1806, the Vellore Mutiny changed the scene completely, causing in its aftermath a War of Pamphlets between the Company officials and the evangelicals.

In Chapter 3 this skirmish of opposite opinions on the religious policy to be adopted for India is surveyed. The ideas in the pamphlets, which were serious polemical works, have been studied not only in the primary sources but in the sources which may be technically regarded as secondary though in fact not less important than the primary ones. Here I must confess that I was not able to reach a certain 'secondary source' which I understand included many valuable views on our subject. It was *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward* by J. C.

Marshman. However, according to Penny, the “opinions and statements (in it) have been copied by one after another of mission historians”,⁴ so I feel satisfied that I am not totally deprived of its benefits.

William Kaye, an opponent of the Company’s religious policy, admitted in 1858 on the subject of the War of Pamphlets that “...I do not know what I might have thought or written if I had lived in India half a century ago”.⁵ As the quotation above warns, when evaluating the war it is imperative that, together with the prevalent religious views in Britain, the sociopolitical situation in the sub-continent should be taken into account. This is the reason why two rather long chapters precede Chapter 3.

⁴ Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2: 5.

⁵ William Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress*. (London, 1853), 625.

CHAPTER I
THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL AND THE MISSIONARY
INTEREST IN INDIA

The historiography of the Evangelical Revival is a vast subject with many contradictory dates, definitions and interpretations. It is no easy task to define the Evangelical Revival, its theology, its impact on the existing religious order or its place in the history of Protestantism. This thesis by no means intends to discuss any aspect of that subject in depth. Nevertheless, without touching on the issues cited above, it is impossible to perceive properly the missionary interest in India and the tense relation between the evangelicals and the Honourable Company. From this standpoint, I intend to give below a brief story of the revival and its aftermath.

The Evangelical Revival, which firstly arose as a moderate movement started by a few clergymen, was one of the most important phenomena of the turbulent eighteenth century. It was aptly described by D. W. Bebbington as “a more important development than any other, before or after, in the history of Protestant Christianity”.¹ David Hempton stated that “evangelicalism supplied the religious zeal which fought back the secularising dynamics of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and secured the central place of religion in British society”.² It can be rightly argued that the evangelicals, with their voluntary and ambitious labours had a strong impact

¹ D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989), 20.

² D. Hempton, *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion 1750-1900* (London: Routledge, 1996), 162.

on the events of the nineteenth century. As Hannah More says “action is the life of the virtue, and the world is theatre of action”;³ they travelled first through Britain, then all around the world to spread the word of Christ. At the end of the eighteenth century the Protestant Church was confined itself within the boundaries of Europe. It then started to turn into an inter-continental establishment mostly through the activities of the evangelicals.

An evangelical explained the religious revivals with the words below:

The whole theory of revivals is involved in these two facts; viz., that the influence of the Holy Spirit is concerned in every instance of sound conversion, and that this influence is granted in more copious measure and in greater power at some times than at others. When these facts concur, there is a revival of religion.⁴

Indeed the evangelicals associated the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century with the inspiration of Holy Spirit felt in their hearts more than any other time. Eugene Stock, another evangelical, echoes the words of Christ quoting “Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and you shall be witness unto Me...unto the uttermost part of the earth”.⁵ Many others such as Charles Simeon who were waiting for “a sudden impulse of Holy Spirit”⁶ started then to think it was their duty to reach “the uttermost part of the earth”. Similarly John Wesley, in his first attempts to preach, confidently pronounced that he found many people “in various parts of both Great Britain and Ireland who enjoyed that immediate witness [of the Spirit]”.⁷

³ Hannah More, ‘An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World’ (London, 1808), 146 quoted in Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 12.

⁴Edward A. Lawrence, ‘The Life of Joel Howes’ (Hartford, Conn, 1871), 113, quoted in Iam H. Murray, *Revival and Revivalism* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), xiv.

⁵Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 3 vols. (London, 1899), 1: 5.

⁶Doreen M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, 2d ed. (Hampshire: Greg Revivals 1992), 11.

On this account, evangelicalism appeared as ‘the anti-thesis of all forms of religious rationalism’, in particular that of ‘dry’ or ‘pure’ rationalism of the eighteenth century. Being members of a “Spirit-quickened movement”, the evangelicals stood together as the proof of the vitality of the revelation in religion against the camp of those who professed reason as the only instrument leading to true Christianity. Preaching the Gospel and conversion was their “new, revival-forged weapons” against reason.⁸

In the 1730s, when its final glory was nearly a hundred years away, evangelicalism appeared as “a quiet movement of individuals awakened by the vision of Christ as the believer's Saviour”.⁹ However it was a 'long' century, and these early days were pregnant with crucial events that were yet to take place. Subsequent developments such as the rise of Methodism, the French Revolution and the triumphant overseas expansion might induce the evangelicals to think that the right time to save souls had come. By the turn of the century it was time for them to put an end to their initial tranquillity. The aggressive rhetoric that the evangelicalism adopted “set the tone of the British society” in the nineteenth century.¹⁰ In their fanatical propaganda they introduced their preaching as the pure gospel and their acts as in full comfort with the commands in it, and never thought to compromise at moments of crises. This was exactly their approach in the ‘War of Pamphlets’. Throughout that significant crisis started in 1807, the evangelicals condemned the

⁷ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), 10.

⁸ James De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea* (Amsterdam: Kampen, 1970), 118.

⁹ Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain* (New York & London: Routledge, 1991), 102.

¹⁰ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, ix.

directors of the Company as 'infidels' since they were in opposition with the 'Soldiers of Christ'.

Indeed, before and after 1807, evangelicalism was the cause of fierce controversies among various religious or political groups including evangelicals themselves. This was firstly because the evangelical interpretation of Protestantism, demanded sometimes aggressively a radical change in the prevailing order. Second, there was a common lack of trust towards the evangelicals owing to their heterogeneous structures. As the revival gave birth to the missionary movement of the 1790s, the East India Company (EIC) was undoubtedly in the foremost of the harsh opposition. However there was another institution whose irritation occurred earlier than the Company's. From the very beginning of the movement, the relation between the Church of England and the evangelicals had never been cordial, as evangelicalism was a fervour produced by Dissent.¹¹

As Alan Gilbert emphasises, the Church of England entered "an era of disaster", after the Evangelical Revival.¹² The concurrent rise of evangelicalism with Methodism in the 1730s strengthened the enduring paranoia of "being swamped" among the members of the Established Church.¹³ An enthusiasm originating from Dissent and pronouncing 'faith', was once again spreading through Britain. The

¹¹ It should be noted that this thesis does not question whether one can consider the Methodists as a dissenting sect or not. Despite the theological distinction of the Methodism which gave way to a considerable hostility among the dissenting denominations, I will presume to consider the Methodists as dissenters. For a development of this approach see W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992). My criteria is simply the dissension from the Established Church. Although John Wesley had always been the 'loyal son of the Church of England', his followers were in an evident zeal to break such a bondage. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 28.

¹² Brown, *Church and State*, 101.

¹³ John Walsh and Stephen Taylor, "The Church and Anglicanism in the 'long' Eighteenth Century", in *The Church of England 1689-1833*, eds. John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 19.

Church was restless, remembering that “its seventeenth century version had killed a king”.¹⁴

The question of loyalty to the church and the state was one of the most delicate issues in the eighteenth century. In order to secure their existence, denominations were extremely cautious, silencing the unpleasant voices and not exposing an explicit hostility towards the Church of England. John Wesley, for instance, had continuously imposed on his followers that “if the Methodists left the Church, he would leave them”.¹⁵ It was in conformity with that strategy when the evangelicals declared their loyalty to the Established Church before starting their “harder battle with sin and Satan”.¹⁶ Nevertheless, their loyalty never meant their contentment with the prevailing religious atmosphere. From their point of view, while masses of people were desperately in need of a divine guidance, the Church of England was employing “ill-educated lay preachers” whose insufficiency in touching souls was apparent.¹⁷ Surely such a defect was unacceptable to evangelicals who had placed education into the heart of their activities.

All in all, the Church of England which was then “blatantly partisan” and “patiently reactionary”, started its endeavours to avert the rise of the movement.¹⁸ While the mistrusted clergymen inside were being cleansed, undergraduates whose fathers were evangelicals or who showed personal interest in evangelicalism were

¹⁴ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 20.

¹⁵ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 37.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1: 34.

¹⁷ Penelope S. E. Carson, “Soldiers of Christ: Evangelicals and India 1780-1833” (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1988), 18.

¹⁸ Brown, *Church and State*, 101.

dismissed from the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁹ Bebbington further informs us of “unwelcome ministers of more sober outlook” who were sent to Scotland to terminate their sympathy for evangelicalism.²⁰ When the evangelicals enlarged their field of action to India, the Anglican Church gave its implicit support *without* enthusiasm to the religious policy of the EIC.

Although evangelicalism is pinpointed as a dissent movement, it should be added that there were some dissenting denominations sharing the “despise” and “hate” of the Established Church towards the evangelicals.²¹ While Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists were the leaders of evangelicalism, which was the “strongest spiritual force in the country”²², Quakers and Unitarians refused to engage in it. The question of involvement or non-involvement generated the definition of 'old' and 'new' within the Dissent. The party of 'old' dissent remained indifferent towards evangelicalism even in its most influential days.

Bebbington, putting his finger on the subject of antipathy among the 'orthodox' dissenters, aptly underlines that their non-involvement was “a matter of deliberate choice”.²³ At the outset, owing to the painful experience of the seventeenth century, 'old' dissent was extremely cautious not to gain another title such as 'evangelical' which was to be apparently disapproved by the Established Church. Furthermore

¹⁹ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 23, and Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 38. For Cambridge, Stock named specifically Trinity College.

²⁰ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 23.

²¹ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 38.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 32.

they considered the prevailing enthusiasm as a “theological laxity” rather than a revival in which “the niceties of doctrine and discipline” were forgotten.²⁴

However, behind this mistrust there was another important fact which disturbed not only the 'old' Dissent or the Church of England, but also those standing close to evangelicalism. As mentioned above, the heterogeneous structure of the evangelicals came to the fore as the obstacle repudiating their credibility. In 1796, Thomas Scott, the first secretary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), before joining the evangelicals, expressed his hesitation to a friend with the words saying;

I feel it incumbent on me to be cautious about how I commit myself in a business which is under the management of persons varying in their views and in their measure of respectability.²⁵

Indeed, the only doctrine which they gathered around unanimously was the justification by faith.²⁶ The evangelicals never overcame that handicap which was mostly derived from the varying theological interpretations of the different denominations that they belonged to.

The evangelical participants in the ‘War of Pamphlets’ were 'second generation' evangelicals. They differed considerably from their predecessors who had started the revival in the 1740s. Stock, the official historian of the CMS, informs us of the general character of the 'first generation' by means of Bishop Ryle's description:

The men who wrought deliverance for us were a few individuals, most of them clergymen, whose hearts God touched about same time in various parts of the country. They were not wealthy or highly connected. They were not put forward by any Church, party, society, or institution. They were simply men whom God stirred up and brought out to do His work, without previous concert, scheme or plan. They did His work in the old apostolic way, by becoming evangelists. They taught one set

²⁴Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 32.

²⁵Thomas Scott to a Friend in Scotland, 30 July, 1796, *Letters of Thomas Scott*, 184-85, quoted in Elizabeth Elbourne, “The Foundation of the CMS: the Anglican Missionary Impulse”, in *Church of England*, ed. Walsh, 252.

²⁶Brown, *Church and State*, 102.

of truths. They taught them in the same way, with fire, reality, earnestness, as men fully convinced of what they taught. They taught them in the same spirit, always loving, compassionate, and, like Paul, even weeping, but always bold, unflinching, and not fearing the face of man. And they taught them on the same plan, always acting on the aggressive; not waiting for sinners to come to them, but going after and seeking sinners; not sitting idle till sinners offered to repent, but assaulting the high places of ungodliness like men storming a breach, and giving sinners no rest so long as they stuck to their sins.²⁷

Though acting 'in the same old apostolic way', these clergymen were not wholly eager to adopt the name 'evangelical' which was yet to confer any dignity. According to Stock²⁸, they could be studied under three different groups; the Wesleyans, the Calvinistic Methodists, and the Evangelicals. The never-ending controversies between the Wesleyans and the Calvinistic Methodists, in other words between John Wesley and George Whitefield, appeared as the obstacle which hindered the success of the 'first generation'. There was no consensus on even the most basic issues such as itinerant preaching.²⁹

On the other hand, the Evangelicals under Henry Venn (1725-1799) then the smallest in number, reached a turning point in evangelical history. By the end of the eighteenth century the legendary Clapham Sect and the CMS derived from that group. Their zealous endeavours brought the respect and honour which the evangelicals had wished badly since the beginning. Stock, while stressing the 'first generation' of the

²⁷Quoted in Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 35-36. To what extent the words saying 'they were not put forward by any Church, party, society, or institution' are true is doubtful. For instance, John William Fletcher, one of the first generation evangelists, had expelled from being the vicar of Medley, due to his involvement in Methodism. Further, they were yet far from 'giving sinners no rest'. Aggressiveness was the characteristic of the second generation.

²⁸ As John Wolfe expresses in his article Anglicanism, the evangelical historiography is dominated by works based on the nineteenth century. Thus while mentioning the first generation of evangelists, I will mainly depend on Stock's information. John Wolfe, "Anglicanism", in *Nineteenth century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. D. G. Paz (Connecticut & London: Greenwood Press, 1995), 7.

²⁹ K. Hylson-Smith though making the same categorization as Stock, underlines that evangelicalism and Methodism are two separate terms and should not be confused. Wesleyans and Calvinistic Methodists were the methodists, never the evangelicals. For a detail account see Hylson-Smith *Evangelicals in Church*, 11-13.

evangelicals explicitly underlines that "everyone of them, be it remembered, (was) a clergyman of the Church of England".³⁰ The men who changed the fate of the evangelical movement were indeed the members of the Established Church.

One who considers the attitude of the Established Church towards evangelicalism, may perceive the last sentence of the paragraph above as a contradiction. The fact that "the history of the Evangelical Revival is essentially a history of personalities rather than of opinions", should be remembered at this stage.³¹ Neither the Clapham Sect nor the CMS were necessarily to share the 'opinion' of the Church of England on evangelicalism and evidently they did not. As Stock underlines, the question which the Anglican evangelicals asked was "What can we do?" rather than "What ought the Church to do?".³² Evangelisation in the eighteenth century was solely owing to "the sacrificial dedicated lives of a small dispersed band of men".³³

In 1792, Henry Thornton, a genuine philanthropist and a generous evangelical, settled down in Battersea Rise which was at the west end of Clapham Common. From time to time, he opened his land to his evangelical brothers; William Wilberforce, Charles Grant, Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, William Smith, John Venn and James Stephen. In the nineteenth century, "this coterie of friends and fellow workers" who had fathers or grandfathers among the

³⁰ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 35.

³¹ Charles H. Smith, *Simeon and Church Order* (Cambridge, 1940), 6, quoted in Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in Church*, 20.

³² Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 63.

³³ Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in Church*, 20.

forerunners of the revival, were known as the Clapham Sect.³⁴ The Members of Parliament within the sect were separately called the 'Saints'. Among these men John Shore, Charles Grant and William Wilberforce played a significant role in the Indian affairs. John Shore (1751-1834), later Lord Teignmouth, was to be one of the participants of the War of Pamphlets.

While the 'first generation' evangelicals were passing away one by one, the Clapham Sect under the leadership of William Wilberforce appeared as a more decisive, active, and assertive successor. Wilberforce's words "God almighty has set before me two great objects- the abolition of the slave trade and the reformation of manners" are most appropriate to indicate the main concentrations of the sect.³⁵ Due to the indispensable assistance of the 'Saints' in Parliament such as Charles Grant, Thomas Babbington, Isaac Milner and John Newton, the Clapham Sect concluded many overseas issues in the way they desired. However, these renowned successes incited their opponents to accuse them of being indifferent to souls in Britain.

By the turn of the century, William Wilberforce was the "leader, organizer, co-ordinator and orator" of the Anglican evangelicals.³⁶ His *Practical View of Christianity* (1797), together with Malthus's *Essay on the Principle Population* (1798) was welcomed as the "evangelical manifesto".³⁷ He, himself, was a 'Saint' and his close relationship with Pitt placed him among the most privileged MPs. The abolition of the slave trade which was undoubtedly the greatest achievement of the

³⁴Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 41-2 Although the name 'Clapham Sect' was invented by Sydney Smith to deride, Stock states that the evangelicals adopted and carried it in honour.

³⁵ Brown, *Church and State*, 104.

³⁶ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 41.

³⁷ Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1785-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 3.

Clapham Sect, was mostly by Wilberforce's name. Nevertheless, despite his endeavours to open India to the evangelicals, one may easily state that he did not show the same concern for Indian affairs at the outset. He even claimed that the evangelisation of the sub-continent was "second in importance".³⁸ Heathens and 'gospel Christianity' became the concentration of the Clapham Sect owing to other members³⁹, in particular to Charles Grant. More about Charles Grant is mentioned in the following chapter.

What made all these clergymen evangelicals was their particular emphasis on certain biblical issues. They chiefly built their theology on four doctrines which Bebbington calls the "quadrilateral of priorities".⁴⁰ They were crucifixion, preaching the Bible, conversion and activism. The devotion to these certain doctrines inevitably resulted in the missionary activities. By the turn of the century, the evangelicals were obsessed with the idea of sailing to India to fulfil their "business of saving souls".⁴¹

The doctrine of Redemption was subject to fierce controversies among the Arminian and Calvinist evangelicals. The rise of 'moderate Calvinism', however, quietened the debates, in particular those on 'whom Christ died for'. In the 1790s, the evangelicals who deserted the Calvinistic view were more likely to accept the issue of 'for all' as an answer rather than that of 'for the elect only'. All men, including the heathens as well as the Christians who were indifferent to the true religion, could

³⁸Elbourne, "The Foundation", in *Church of England*, ed. Walsh, 258. In 1799, Wilberforce wrote *An Account of a Society for Missions to Africa and the East Indies Instituted by Members of the Established Church* suggesting on the proper missionary ordination. However his 'Account' was not as welcomed as 'Practical View'.

³⁹ Brown, *Church and State*, 104.

⁴⁰ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 3.

⁴¹ Richard J. Helmstadter, "Orthodox Nonconformity", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 61.

be “rescued by the atoning grace of Christ”.⁴² Thus the evangelicals assured themselves that it was their mission to save the souls all around the world by means of preaching the Bible and by converting them to the “religion of the heart”.⁴³

Although conversion did not raise as much distress as the doctrine of the Redemption did, the debates on its place in evangelical theology never ceased. The general view was that evangelicalism could not be fulfilled without converting.⁴⁴ Actually, the real issue which confounded the denominations was rather the “question of timing”.⁴⁵ After extensive discussion on whether the conversion should be 'gradual' or 'sudden', the evangelicals concluded, in Jonathan Edwards' words:

Conversion is a great and glorious work of God's power, at once changing the heart, and infusing life into the dead soul...But as to fixing on the *precise time*, when they put forth the very first act of grace, there is a great deal of difference in different persons; in some it seems to be very discernible when the very time was but others are more at a loss.⁴⁶

According to evangelicals, any man converted to the vital religion', was soon to show “an exceeding great desire”⁴⁷ to be active in converting new souls. Thus activism appeared as a natural result of conversion and "I act, therefore I am" became their slogan.⁴⁸ While the number of converts was increasing in Britain,

⁴² Elbourne, “The Foundation”, in *Church of England*, ed. Walsh, 251.

⁴³ Boyd, *Atonement*, 8.

⁴⁴ Sahay criticises the common usage of the conversion as the “aim and purpose of the Christian Missionaries” Keshari N. Sahay, *Christianity and Culture Change in India* (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1986), 97. Similarly Stock stresses that evangelisation was “not necessarily the conversion”. Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 5. However, it is apparent that in the beginning of the missionary movement conversion was in the heart of the societies' activities.

⁴⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 7, and Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, 11.

⁴⁶ Jonathan Edwards, “A narrative of surprising conversions”, *Select Works*, vol. 1, (London, 1965): 40 quoted in Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 7.

⁴⁷ Edwards, ‘A narrative of surprising conversions’, 47 quoted in *ibid.* 10.

various societies became more restless each day to follow Christ's words commanding that "this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations".⁴⁹ Undoubtedly India was one of the most suitable fields of action for the evangelicals to start on. In 1793, William Carey, the founder of the British Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), became the first missionary to sail to India. Carey's journey has a significant place in evangelical history as being the first attempt to be *active* in the sub-continent, in the sense that the Gospel demanded. More about this turning point is mentioned below.

The evangelisation of areas under British influence was fulfilled by means of various voluntary societies which appeared as "the monuments to British faith and hope that the Lord of history was establishing his kingdom"⁵⁰. De Jong points out that "the incompatibility of the new life with the vested theological and ecclesiastical interest of extant missionary structures" as the foremost motive of establishing new societies.⁵¹ At the outset, rejecting any cooperation, each denomination including the Anglicans established their own organisations; "to work upon their own lines and in accordance with their own principles".⁵² Similarly William Carey suggests that;

in the present divided state of Christendom, it would be more likely for good to be done by each denomination engaging separately in the work, than if they were to embark in it conjointly.⁵³

⁴⁸D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London, 1961), 80, quoted in Frederick S. Piggin, "The Social Background, Motivation, And Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India, 1789-1858" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., King's College, 1974), 137.

⁴⁹ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 5. *Matt. xxiv.14*

⁵⁰ De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 198.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁵² Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 65.

⁵³ Daniel E. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837: The History of Serampore and Its Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967), 53.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the members of these societies spread all over the world in order to preach the Gospel and to convert the heathens. As evangelicalism became “more outward looking”, the prevailing competition was exported to new geographies.⁵⁴ However, these various societies eventually adopted a supra-denominational character, in particular after the 1810s when they stood more decisive than ever in challenging the patronage of the EIC. On this account, the members of the CMS found themselves in “an inevitable association with sectarians”⁵⁵ in which the major disputes among them were disregarded.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) (1699) and the Society for Promoting Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) (1701) remained for half a century as the only “consciously evangelistic” institutions acting overseas.⁵⁶ However, during the years of Evangelical Revival, these societies had already declined in their initial activism and popularity. Thus the dissenting evangelicals, condemning every aspect of the prevailing religious order, initiated their own societies. In his *History of Congregationalism*, R.W. Dale expresses such a turning point:

The business of saving souls demanded systematic organisation on first a regional then a national basis. This move towards hierarchical organisation, in tension with the ideal of congregational independence, took place at roughly at the same time among both the Congregationalists and the Baptists.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Brown, *Church and State*, 103.

⁵⁵ Elbourne, “The Foundation”, in *Church of England*, ed. Walsh, 252. Carson pinpoints the greatest obstacle to the unity of the voluntary societies as their opposing interpretations of church order. Carson, “Soldiers of Christ”, 18. However, the disunity among the societies was never overcome and the evangelicalism never became a supra-denominational religion.

⁵⁶ Walsh and Taylor, “Church and Anglicanism” in *Church of England*, ed. Walsh, 18. Definitely there were other active societies such as The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (1709) and the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the poor (1750), but they worked within Britain.

⁵⁷ R.W. Dale, *History of Congregationalism* (London, 1967) quoted in Helmstadter, “Nonconformity”, in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 61.

The London Missionary Society (LMS) (1795), the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) (1804) and the London Society for Promoting the Gospel (1809) followed the BMS which was founded in 1792.⁵⁸

Though struggling with the same political and religious obstacles, the Anglican evangelicals were definitely in a more difficult situation in deciding whether to go their own way as compared to the dissenting ones. They hesitated to decide whether to join the newly emerging societies or to establish a brand new one. Apparently, any attachment to societies such as LMS would be “following some denominational lead”.⁵⁹ Thus taking the risk of being one of “distinct bodies that already divide Christendom”, the evangelicals from the Clapham Sect founded the CMS in 1799.⁶⁰

The more common view within the Church of England was to see Anglican evangelicals join as members to any of the two old societies, the SPG and the SPCK. Since the SPG was founded by a royal charter and the members of the SPCK were mostly the high churchmen, the Established Church hesitated to concede such an endeavour as that of the Clapham Sect in founding the CMS, which could easily be interpreted as a challenge either to the state or to the Church itself.

John Venn stressed explicitly the necessity of establishing the CMS. According to him, the missionary societies could only operate on 'Church principle' and that is

⁵⁸ Although the London Missionary Society was founded as an undenominational organisation, outwardly it became a Congregationalist organisation. The Evangelical Magazine was founded by LMS to spread its Congregationalistic view. As a matter of fact, every voluntary society published its journal to propagate their way of Christianity. The Christian Observer was published by the Clapham Sect.

⁵⁹ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 64.

⁶⁰Ibid. Although the CMS was founded later than the first dissenting missionary societies, Stock underlines that the concern among the Anglican evangelicals on foreign missions had started before 1783 when the Eclectic Society had been founded. Ibid., 60. In 1799, the name of the society was, however, the Society for Missions to Africa and the East.

why they could not cooperate with the dissenting societies. At the same time, since they should not engage in the 'high church principle' either, the Anglican evangelicals would not join to the SPG and the SPCK.⁶¹ There is no doubt that the CMS was welcomed by neither Dissent nor the Church of England. Nevertheless, as it became the "mouthpiece for the Saints Christian imperial agenda" in the course of time, it turned into the most influential missionary society.⁶²

Around the end of the eighteenth century, a new religious force began to show its effect in England. Indeed the last years of that 'long' century witnessed "the religious climate" becoming "one of great ferment".⁶³ As the evangelicals were struggling to moderate the 'dry' or 'pure' rationalism, the French Revolution, the American crises, the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the accelerating British overseas expansion were signalling the approach of a new era. Particularly the French Revolution which in fact alarmed and appalled Britain as much as the whole continent, became a prominent turning point in many respects.

In the ensuing years, the French Revolution gradually effected a change on the religion as well as the politics of Britain. At the outset, while the Church of England benefited from the fear that "Church and State as in France would stand or fall together"⁶⁴, the evangelical movement and its recent outgrowth, the missionary activities, were grievously harmed. Stock pinpoints that two-pronged impact of the French Revolution on England:

On the one hand, her [the Church of England] position was strengthened by the general desire to stand by all that was stable and respectable in the national

⁶¹ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 64.

⁶² Elbourne, "The Foundation", in *Church of England*, ed. Walsh, 250.

⁶³ Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 39.

⁶⁴ Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, 20

institutions. On the other hand, the dread of any and every innovation, which was the national result of the alarm excited by the revolutionary excess in France, was a great obstacle to many new plans for the religious improvement of the people.⁶⁵

In the 1790s, as the public view was shifting to regard the rational Dissenters as "republicans and enemies to the Government",⁶⁶ the continuing struggle between the denominations and the Established Church hardened extremely. According to Carson, the Dissenters thus became the new "scapegoat of the 'mob' in Church and King riots" instead of the Catholics.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the negative impact of the French Revolution on the evangelical movement appeared as only a 'short term' effect.⁶⁸ In the course of time, a strong reliance on "Christianity's utility in establishing the peace and order of society" which grew out of reaction to the destruction caused by the Revolution, spread through Britain.⁶⁹ At that time the evangelicals were considered as the sole agents to fulfil the expectation of exporting peace around the world. While such a view enabled the evangelicals to "break down the barriers against missionary activity in India" after the turn of the century⁷⁰, the Church of England lost its patronage in converting the heathens to the societies.⁷¹

Besides the definite shift in the balance between the Church of England and the missionary societies in proselytising, the events mentioned above were also meaningful from another standpoint in assuring the evangelicals that they should

⁶⁵ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 41.

⁶⁶ Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church*, 97.

⁶⁷ Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 39.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

venture to "change the map of the Christian Church".⁷² The turning of the century was the time when the events began to be interpreted from an eschatological light. Throughout the Protestant history, whenever there was a triumph over Catholics such as the defeat of the Spanish Armada, millennial expectations were excited. Nevertheless such expectations were carried to their peak only after three concurrent developments; "the earthquake-like shock of convulsions in Europe"⁷³ subsequent to the French Revolution, the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the promising overseas expansion. These incidents were taken by the evangelicals as the signs that they would soon "live in eventful and amazing times, and ought to expect much from that God, who, in his millennium glory, appears to be coming very near to us."⁷⁴

Owing to their endless confidence in "the destined wealth and prestige of the Protestant powers"⁷⁵, many evangelicals were deeply involved in the millennial debates. They were mostly inspired by the extensive works of Thomas Brightman and Joseph Mede in the 17th century.⁷⁶ The millennium became one of the most complicated issues in the evangelical historiography and generated harsh disputes which hardly resulted in concession. Stock, for instance, completed his two-volumed work *The History of the Church Missionary Society* "without entering into the difficult questions clustering round the Promise of the Second Coming".⁷⁷

⁷¹Hempton, *Religion of People*, 178

⁷² De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 7

⁷³F. C. Mather, *High Church Prophet: Bishop Samuel Horsley* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 264

⁷⁴ "Carey, Marshman and Ward to the Brethern, 1 November, 1808", quoted in Piggin "Social Background", 181.

⁷⁵ De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 7.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 27.

In the 1790s, the common point of view within Dissent was to conceive the millennium as "the last period of history before Christ's return".⁷⁸ The fall of the Antichrist was the feature which would predict the Second Coming. The French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars extremely inspired the prevailing millennial expectations, since the capture of Pope Pius VI and Napoleon's triumph over the Ottoman Empire in 1798 were associated with the fall of Roman Catholic and Turkish Antichrists. If these incidents were to be the "most glorious and dreadful breaking of all that rise in opposition to him [the Lord]",⁷⁹ then the end of the 'last period' was getting closer each day. In that spirit, the evangelicals hastened to do "the calling and conversion of most nations" and to realise a "Church spread over the whole world".⁸⁰

Whilst a belief in the "unity among Christians, and a great decline in the power of Satan and evil"⁸¹ was spreading among the Protestants, some opposing voices began to be heard. Although most of the dissenters welcomed the French Revolution and its aftermath as the approaching fall of Antichrist, there was a group including the CMS, which considered the Revolution itself as the Antichrist. From their perspective, Jacobinism, which dominated the 'new' France, could only be referred to as the sovereignty of an evil power rather than the promise of the second advent.

⁷⁷ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 5

⁷⁸De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 10. From the 1810s, however, a new approach called premillennialism began to be widely accepted. According to that view, the Second Coming would be realised before the millennium. Thus by the second half of the nineteenth century the debates on the millennium went out of fashion, as the popular emphasis became on the "imminent return of Christ" rather than the commencement of a new era. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 83.

⁷⁹John Owen, *The Works of John Owen, D. D.*, quoted in De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 39.

⁸⁰Alsted, *The Beloved City or the Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Year*, (London, 1643) quoted in *ibid.*, 10.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 7

And even if the Revolution was not the Antichrist, then it did "the work of Antichrist before he comes".⁸²

Nevertheless Christ's words saying "this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come"⁸³ bridged between these two contradicting explications. From centuries beyond, John Owen, considering this command, pinpointed "fullness of people unto the gospel" as the first feature of the new era.⁸⁴ Among the religious authorities, there was no dispute on the importance of preaching and of its expected consequence: conversion.. According to Owen the third feature of the millennium was to be "multitudes of converts, many persons, yea, nations".⁸⁵ Thus, in the light of eschatological aspects, the evangelicals made it their mission to preach the Gospel and convert as many souls as they could before the Second Coming, whenever that may be.

In the old days, what was meant by conversion was mainly converting the Jews and the Gentiles. However, consequent to the British success overseas, the missionary societies which were then newly emerging, began to concentrate on 'heathens', 'negroes' and Muslims as well. In fact, the overseas expansion of the eighteenth century was welcomed as "the further unfolding of the divine plan"⁸⁶. Millions of degenerated souls, living in vast territories under British influence, were standing as the confirmation of the millennial expectations mentioned above.

⁸²Samuel Horsley, *Rochester Charge 1800* (London: 1800), 10-11 quoted in F. C. Mather, *High Church Prophet: Bishop Samuel Horsley and the Caroline Tradition in the Later Georgian Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 266.

⁸³Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 5. *Matt. xxiv.14.*

⁸⁴ John Owen, *The Works of John Owen, DD*, 334, quoted in De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 37.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 47.

⁸⁶ De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 77.

Meanwhile the Indian subcontinent appeared as one of the most suitable places to start a mission of actualising words of Scripture:

And they shall teach no more everyman his neighbour, and everyman his brother, saying, know the LORD for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them⁸⁷

While religious life in Britain was being disrupted due to the facts mentioned above, the evangelicals tried to make the most of the situation. As Anthony Armstrong emphasises,

The Evangelicals saw a way of harnessing the new moral and religious sentiment in Britain; they formulated new colonial and philanthropic attitudes, and thus they became a striking feature of the nineteenth century.⁸⁸

Indeed with their invention of “a new kind of professional” they invented, namely the missionary, the evangelicals changed the course of history starting from the 1790s.⁸⁹ The nineteenth century was to be entitled the “age of improvement” or the “age of atonement” as a consequence of their missionary activities.⁹⁰ In their colleges, young and zealous “workmen who need not be ashamed”⁹¹ were educated to be the answer to the question “Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?”⁹² Despite their fatal indifference to the taboos of that country and their uncompromising attitudes which are mentioned below, the missionaries introduced a new way of living to India and opened the way to the ‘Indian Renaissance’.⁹³

⁸⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 20. *Jer. 31:34*

⁸⁸ A. Armstrong, *The Church of England the Methodists and Society 1700-1850*, (London: Univ. Of London Press, 1973), 155, quoted in Brown, *Church and State*, 105.

⁸⁹ Jeffrey Cox, “The Missionary Movement”, in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 205.

⁹⁰ Hilton, *Atonement*, 3.

⁹¹ Piggin, “Social Background”, 307

⁹² Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 64. *Isa. vi.8*

According to Jeremy Cox, these activities all around the world prevented religion from becoming "non-important", if not "unimportant".⁹⁴ With the "rhetoric of celebration" that they adopted⁹⁵, the missionaries revitalised the religious atmosphere which was then being expressed by a "rhetoric of decline"⁹⁶. Their celebratory remarks frequently pronounced that paragraph of the Gospel: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world".⁹⁷

Missionary zeal was not of course peculiar to the nineteenth century. During their early colonisation efforts, Portugal and Spain were deeply involved in converting the natives under their dominion to Catholicism. When the EIC started to rule India, there already existed a considerable number of Catholic Indians. Stock underestimates these first attempts at a foreign mission as the activities of "the old corrupt Church" and continues;

The question may fairly be asked, How came it that the Reformed Churches were so slack while the unreformed Church was so vigorous? Various answers have been suggested to this question: for example, that the Reformers were too much occupied in making good their position at home to think of the Heathen abroad or that the Erastianism which subjected them to the secular power dulled their zeal. It does not, however, seem necessary to find reasons of this kind. A simple and sufficient cause is supplied by the fact that the navigating and exploring nations of the day were Spain and Portugal.⁹⁸

⁹³The intellectual and cultural movement started in the second half of the nineteenth century in the Indian sub-continent whose hallmarks were "a spirit of inquiry", "a search for new identity as a nation" and "a desire to make a synthesis between the values of India and Europe", are called 'Indian' or 'Bengal' Renaissance. Kumar Das, *The Shadow of the Cross*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1973), vii.

⁹⁴ Cox, "Missionary Movement", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 200.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 197.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 198

⁹⁷ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 3-4.

⁹⁸ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 16.

Further, it is a known fact that a Danish missionary movement started in Tranquebar in 1706. Then there came the missionary movement following the revival which appeared as the first fully organised English campaign. Evidently, the English were the last to be excited by missionary zeal, but they came to understand fully "the continued importance of religion in a world where the rules governing religion have changed fundamentally".⁹⁹

According to Stock, the missionary awakening began in 1786. He cites twelve different events to support his argument, though admitting that some might be 'unconnected'.¹⁰⁰ Among these incidents which took place simultaneously the most important ones were allegedly William Wilberforce's "entering into the peace of God" (his conversion), the arrival of David Brown in the sub-continent as the first chaplain to Bengal, Charles Grant's sound support for the "idea of a great mission to India" which would lead to the foundation of the CMS, the publication of Thomas Clarkson's essay on the abolition of the slave-trade, and the Bishop of Lincoln's words on India saying,

Can we withhold from so many millions of rational beings unhappily deluded by error or degraded by superstition, the privilege of an emancipation from their chains of darkness and an admission into the glorious liberty of the children of God?¹⁰¹

Nevertheless William Carey's sailing to India in 1793 is more widely accepted as the opening act.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Cox, "Missionary Movement", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 220.

¹⁰⁰ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 57.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1: 57

¹⁰² The first English missionary in India was Father Thomas Stephens (Estavo) who went to Goa in 1519. In 1694 Humphrey Prideux, later Dean of Norwich, proposed "a self sufficient Anglican ecclesiastical establishment" for the Englishmen in India.. Prideux became one of the first clergymen condemning the EIC's government in India by mentioning its decline when compared

A Baptist, William Carey (1761-1834), became the pioneer in the missionary movement by taking the first and the most courageous step on the way leading to India. His idea of the heathen, which owed a good deal to Captain James Cook and his voyages, inspired him to study linguistics along with horticulture in Moulton.¹⁰³ The year 1792 became a turning point in his career which would end with him as "a distinguished grammarian translator, and printer of Bibles in various Indian languages"¹⁰⁴ as well as a celebrated missionary. He founded the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Amongst the Heathen, the BMS, and also published *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathens* which is known as "the charter of the missionary movement".¹⁰⁵ Believing that "history is moving its culmination in the kingdom of Christ"¹⁰⁶, Carey concentrated on breaking down the barricades before the missionary movement. In his *Enquiry*, he underlines that for the mission of spreading the Gospel "a glorious door is opened, and is likely to be opened wider and wider"¹⁰⁷ And he himself became the first to enter that 'door' by sailing to India on June 13, 1793.

with the Dutch Company. According to him, this was "God's curse on Britain for neglecting the progress of Christianity". Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 19. Such attempt, of course remained ineffective for more than a century. Then Abraham Thomas Clarke of the Society for Promoting Christianity Knowledge landed to Calcutta in 1789. Although Stock pinpoints him as the first missionary went to India, apparently such a comment reflects the competition overseas between the Baptist and the Anglican evangelicals. The journey of Carey is widely considered as the first English attempt, since other men did not perform any missionary activity.

¹⁰³ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 59, and De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 177.

¹⁰⁴ Cox, "Missionary Movement" in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 205.

¹⁰⁵ De Jong, *Waters Cover Sea*, 178.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians* (London, 1792) quoted in Cox, "Missionary Movement" in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 202. 'Opened door' was a metaphor which was frequently used by the evangelicals. Also Stock describes India as an open door to enter in. Undoubtedly what inspired these men was Christ's words saying "Open ye gates, that the righteous...which keepeth the truth may enter in-". *Isa xxvi 2*

The year 1793 was one of the crucial landmarks in the progress of missionary activities in India. As a matter of fact, besides the journey of Carey, that date is significant in marking the renewal of the EIC's Charter. The sessions in Parliament resulted in harsh discussions, since an attempt was made to grant the missionaries freedom of action under the protection of the Company, by adding clauses to the charter for the first time.¹⁰⁸ The clauses were presented to the House of Commons by William Wilberforce but withdrawn after the severe attacks of Henry Dundas and Charles Fox. Thus, in a gross sorrow, Wilberforce spoke out his celebrated words saying,

All my clauses were struck out last night, and our territories in Hindostan, 20 millions of people included, are left in the undisturbed and peaceable possession, and committed to the providential protection, of -Brama.¹⁰⁹

This withdrawal was widely considered as a definite victory of the Company over the missionaries. Stock interprets the period till the next renewal of the charter in 1813 as "the Dark Period of 20 years in the history of Christianity".¹¹⁰ Apparently such a defeat encouraged the Company to "stiffen its regulations touching the admission into its territories of persons not sent by itself".¹¹¹ However one should remember that interest in the issue had been intensified through that debate in the House of Commons. And it did not prevent the Baptists from sailing to India.

¹⁰⁸ According to the provision, the Company was "empowered and required to appoint and set out ...missionaries" and "to settle the destination and to provide for the necessary and decent maintenance" of them. William Kaye, *Christianity in India*, (London, 1859), 518.

¹⁰⁹ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 54-56.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1: 95.

By means of the BMS, William Carey created "a new bureaucratic mechanism"¹¹² for foreign missions. Other sects subsequently developed similar organisations and followed his footprints overseas. In the beginning Carey did not receive any hearty support from any authority, even from the Baptists. Interestingly enough, Stock emphasises an incident when Carey was asked to cut his lecture on heathens and to sit down during a Baptist minister's meeting in 1786.¹¹³ In fact, one can consider his career as a further testimony to Smith's above-mentioned words concerning 'a history of personalities'. Although he was accompanied by a Baptist friend, John Thomas, on his journey to Bengal in 1793, Carey realised his plan on his own:

no man had ever embarked upon an evangelical mission to India so poorly equipped and badly handicapped as Carey. Xavier and Ziegenbalg (*the Royal Danish missionaries*) had the support of royalty. The Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Augustinians had the powerful backing of their organisations, and in some cases of civil authorities, further they were all unmarried people free to go where the spirit moved them.¹¹⁴

Only after 1799 when John Marshman and William Ward proposed to him to act together, did Carey begin to work in close collaboration with other missionaries. These three men came to be the 'Trio' and founded the Serampore Mission on January 10, 1800.¹¹⁵

Unlike other missionaries, the Baptists neither involved in any conflict among the missionary groups nor explicitly opposed the Established Church, despite their belief in the separation of the church and state. From the Baptists' point of view, any controversy among missionaries, such as the one between the BFBS and the

¹¹²Cox, "Missionary Movement" in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 204.

¹¹³ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 57.

¹¹⁴Thomas, *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan*, 114, quoted in Das, *The Shadow of the Cross*, 9-10.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 11.

SPCK , ¹¹⁶ were only “unnecessary obstacles to the Christianisation of India”¹¹⁷. Thus the BMS never gave up emphasising unity, even during the Company chaplains’ endeavour to “control the translations” and to “make the Serampore missionaries their servants” in 1810.¹¹⁸ They fully defined this policy of co-operation in an article published in the *Friend of India* in 1837:

Here, Christians of all sections have common object to pursue, the destruction of a debasing superstition (Hinduism), and the diffusion of Christian truth among the heathen...shame, indeed, will it be for us, if we waste on the unimportant questions of party strife those energies which ought to be employed against the common enemy.¹¹⁹

The first impressions of Hinduism in England depended mainly on the Baptists’ words which emphasised “that the only weapons that were effectual were those used by Luther in preaching salvation by faith”.¹²⁰ Though counting Hinduism as a monotheistic religion like Christianity and being well instructed in the vernacular languages of India, the Baptists did misunderstand many aspects of this religion. As Sahay aptly emphasises, “the Christian Movement in India is characterised by a long

¹¹⁶Among the never-ending controversies between various societies, the foremost was the between the BFBS and the SPCK. Since its foundation in 1804, the BFBS became “the most successful society in attracting support from a wide spectrum”. Carson, “Soldiers of Christ”, 266. On this account, it draw the hostility of many groups; in particular that of the High Churchmen in the SPCK. The main dispute between these two societies was the question of supremacy in the business of distributing Scripture to Tanjore and Tranquebar. Between 1805 and 1822, more than 170 pamphlets were published by the SPCK attacking the BFBS. John Owen, the secretary of the BFBS, denounced the authors of these pamphlets who were all ‘High Churchmen’ as “persons occupying the inferior or middle ranks of our Ecclesiastical Establishment”. John Owen, *The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 3 vols., (London, 1816), 3: 140.

¹¹⁷Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 57.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 55.

¹¹⁹“Union among Christians”, *Friend of India (Quarterly)*, 7, (September, 1837), quoted in *ibid.*, 49.

¹²⁰*Circular Letters of the Serampore Mission*, VIII (May, 1815) quoted in *ibid.*, 37. This quote explains the main point on which the Baptist missionary policy was built

history of repeated attempts, experimentation, error, stagnation, failure, success and vicissitudes".¹²¹ Thus 'errors' or 'failures' were not peculiar to the Baptists.

What puzzled the missionaries in India was particularly the caste system. As a result of their strictness and conservatism, they considered the caste system as "an integral part of traditional Hindu religion" and thus expected their first converts to abandon their caste together with their religion.¹²² However, what they were demanding was "a clean break away from the family relationships and the surroundings of the Hindus"¹²³. When Ward assertively remarked "Thus the door of faith is opened to the Hindoos-Who shall shut it? Thus the chain of cast is broken-Who shall mend it?", he was terribly mistaken.¹²⁴ Eventually they came to realise that the castes were components of the social, rather than the religious structure. But till that time, they "confronted nineteenth century Hinduism not only with the values of another civilisation...but also with the apologetic of another age (eighteenth century reason)".¹²⁵

The main issue that prevented the missionaries from approaching Hinduism with a sympathetic view was the idolatry it involved. According to the Baptists, Hinduism was "not only a religion but a very existence, which could and did encompass in one system the most sublime metaphysics and the crudest fetishisms".¹²⁶ Hence it was the reason for the misery which dominated the sub-continent:

¹²¹ Sahay, *Culture Change*, 16

¹²² Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 158.

¹²³ M. N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*, (Bombay, 1962), 107, quoted in Sahay, *Culture Change*, 16.

¹²⁴ *Ward's MSS. Journal*, I, (22 December, 1800) quoted in Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 35.

¹²⁵ Piggin, "Social Background", 318.

¹²⁶ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 1.

As Hindooism is incapable of carrying forward a nation in the career of improvement, so neither is it adapted for a high state of civilization; they can not co-exist together, but while there is no species of improvement to which Hindooism is not hostile, there is none which Christianity does not foster.¹²⁷

Nevertheless, while condemning Hinduism pitilessly, the missionaries failed to propagate fully what their own religion was. Additionally, in order to fulfil Christ's command saying "woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel"¹²⁸, they adopted a "combative" and "intolerant" way of evangelising shaped by their "narrow conception of the Gospel" which concentrated only on salvation and was shaped to their "hostility to doubt"¹²⁹ Thus in the short term they were not so successful on converting heathens into faithful Christians "who shall go forth, clothed in the armour of righteousness, to fight the battles of the Lord".¹³⁰ When the legendary Trio, consisting of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, realised that "...to insult a man...[was]...not precisely the mode best suited to gain his confidence and win his affection" in order to prove that "their stock is really a doctrine of vanities", thirty years had passed since the first arrival of Carey in India.¹³¹

One may think of 'civilising' as the second goal of missionaries which would be the step following 'conversion'. As a matter of fact, nothing warrants such an intention especially when "their ambiguous attitude to Western civilization" is considered.¹³² Since the missionaries had no trust that colonisation in India was aiming at exporting the virtues of their civilisation, by drawing a line between

¹²⁷*Friend of India (Quarterly)*, 12, (May, 1825), 54-55 quoted in *ibid*.

¹²⁸ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, 1. Cor. 9:126

¹²⁹ Piggin, "Social background", 32.

¹³⁰*Friend of India (Quarterly)*, 8, (January, 1835) quoted in Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 40.

¹³¹ *Ibid*.

¹³²Cox, "Missionary Movement", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 202.

Christianising and colonial civilising, they rejected a mission which would also include the additional element of introducing the Western way of life. The missionary publications mostly concentrated on "Christianising non -Christians" rather than "civilising barbarians".¹³³ Such a discrimination finds expression in a quote from Carey's *Enquiry* in which he answers the ones criticising him for his disregard of any attempt to civilise:

Would not the spread of the gospel be the most effectual means of their civilization? Would not that make them useful members of society?¹³⁴

Cox, pinpoints that policy as "the second missionary principle , discernible throughout the nineteenth century despite great confusion in its application".¹³⁵

Due to the 'great confusion', the first missionaries in India were accused of being "the purveyors of a human system" instead of a "divine life".¹³⁶ Indeed as they could not stay deaf and blind to the traditions of India such as infanticide, exposure of the sick and the dying, self-torture, and *sutte (sati)*¹³⁷, they found themselves deeply engaged in ameliorating the situation by teaching the Western norms to the heathens. Viewing the heathens as the sufferers of "either barbarism or religious error"¹³⁸ gained them a wide public support in the motherland.

While emphasising the decisive facts in the motivation of the missionaries to India, Fredercik Piggin, in his *The Social Background, Motivation, And Training of British Protestant Missionaries*, writes,

¹³³Cox, "Missionary Movement", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 212.

¹³⁴Carey, *Enquiry*, 70, quoted in *ibid.*, 213.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, 211.

¹³⁶Piggin, "Social Background", 318.

¹³⁷ The tradition of putting the widows to death by burning alive with the corpses of the husbands

¹³⁸Cox., "Missionary Movement", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 205.

If asked to isolate the most prominent element in missionary propaganda in the first half of the nineteenth century, a strong case could be made for the emphasis on the wretchedness of the "poor, benighted heathen".¹³⁹

Indeed, at the first glance, the feeling that stimulated the Evangelicals may be regarded as "disgust"¹⁴⁰ or "pity"¹⁴¹, but as Piggin subsequently adds, the genuine motive was rather soteriological.¹⁴² In missionary rhetoric, the first and foremost duty was service in the work of "salvation of souls" in the light of the Gospel, "a mighty 'engine' for the moral and material as well as the spiritual generation of human society".¹⁴³ Since the Hindus were "exposed to the dreadful and eternal wrath of an offended and holy God" due to their religion, the only way to release them from this "deplorable and dangerous condition" was to convert them to Christianity, in other words to work for their salvation.¹⁴⁴ Piggin interprets this motive as an outcome of their "gratitude to Christ for his gift of salvation"¹⁴⁵.

As the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century promised the approach of a new era, the coming days were evaluated as the best time to show that sound 'gratitude'. At the same time, their "sense of duty" and their "zeal for the honour and glory of God" also appeared as the inspiring elements.¹⁴⁶ Finally, the Dissenter's yearning for an acknowledgment "in the form of special honor, admiration, and

¹³⁹ Piggin, "Social Background", 175.

¹⁴⁰ Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 17.

¹⁴¹ Piggin, "Social Background", 177.

¹⁴² Ibid., 32, 177.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 177.

¹⁴⁴ *E. Crisp's Answers to Questions*, (13 December, 1817) quoted in *ibid.*, and Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 42.

¹⁴⁵ Piggin, "Social Background", 192.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 186-187.

respect" provided another exalted motive.¹⁴⁷ They were hoping to gain the prestige that the Established Church possessed, as a consequence of their missionary activities. The foundation of the Gothic Revival Churches and the colleges in the 1810s are considered as symbols of an achievement in that respect.¹⁴⁸ Piggin additionally pinpoints other factors such as "seeking heavenly reward"¹⁴⁹, "the love of adventure"¹⁵⁰ and the "desire to maximise one's usefulness" which was attributed by the author to "the utilitarianism of the period".¹⁵¹ Be this as it may, one should note that the force which moved the missionaries most deeply was their desire to save in the name of Christ.

As mentioned above, the birth and the progress of the English foreign missions owed a great deal to overseas expansion and subsequently to colonisation. Stock also pinpoints the "colonial enterprise" among the facts that generated "the very first missionary contribution in England".¹⁵² The growing missionary activity of the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century was "an attempt to salvage the Church from declining influence at home by identifying with Western imperial power abroad".¹⁵³ The missionaries in Africa and the Pacific, for instance, worked as if their activities were another aspect of colonisation carried out by the government.

¹⁴⁷ Cox, "Missionary Movement", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 205.

¹⁴⁸ Piggin, "Social Background", 158.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁵² Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 20. According to him, "the very first missionary contribution was Sir Walter Raleigh's gift of 100L to the company which founded the Elizabethan colony of Virginia".

¹⁵³ John Kent, *The Unacceptable Face: The Modern Church in the Eyes of the Historian*, (London, 1987) quoted in Cox, "Missionary Movement" in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 198.

However, Brain Stanley aptly underlines that while studying the missionary history, one should be aware of "the great variety of missionary tactics and the even greater variety of circumstances in which missionaries work[ed]".¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the missionary progress in India was completely different when compared with those in other places under British influence. The missionaries in the Indian sub-continent were extremely wary of introducing themselves as "unofficial agents of the government and the pioneers of British expansion".¹⁵⁵

Undoubtedly India, at the converging point of crucial seaways and with its vast, rich and populated lands, had an indispensable place in the imperial enterprise of Britain. On account of this, the directors of the EIC mounted guard over their delicate supremacy with utmost care. Nevertheless, though never being disloyal to their kingdom and though being aware of Christ's words saying "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's"¹⁵⁶, the missionaries preferred not to contribute to the prevailing colonisation activities in the sub-continent. It should not therefore be surprising to find out that missionaries were condemned as "marginal eccentrics", if not as "dangerous threats to imperial security".¹⁵⁷

What comes to the fore as the reason for the lack of cooperation between the missionaries and the government unlike in other lands under British influence, was the missionaries' peculiar interpretation of imperialism:

For missionaries, the British Empire, like the Roman Empire, was ephemeral and the Kingdom of God eternal. The British Empire might be providential, but it was also

¹⁵⁴Cox, "Missionary Movement", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 215.

¹⁵⁵ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 169.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.* Matt. xxii, 21.

¹⁵⁷Cox, "Missionary Movement" in *retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz., 199.

doomed, and the missionary task was to promote an ecclesiastical empire that would survive when the British Empire was dead and forgotten.¹⁵⁸

Jeffrey Cox, in his *The Missionary Movement* underlines that, owing to their negligence towards the imperialistic expectations of Britain, the missionaries, in particular those in India, were "treated as marginal figures or are not treated at all" and "dismissed as a minor and ephemeral aspect of colonial domination, or simply written off as a failure" in the imperial historiography.¹⁵⁹

In fact, there are historians interpreting the missionary movement itself as a kind of imperialism but rather "an aggressive cultural imperialism".¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, when one considers the above-mentioned "ambiguous attitude" of the missionaries to Western values, neither culture nor imperialism appear as the appropriate words to define that phenomena and yet such a point of view is not widely accepted. Evidently the missionaries did not act "in the name of their culture", but "in the name of 'Him, who had died for them'".¹⁶¹ In the beginning of the nineteenth century, that essential difference would be among the factors affecting the War of Pamphlets, as it affected any crisis between the missionaries and the EIC.

Additionally, the missionaries' hostility towards the Honourable Company is closely related to their favouring of free market. Excluding the interruption at the turn of the seventeenth century, the EIC had possessed all the right to trade to India throughout 213 years between 1600 and 1813. Consequent to the rise of liberal

¹⁵⁸ Brain Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag* quoted in Cox, "Missionary Movement", in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 201.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁶⁰ K.E. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories: 1570-1850*, (London, 1963), .381 quoted in Piggin, "Social Background", 172.

¹⁶¹ M.A.C. Warren, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*, (London, 1960), 44 quoted in *ibid.*

theories in the last years of the eighteenth century, the Anglican missionaries in particular, who were also called “liberal social theorists”¹⁶², endeavoured to challenge that monopoly base in Parliament, with the indispensable support of the ‘Saints’. While explaining the reason for the missionaries’ call for free market, Paz aptly emphasises that “a religion one forced by state power is fundamentally different from one that must operate in a free market in institutions and ideas”.¹⁶³ Interestingly enough, he suggests that the missionary societies were founded as alternative companies to help people to “abandon their faith in the meddling magistrate, the venal trading company and the indifferent church hierarchy”.¹⁶⁴

Ironically enough, despite their non-imperial rhetoric in India, the missionaries never managed to release themselves from being identified as the agents of the British imperialism. In the eyes of some Indians, the Company officials and the missionaries were speaking the same language of one country and showed no difference while terminating that which had endured for ages. Within that framework, the words of a Hindu addressed to William Carey are significant in reflecting the atmosphere in the sub-continent: “You English have taken the whole country, and now you want the people to receive your religion. They would be great fools if they did”.¹⁶⁵

All in all since 1793, the missionaries took the same route as the Honourable Company on the vast territories of the Indian sub-continent. However before the sailing of Carey, it was already clear that they would be no allies in the same cause.

¹⁶² Hilton, *Atonement*, 205.

¹⁶³ Cox, “Missionary Movement”, in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 200.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 203-204.

¹⁶⁵ *Ward's MSS Journal I*, (27 Augustus, 1800) quoted in Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 220.

The missionaries built their activities on interfering with the religions of India, which meant an explicit attack on the government of the Company. Considering that band of clergymen as a serious menace to their existence in India, the directors stood against the missionary activities with an “almost hysterical opposition”.¹⁶⁶ In the next chapter, the religious policy of the Honourable Company, the reasons for the never-ending battle between the EIC and the missionaries and the course of events on the eve of the War of Pamphlets will be discussed.

¹⁶⁶ Piggin, “Social Background”, 173.

CHAPTER II

THE MISSIONARY CHALLENGE TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RELIGIOUS POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE

Throughout its history of 258 years the EIC frequently found itself taking a defensive position to meet many attacks coming from various political, economic, and religious groups in Britain. Although by 1740s the British colonies all around the world were generally under direct royal administration executing the colonial policy of the Crown, in India the situation was different.¹ The territories were in the possession of the Company until their annexation to the British empire in 1858. In the motherland almost every action taken by the EIC was regarded very cautiously.

J. W. Bourne in his *Patronage and Society in the Nineteenth Century* points out that the territories under the EIC were “areas of patronage....beyond the control, the pretensions and the influence of the landed classes”.² Indeed between the years 1784 and 1858 the Honourable Company was synonymous with patronage and this patronage was only for the directors of the Company to enjoy; “few patrons who wished to support their kinsmen and dependants were in the happy position of the directors of the East India Company”.³ Apparently the reason why the Company was

¹ The colonial policy of the British empire was that colonial populations enjoyed the maximum liberty and autonomy, thought to be essential stimulants to economic exertion, compatible with obedience to imperial authority in the form of instructions to the Governors and occasional Acts of Parliament. J. Black, *British Politics and Society from Walpole to Pitt 1742-1789* (London: MacMillan, 1990), 180.

²J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in the Nineteenth Century England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), 55.

³Ibid., 181. According to the author, the opinions about the patronage of the Company vary from “narrow-mindedness and self-interest” to “generosity and humanity”.

granted such a power despite its tainted reputation was its success in keeping the sub-continent in order in the name of Britain, miles away from her. However the “high tolerance” which let the patronage of India stay in the hands of the Company’s directors disappeared through the first half of the nineteenth century; mostly due to the newly emerged hostility towards any kind of patronage and certainly because of the opposing campaign of the missionaries.⁴

In the first half of the EIC’s history when it was a “salaried patronage”⁵, the criticism focused on the Company’s Indian trade monopoly. However this common grievance in England gained new dimensions after the battle of Plassey (1757) which made the Company the supreme governor of “twenty million of people in an area five times the size of England and Wales”⁶. This may rightly be regarded as the beginning of its “imperial patronage”⁷. The decisive victory of the Company’s army under the command of Lord Clive (1757-1767) over the Indian princes whose wandering forces had been making trouble in the area since the fall of the Mughal Empire in 1720 marked the commencement of a new era in India. Henceforth the EIC, besides its “commercial-cum-imperial role”, was to perform a new role as the “Indian ruler”.⁸

When ‘The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies’, later the East India Company, was granted the charter to possess the monopoly of English trade to India on 31 December 1600, it appeared as the first step in the realisation of the British dream to repeat the overseas ‘success’ of the

⁴Bourne, *Patronage*, 181.

⁵Ibid., 13.

⁶Black, *British Politics*, 180.

⁷Bourne, *Patronage*, 13.

⁸Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 139.

Portuguese in the sixteenth century.⁹ Having properly examined the Portuguese case, the governors of the Company concluded that the aggressive “proselytising zeal” of the Portuguese had prevented this success from lasting.¹⁰ Thus one of the main tenets of their attempt to succeed far longer than the Portuguese was non-interference with the traditions and religions in India.

Before the British, the Dutch had applied this same principle to their overseas expansion. Although the Royal Danish missionaries could enter to the Dutch as well as the Danish colonies in India freely, they were never welcomed by the colonisers.¹¹ In order to secure its existence, the EIC initially adapted many aspects of the military, naval, administrative and religious policies of the Dutch India Company which was then the supreme power in the sub-continent. When the British became the sole governors of India after 1757, the EIC had already successfully taken control of the country, by adopting the attitude of the Dutch towards its administration. The magic principle was to contact with “social groups rather than with individuals or with the public at large”.¹² Undoubtedly this principle was formulated with respect to the caste system; the discrimination among the caste groups was thus preserved for the colonisers’ benefit.

The caste system was not the only peculiarity of Indian society which attracted the British attention. There were additionally ‘certain dreadful practices’ as the

⁹ Sir William Foster, ch. 4 in *British India 1497-1858*, vol. 4 of *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, ed. H.H. Dodwell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), 76.

¹⁰ Sahay, *Culture Change*, 22.

¹¹ Carson, “Soldiers of Christ”, 24.

¹²U. C. Wickremeratne, “The English East India Company and Society in the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon 1796-1802”, *the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1971): 155. Unlike the Dutch, the EIC had close relationship with the Muslims and the Roman Catholics. In particular the Company’s

Baptists called them, such as infanticide, self-torture, and *Sati*. However, though never approving, the Company was to tolerate all these phenomena in order to maintain its hegemony as the 'Indian ruler'. Furthermore, Company officials themselves organised financed the numerous temples and mosques of the Indians. All this while, the general opinion in England was that the Company should represent "a nation which was presided over by a monarch who was head of both the Anglican Church and State"¹³.

The EIC, being not yet experienced and able enough to execute power over a vast and populous country miles away from the motherland, was under the strict control of Parliament. In 1773 Lord Clive treated as a national hero after the battle of Plassey, was accused of mismanagement and severely attacked in a campaign which was headed by Charles James Fox. However such an outcome had been foreseen by Clive in 1759. Being aware of his and the Company's weaknesses, he earnestly proposed to William Pitt that the Crown should take over from the Company the management of the newly-conquered territories.¹⁴ As a matter of fact, this proposal of Clive may be taken as a testimony that the EIC was not less than enthusiastic about being involved in administrative issues and being an Indian prince.

The indispensable instruments of the overseas expansion of Britain were "those voluntary yet, in a sense, authorised associations called Chartered Companies"¹⁵ and undoubtedly the EIC was the most important among them. Having been granted crucial privileges that no other company had ever possessed, the affairs of the

compromise with the Roman Catholics became one of the foremost factors arousing negative feelings among the missionaries.

¹³Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 139.

¹⁴L. W. Cowie, *Edmund Burke: A Bibliography* (London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 65.

Honourable Company focused many minds on its activities. Surely it was more than an ordinary commercial institution as Edmund Burke stressed:

The East India Company did not seem to be merely a Company formed for the extension of the British commerce, but in reality a delegation of the whole power and sovereignty of this kingdom sent into the East.¹⁶

That dual character of the Company often left Englishmen confused on what was really happening miles away from Britain. Its government was never highly esteemed by many MPs, in particular after the change from “the peaceful traders into domineering rulers”¹⁷. As the Rev. Robert Hunter concluded in 1863,

the people of England had never understood the Company, and had never loved it with any heartfelt love. They had turned a deaf ear to any who spoke of his virtues, and been all attention to those who volunteered information regarding its shortcomings.¹⁸

Indeed public opinion commonly considered the Company as a wicked organisation acting solely to secure its monopoly rights and privileges. “Exaggerated accounts of the misbehaviour of the English in the East had excited deep feeling at home.”¹⁹

On the other hand there were people, like the Rev. Frank Parry who strongly believed that

...the Directors of the Company were men of high standing in the City of London, Christian gentlemen jealous of their honour as merchants of so great a city, and careful of their ‘merchantly carriage’. Their actions both at home and abroad accorded with their high character.²⁰

¹⁵ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 51.

¹⁶ *Speeches... in the Trial of Warren Hastings*, (London, 1956) II: 15 quoted in P. E. Roberts, ch. 10 in *British India*, ed. Dawney, 182.

¹⁷R. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the East India Company*, (New York & London: Monthly Review Press, 1974), xiii.

¹⁸Robert Hunter, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages to the Fall of the east India Company, and the Proclamation of Queen in 1858*, (London, 1863), 275.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 166.

²⁰Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904), 1: vii.

Undoubtedly such words were far from reflecting the general point of view in England.

According to Burke, MPs' England's view of India as "an exotic place beyond normal understanding" encouraged the EIC to start to become arbitrary.

India must be approximated to our understandings, and if possible to our feelings; in order to awaken something of sympathy for the unfortunate natives, of which I am afraid we are not susceptible, whilst we look at this very remote object through a *false and cloudy medium*.²¹

However the 'false and cloudy medium' was never wholly cleared even by the 1850s and thus many crises, including the War of Pamphlets, were provoked.

Before the warning of King George III that "the regulation of a vast territory in Asia opens a large field for your wisdom, prudence and foresight"²², the Commons had already focused on the ambiguities of government in India. The Company and its officials had become subjects of discussion in many parliamentary debates in which words like 'mismanagement', 'abuse' and 'reform' were frequently pronounced. The time which passed before the dissolution of the Company in 1858 became a period of continuous debates on what the most virtuous way of governing for the Honourable Company should be. The most prominent ones were those occasioned by Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, Fox's India Bill of 1783, Pitt's India Bill of 1784, and those of the renewals of the Company's charter starting from 1793 and continuing till 1833. Eventually "on each occasion the Company had to give up something of its rights".²³

²¹P. J. Marshall and G. Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 25.

²²Black, *British Politics*, 198.

²³H. H. Dodwell, chap. 18 of *British India*, ed. Dodwell, 313.

Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 was one of the early measures taken by Parliament. With the Regulating Act, the authority which was wholly executed by the EIC, was divided between the Company and Crown by designating a Governor-General who would be appointed by the Company but controlled by a Council consisted of four members appointed by the Crown. Ten years later, in 1783, Fox presented his India bill to Parliament in which a commission consisting of four Foxites and three supporters of North was proposed. This bill was dismissed since such a commission was commonly interpreted as a Foxite attempt to gain "the monopoly of India patronage"²⁴. Fox defended himself that what he asked for was "a mixed system of government, adapted.....to the mixed complexion of our interests in India"²⁵. The following year, William Pitt prepared another Indian bill "to give the crown the power of guiding the politics of India with as little means of corrupt influence as possible", which was to him "the true plan for India"²⁶. When Pitt's India Bill was enacted in 1784, the Court of Directors began to be managed by a Board of Control.²⁷ Also, the king, in agreement with the Cabinet, was to appoint the Governor-General.

From the turn of the eighteenth century, time actually did not work in favour of the Company on the parliamentary side. As the mismanagement of some directors became widely known in Britain and as liberalism increased its influence on politics

²⁴Cowie, *Bibliography*, 66

²⁵ Roberts, chap. 10 of *British India*, ed. Dawney, 196. *Parliamentary History*, xxiii, 1212.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 202. *Parliamentary History*, xxiv, 408.

²⁷ Although Pitt's India Bill is widely considered as a limitation to the patronage of the Company, Bourne in his *Patronage and Society in the Nineteenth Century England* looks at this regulation from a different light. According to him, since "the recruitment of the soldiers and civil servants who governed the Indian empire remained in the gift of the Court of Directors" which was in fact "a

and the economy, the number of MPs in favour of the Company's monopoly was considerably lessened. Meanwhile, besides the case for the break-up of the trade monopoly, the most popular argument troubling the Governor-Generals grew out of the Evangelical awakening in the second half of the eighteenth century. The evangelicals were represented in Parliament by the 'Saints'.

When the Evangelical revival in Britain gave birth to the missionary movement in the 1790s, the EIC had been in the Indian subcontinent for more than a century and a half. Throughout these years the directors of the Company had found out that the only way to secure their commercial privileges first and then to administer vast territories under their control in peace was to avoid the fatal mistake of the Portuguese. With that in mind, the Company had adopted the policy of absolute non-interference with any religious value or administrative issue which was Indian. As Gardner informs us, that policy was later to be called by a director as "the 'compact' existing between the British Government and its Hindoo and Mahometan subjects, upon which their allegiance and our dominion depend."²⁸ The regulation below which was enacted in 1772 appeared as one of the early indications of such a 'compact':

In suits regarding...all religious usages and institutions the Mahometan laws with respect to Mahometans, and the Hindu laws with regard to Hindoos, are to be considered the general rules by which the judges are to form their decisions.²⁹

Although this study does not intend to deal with the lengthy impeachment of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, started in 1788, I believe that among

more-or-less self-electing oligarchy of 24 men" enjoying "enormous" power, putting them under the Board of Control did not restrain their authority.

²⁸Nancy Gardner Cassels, "The 'Compact' and the Pilgrim Tax: The Genesis of East India Company Social Policy", *Canadian Journal of History* 7/1 (1972): 39.

many accusations made in the process of impeachment Edmund Burke's attacks on the law to rule India will particularly serve to point out that the issue of 'compact' was neither comprehended nor approved in Britain. While Burke was attacking Hastings' government on behalf of those who were regarding the Indian affairs from the aspect of British civilisation, Hastings stood as the voice of those who understood the peculiarities of the subcontinent and stressed that "Britain's Indian government was not Christian but Hindu and Muslim, administered by Christians for their benefit"³⁰. Throughout centuries many crises, both in Parliament and in British India, appeared as the clashing of these two opposing groups.

According to Hastings, arbitrary power was "the normal mode of rule in Asia" and there was "no universal law of just conduct on essential principles".³¹ Further the actions condemned by Burke as 'arbitrary' had their place in law, not in Natural Law but in Asian law, "the only way in which Asiatics could be ruled".³² That theory was the justification of the Company's involvement in 'certain dreadful practices', what was seen as arbitrary in Britain was not arbitrary in India. Undoubtedly Hastings' "theory of geographical morality and arbitrary power"³³ was unacceptable for Burke and his supporters. In fact, it was not necessary to be a supporter of Burke to agree with his words below. They reflect the general tendency of the opponents of the EIC in the 1790s:

²⁹Cassels, "Compact and Pilgrim Tax", 38. *Minute by J.H. Harrington, 28 June' 1823, Parliamentary Papers (1825), xxi, Cmd 518.*

³⁰Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 142. Such a view was also shared by Scott Waring who was one of the foremost participants of the War of Pamphlets.

³¹D. Ritchie, *Edmund Burke: Appraisals and Applications* (London, 1990), 223.

³²F. Canavan, *Prescriptions of Government*, quoted in *ibid.*, 263.

³³Stanlis, *Burke and the Natural Law*, quoted in *ibid.*, 219.

...this gentleman has formed a geographical morality, by which the duties of men in public and private stations are not to be governed by their relation one another, but by climates... Mr Hastings comes before you...he says "I had arbitrary power to exercise, and I exercised it. Slaves I found the people, slaves they are; they are so by their constitution; I did not make it for them; I was fortunately bound to exercise it, and I did exercise it"...In India, to use the words of Mr Hastings, the power of the sovereign was every thing the rights of the people nothing...The prisoner...assumes to exercise a power which extended to the property, liberty, and life of the subject...he makes the corrupt practices of mankind the principle of his government; he collects together the vicious examples of all the robbers and plunders of Asia, forms the mass of their abuses into a code, and calls it the duty of a British governor.³⁴

When Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General from 1786 to 1793, enacted his Permanent Settlement, a long series of regulations in 1793 which were later known as the 'Cornwallis Code', a vociferous opposition similar to that of Burke against Hastings was embodied all around England. In particular what was focused upon was Regulation III stating,

The regulations which may be adopted for the internal government of the country, will be calculated to preserve them ...the laws of the Shaster and the Koran, in matters to which they have been invariably applied- to protect them in the free exercise of their religion- and to afford security to their persons and property.³⁵

Thus the year 1793 once again stands as a turning point, since Regulation III aroused many more opposing voices than before, asking "was that a Christian government, by restoring public confidence in the administration of...(these institutions and affairs)...had greatly promoted the standing and prestige of Hinduism and Islam".³⁶ After 1793, the missionaries wholly concentrated on replacing the 'compact' with Christianity as "the only way to cement relationships between rulers and ruled in a land which was too vast to be held by force"³⁷

³⁴Ritchie, *Appraisals*, 219. 16 February 1788 .

³⁵J. W. Kayè, *Memorials of Indian Government, Being a selection from the Papers of Henry St George Tucker* quoted in Cassels, "Compact and Pilgrim Tax", 39.

³⁶Smith, *India as a Secular State*, quoted in Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 161.

³⁷Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 76.

As popular criticism of the Company increased, every renewal of its charter turned out to be a welcome opportunity for its opponents to expose its 'abuses'. Particularly in the last three renewals before the dissolution, drastic clauses reflecting the dominant British opinions about political, economic and religious matters, though contradicting the Company's manifesto, were imposed. From 1793, the debates on the renewal of the Honourable Company's charter became much more heated and tense.

In the renewal of 1698, the first clauses on the Company's religious responsibilities were inserted in the charter. Henceforth the Company was to obtain "a convenient place for divine service in every factory and garrison" and to recruit a chaplain for every ship sailing in the east seas.³⁸ Additionally, according to one clause, the chaplains in India "should apply themselves to learn the native language of the country...the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be servants or slaves of the Company or of their Agents in the Protestant Religion"³⁹. The EIC completely overlooked the insertion of such a sentence in the Charter and continued on its way. Since the Evangelical revival had not yet attracted attention to the religious issues in India and since India had been widely considered too 'exotic' to understand, no one asked why the chaplains failed to speak the languages required in the clause.⁴⁰ From this standpoint the renewal of 1698 is not a significant landmark in the history of Christianity in India. Nevertheless that date and the neglect of these

³⁸Penny, *Church in Madras*, 1: 122-123.

³⁹Jorg Fish, "A Pamphlet War on Christian Missions in India 1807-1809", *Journal of Asian History* 19/1 (1985):24. House of Commons sessional papers of the eighteenth century, 5 September 1698, 26

⁴⁰Penny in his *the Church in Madras* refers only to Portuguese as the language required to be learned. And according to him, the chaplains did not learn Portuguese since after the first quarter

clauses were to be mentioned frequently in the evangelical rhetoric of the nineteenth century in order to warrant the wickedness of the Company.

The first attempt of the missionaries to be allowed to enter the British territories in India came during the debates on the renewal of the Company's charter in 1793 which is mentioned in the previous chapter. The 'Saints', by means of Wilberforce, presented to the House of Commons a clause which was later to be called the "pious clause":

Whereas such measures ought to be adopted for the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement;.....the....Court of Directors....are hereby empowered and required to send out , from time to time.....fit and proper persons.....as schoolmasters, missionaries, or otherwise....The said Court of Directors are hereby empowered and required to give directions to the governments....In India to settle the destination and to provide for the necessary and decent maintenance of the persons so to be sent out.⁴¹

However, a new term which had not been pronounced in 1698, was added to the clause above under the influence of evangelicalism. This was the establishment of Missionary Departments in three Presidencies; namely Bengal, Calcutta and Madras.

Although the House of Commons initially agreed with the insertion of such sentences, later owing to the severe opposition from Henry Dundas, then the first president of the Board of Control, and Charles Fox, the clause was withdrawn on the third reading. Frank Penny, though stressing the resolution as a consequence of the opposing campaign of the SPCK and the Danish Royal missionaries, describes those who stood against the 'Saints' as "men who knew something of the history of India" and adds that "neither Mr Dundas nor the best of the other opponents were opposed

of the eighteenth century the Portuguese had already started to speak English. Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2: 2.

⁴¹A. T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), 152.

to the prosecution of missionary work a missionary way; all their efforts were directed against the creation of a Government Missionary Establishment".⁴²

In contrast to Fisch's words evaluating the withdrawal as "a clear victory for the Company against missionary attempts"⁴³, the renewal of 1793 not only eroded the popularity of the EIC considerably but also intensified the expectations on the Company to gain a religious character. That one and the future victories of the EIC over the missionaries on various occasions were not because the public was supporting the Company's administration, but as Ingham points out, because "the Directors had little difficulty in imposing their views upon the members of Parliament" which reminds us of the above-mentioned words of Bourne on patronage.⁴⁴

The Honourable Company never intended to earn a religious character and was always prudent when the subject was the introduction of Christianity to India. It managed not to involve itself in such matters till it became inevitable with the territorial acquisition subsequent to the battle of Plassey. Since these new possessions with their heathen populace opened a most promising missionary field to the Evangelicals who were deeply excited to "go ye therefore", the missionaries put considerable pressure on the Company to force it to take an interest in the conversion of the Hindus and Muslims there. Before the first missionary arrived in India, the missionaries had already devoted themselves to the view that "taking care of religion" could no more be "the responsibility of someone else, a meddling magistrate, East

⁴² Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2: 4.

⁴³Fisch, "Pamphlet War", 25.

⁴⁴Kenneth Ingham, *Reformers in India 1793-1833: An Account of the Work of Christian Missionaries on behalf of Social Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 10.

India Company bureaucrat, or worldly bishop”⁴⁵. Thus the events in India following the missionary awakening were to prove the truth of the words: “It was difficult to trade in India according to the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, and business and religion did not go very well together.”⁴⁶

When William Carey arrived in India in 1793, as expected he was not granted a license or allowed to settle within the British territories.⁴⁷ Eustace Carey who wrote a book on the memoirs of the first British missionary to India mentions with resentful words the Company’s attitude to missionary work:

The conduct of British authorities in India upon the subject of religion, was strangely anomalous and absurd; arising partly from ignorance of the true genius of Christianity, and the legitimate means of diffusing it; and partly from a profane indifference to the spiritual welfare of the millions they governed, and a repugnance and hostility to whatever might seem only to interfere with their own secular ambition and cupidity.⁴⁸

The Baptists preferred to start their campaign from a Danish settlement in Serampore. Meanwhile the SPCK missionaries were operating in another Danish colony at Tranquebar. However Carey was not satisfied with his position in Serampore and concentrated his activity in Calcutta, which had a dense population of Hindus and Europeans. Soon, on 10 November 1793 Carey and Thomas entered Calcutta, one of the presidencies of the EIC, “without being molested or even noticed”⁴⁹, as they were successfully disguised as indigo planters. Thus, throughout twenty years until

⁴⁵ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 170.

⁴⁶ Sahay, *Culture Change*, 22.

⁴⁷ Penny, as it was cited in the above-mentioned article, stresses that Carey and Thomas “were welcomed and willingly helped by the best of the Company’s civil and military servants”. Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2: 200. Indeed such a statement on the Company’s attitude towards the first British missionaries seems to me as the weakest point of his work, though in my opinion

⁴⁸ Eustace Carey, *Memoirs of William Carey* (1836) quoted in Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 169.

⁴⁹ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 170. *Carey’s MSS Journal*, 10 Nov. 1793.

1813, the British missionaries continued to be recorded in the official reports as indigo planters sharing the same career with Carey.

Samuel Butler, the Bishop of Worcester warned that "...unless [the EIC] act cautiously, these methodistical proselytizers, by their absurd enthusiasm, will bring about the loss of India".⁵⁰ Such anxious statements were often made throughout the second half of the Honourable Company's rule in India. On account of their desire for "overall changes in the beliefs and actions of native peoples at colonisation of heart and mind as well as body", the missionaries were apparently looking for "a more radical and morally intense commitment to rule than political administrators or business men".⁵¹ And the directors were almost unanimously alarmed that the missionary activity might change the course of events in the sub-continent; in the way that the Company had already predicted:

All were convinced that rebellion, civil war, and universal unrest would certainly accompany every attempt to promote missionary enterprise, and above all, that the conversion of a high-caste native soldier would inevitably mean the disbanding of the army and the overthrow of British rule in India.⁵²

In sharp contrast to its well-known toleration for the Royal Danish missionaries as well as the Catholics within its territories, the EIC did everything to prevent the contact of the British missionaries with the Indians.

In the missionary rhetoric, 'toleration' is a frequently stressed word to condemn the Company's uncompromising attitude towards the missionaries. Fisch defines the toleration "by the extent to which religious communities enjoy rights

⁵⁰ J. Vandenberg, *Constrained by Jesus' Love*, (Amsterdam: Kampen, 1956), 145 quoted in Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 63.

⁵¹ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 171.

⁵² J. N. Farquhar, *The Modern Religious Movements in India*, (New York, 1919), 8-12 quoted in Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall*, 321.

within a state”⁵³ and continues that it might not be “the same for all religions or denominations”⁵⁴. What is called “a system of graded toleration” by the author existed in England as well as in British India at the time of the Evangelical revival.⁵⁵ Similarly Carson interprets the Company’s religious policy as “a pragmatic policy of toleration”⁵⁶. Indeed, the EIC condoned the activities of Danish and Catholic missionaries throughout its history but when the question became that of the work of British missionaries in India, due to the above-mentioned facts the Honourable Company had turned into an uncompromising opponent of the missionary activities by the end of the eighteenth century. According to the directors the Danish were tolerated because “they were so few in number” and “often proved useful in a secular capacity”.⁵⁷ And it was evidently in the interest of the Company to control the activities of the Catholic missionaries rather than allowing hostile French to do it. Alexander Smith’s words are significant to reflect the atmosphere in the sub-continent which disgusted the evangelicals:

In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated, but the Presbyterian: and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their idols in procession through the town. The Roman Catholics have their Church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahometan is not discountenanced; but there are no polemics except between our High Church men and our Low, or between the Government’s party and other private merchants on points trade.⁵⁸

During the first debates on the foreign missions to India, it became clear that the British missionaries would not enjoy the toleration that the other missionaries had

⁵³ Fisch, “Pamphlet War”, 23.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Carson, “Soldiers of Christ”, 20.

⁵⁷Ingham, *Reformers in India*, 1.

⁵⁸Eyre Chatterton, *History of the Church of England in India* (London: Macmillan, 1924), 72.

been enjoying for more than hundred years. In the later memoirs of missionaries or the contemporary sympathisers of missionary activities such as John William Kaye that attitude of the Company was regarded as its 'depart' from the honourable principles such as toleration:

During one half of this period it was a trading, and during the other half a political and administrative organization; while all through its history, when it departed from the principles of toleration, it was hostile to Christian Missions from a blinded selfishness. Yet it was used by the Sovereign Ruler of the human race to prepare the way and open wide the door for the first hopeful and ultimately assuredly successful attempt, since the apostolic Church swept away Paganism, to destroy the idolatrous and Muslim cults of Asia.⁵⁹

Preferring to call the Company's policy as "religious neutrality"⁶⁰ rather than toleration, Stock also points that the "Government neutrality was in fact one-sided" and "it had failed in its desired effect upon the Indian people"⁶¹. However Stock, while demanding absolute toleration from the Company, himself became an example of what he had condemned as 'one-sided', when he denounced the SPCK and SPG and suggested a limitation on their activities in the sub-continent saying, "they did good in their day; but all they got then was the barest toleration".⁶²

Frank Penny became the only clergymen to defend the EIC against the attacks of the missionaries or the Saints. He even criticises J.W. Kaye's *Christianity in India*, which became one of the most quoted books in missionary publications and will be frequently cited in the coming pages of this study, by claiming that it was "a misleading of public opinion on the attitude and the contention of the East India Company with regard to missionary work in India". Throughout his three-volume work *The Church in Madras*, Penny devoted himself to correct the common

⁵⁹Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 51.

⁶⁰Ibid., 2: 235.

⁶¹Ibid., 2: 236.

'misinterpretations' on the Company's restraint of the spread of Christianity. He stresses "the fortunes and misfortunes of war" as the only obstacle before the missionaries and adds

There was no hostility, no intolerance of missionary effort, no dark period of discouragement, no attempt to keep missionaries out of the country. Statements to the contrary must be read in the light of the Company's own records, which are their complete refutation.⁶³

Apparently, the only one who was influenced by Penny's single-handed attempt was Eyre Chatterton from the SPCK. In his *History of the Church of England in India* Chatterton underlines that

Mr Penny, in his *Church in Madras*, has cleared away effectually many misunderstandings regarding the attitude of the East India Company towards missionary effort. He has made it clear to us that from the first Chaplains of the East India Company, as well as its other officials, welcomed most heartily these Lutheran

⁶²Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 66.

⁶³ Penny, *Church in Madras*, 1: viii. As mentioned above, Penny was one of a kind with his words of a clergyman appraising the religious policy of the Company. On this account when the first volume of his work was published in 1904, it aroused a considerable opposition in missionary publications. Inside that volume kept in the Lambeth Palace Library (shelf-mark H5671.M3) I found an article written in that vein pasted on the back of the book's cover. Since it includes many names I have mentioned throughout my study and further it reflects the later discussions going on the missionaries and their relations with the EIC, here I give some quotations from that article: "...there can be no doubt that his two volume will always be regarded as the classical work on the subject...Whether Mr Penny's inferences from his facts are always equally correct is another question. His main purpose throughout the work is to vindicate the East India Company's reputation in regard to its attitude towards Missions, and towards religion generally. In missionary circles, certainly, that attitude has been often severely censured, and we think all will admit that the censure has been too severe and indiscriminate. It is a pleasure to read much evidence that Mr Penny has unearthed, showing the Company's care in many ways to provide the ministrations of the Church and to treat missionaries not only with tolerance, but even, in some cases, with favour. But when we take a general review of the history we can not think that the writers who have in the past been accepted as the chief authorities have been so entirely wrong as Mr Penny makes out. Sir John Kaye, Hough, J. C. Marshman, Sherring, Dr George Smith, Lord Teignmouth himself, and many others are not so easily overthrown. Not were Wilberforce and Charles Grant and Claudius Buchanan quite so lacking in wisdom and discretion as Mr Penny's readers might imagine. We would not lay stress on accidental slips on his, as when he shows us Carey and his colleagues working at Serampore "with the tacit approval of the authorities" without adding that this was not then British territory, but Danish, where they had been obliged by British hostility to take refuge.....However, the truth seems to be that (1) the authority at Madras were more tolerant than the at Calcutta; (2) the Serampore Baptists were not always discreet, and that this influenced the Bengal government; (3) that the Company as a whole ought not to be held responsible for the wild language of some of its members; (4) that a sentence in Dr Stock's *History of the Church Missionary Society*, referred to by Mr Penny, that "all possible discouragement was given to every effort to spread the Gospel", is too strong. To this extent an impartial judgement will probably decide that Mr Penny makes out his case..."

missionaries, and were prepared to give them any assistance in their power towards carrying out their missionary designs. We shall see later how they actually employed many of these missionaries in carrying for their troops and looking after the schools they had started for subordinates in their service. So well were they disposed towards them that it was customary to give them free passages' on their ships and to convey their goods from Europe to India free of charge.⁶⁴

Sixty years later Penny and Chatterton, Carson similarly suggests that the Company showed an earnest concern in missionary activities. According to her, the regulation of the Court of Directors in 1752 cited below can be taken as a further testimony that "at least seventy years before 1813, the Company had approved the principle missionary work, and was prepared to support financially":

As a further encouragement to the said missionaries to exert themselves in propagating the Protestant religion, we hereby empower you to give them, at such time as you shall think proper, in our name, any sum of money, not exceeding 500 pagodas, to be laid out in such manner and appropriated to such uses as you shall approve of. And you are hereby directed to give us from time to time an account of the progress made by them in educating children and increasing the Protestant religion, together with your opinion on their conduct in general, and what further encouragement they deserve.

While the number of such examples can be increased, can we say that the EIC supported the missionaries and their zealous efforts of Christianisation? Probably not, and many incidents such as the War of Pamphlets were to prove that the missionaries did not receive any hearty support from the Company, even after 1813. And the words cited below never ceased to exist in the missionary rhetoric:

Orders were sent to the Government of India, a short time since, to proclaim to the natives of the country, that the Government would proscribe any one of their Christian servants who should be guilty of contributing any pecuniary aid to Missions, or should assist any such efforts for the enlightenment and conversion of the people. The military servants of the Company also, have been required to attend at idolatrous festivals, and to fire salutes in honor of the idols. For refusing to order the soldiers to comply with these customs.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Chatterton, *Church in India*, 102-03. Additionally, the author quotes from a prayer of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London sermonised in 2 December, 1698 for the Honourable Company, as an evidence that the servants of the Company were wholly devoted Christians and thus could not be hostile to the 'soldiers of Christ'. *Ibid.*, 47. However one should remember that the author refers to the Danish missionaries, not the British.

⁶⁵ George Gould, *India: Its History, Religion and Government* (London: 1858), 77.

As it was the case for the Dutch India Company, the only recruitment of the EIC to perform religious service was the chaplains. In order to prove that the Company officials were devoted Christians, Penny points out that while “the Company were under no obligation to appoint Chaplains”⁶⁶, the EIC meticulously nominated many clergymen up to the end of the seventeenth century. The directors never forgetting how the aggressive proselytising zeal terminated the Portuguese dream in the sub-continent, strictly forbade the chaplains to have contact with the heathens. Within that framework, as Paz aptly underlines; “it was never clear exactly what the duties of these ministers were with respect to the native populations, or even if they had any”.⁶⁷ There is no doubt that the missionaries on many occasions denounced the restriction on the chaplains. Gould was only one among many voices saying,

the Government prohibits all visits of Christian missionaries, or even their own military chaplains, to the native troops in their pay; and up to the occurrence of the recent mutiny (1857), have most carefully respected every superstitious custom of soldiers.⁶⁸

In fact, such a restriction was not peculiar to the EIC and the words of Lord Macartney, the ambassador of Britain to China, are significant to warrant that chaplains became always a critical issue in the British expansion:

The English never attempt to disturb or dispute the worship or tenants of other; they come to China with no such views, they have no priests or *chaplains* with them, as have other European nations.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Penny, *Church in Madras*, 1: 1. Penny also adds that the Company did not appoint any chaplain before 1607.

⁶⁷Cox, “Missionary Movement”, in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 203.

⁶⁸ Gould, *India*, 79.

⁶⁹Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 54-56.

When the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London was made necessary for the nomination of the chaplains to India, starting from the above-mentioned renewal of the charter in 1698, the Company's control over this issue in particular after 1793 was diminished. The revival in the motherland gave fresh enthusiasm to the clergymen who would soon be the chaplains to the Company. By the turn of the century, the chaplains, though covertly, started to act against the Company's delicate religious policy. Thus the period in which crucial events such as the renewal of 1793, the Vellore mutiny, the War of Pamphlets, and the renewal of 1813 became the time of 'Five Chaplains', namely David Brown, Caludius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, and Thomas Thomason.

These five men though feeling "superior to their less well-educated brothers-in-Christ"⁷⁰, considerably aided the concealed missionary activities going on in three presidencies of the EIC. Chatterton stresses the words of Henry Martyn saying "I almost think that to be prevented going among the heathen as a missionary would break my heart". John Owen from the BFBS, one of the participants of the War of Pamphlets, mentions a financial contribution of David Brown "to the sum of 1600 pounds" for the translation of the Bible into various languages of India. Interestingly enough Brown did not let Owen make that grant "publicly known" till the year 1813.⁷¹ In return, Owen praises Brown as "number one in the temporal and spiritual improvement of British India".⁷²

⁷⁰Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 188. Such a feeling of superiority became apparent with the desire of the chaplains, including Buchanan, to control over the Baptists' translation and publication business in Serampore in 1808. As Owen writes, after a campaign headed by David Brown, a Corresponding Committee was established in 12 August 1809. Owen, *History of the BFBS*, 2: 8.

⁷¹Owen, *History of the BFBS*, 1: 279.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 2: 258. Owen also cites that David Brown was one of the members of the Corresponding Committee of the BFBS.

David Brown had a significant place in the missionary publications, since he became the first to arrive in India of the 'five chaplains' who devoted themselves to the idea of an Anglican ecclesiastical establishment in India. He was followed by Claudius Buchanan in 1801 who caused the start of the War of Pamphlets with his *Memoir of the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India* published in 1805. More about Buchanan in the next chapter.

The directors of the EIC who considered religion as the "agent of progress" and "modernity" in India, were considerably few in number.⁷³ Nonetheless when mentioning the directors' despised of missionary activities in India, a name should be clearly excluded from such a generalisation. Indeed Charles Grant whom I have mentioned in the previous chapter as a member of the Clapham Sect and the CMS, was known as the foremost advocate of foreign missions within the EIC.⁷⁴ Undoubtedly, as Kaye mentions, "his views of religious questions were not generally popular in Leadenhall street" where the Court of Directors were located, but "he was a man not easily to be put down".⁷⁵ Indeed despite the common reaction against the missionary zeal among the directors, Grant never gave up his attempts on the introduction of Christianity in India.

According to him, on account of being "the seat of British Empire", India deserved further attention and to be ruled by means of British civilisation.⁷⁶ As Embree points out, Grant's works were mostly concentrated on three issues: "the

⁷³Cox, "Missionary Movement" in *Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Paz, 200.

⁷⁴Charles Grant, was not only a member of the Court of Directors but also the chairman and deputy chairman of the Court in 1804, 1805, 1807, 1808, 1809 and 1815. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 172.

⁷⁵Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 145.

Company's monopoly, Christian missions and territorial expansion".⁷⁷ Being the first step of a long term plan, *A Proposal to Establish a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Bahar*, which suggested a missionary policy financed by the Company and fulfilled by the Established Church, was written by Grant in 1786 with the help of the Rev. David Brown a Company chaplain and the superintendent of the Calcutta Orphan Asylum, and William Chambers, an interpreter at the Supreme Court. Being produced with the co-operation of people who were Company officials and members of the Established Church, this proposal had a crucial place in the progress of the missionary activities. Nevertheless, due to its cosmopolitan character, it was considered even by Wilberforce as "...too formidable at a time when Europe was in a state of fermentation..."⁷⁸ Then in 1792 he wrote one of the most celebrated pamphlets of his age *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*. However Grant did not present his work, which was mainly written on the occasion of the renewal of the 1793, till 1797. And in 1797, he formally submitted it to the Court of Directors as a 'Paper of Business'⁷⁹, but did not receive a hearty support either from the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. Only after 27 years, in 1820 could *Observations* openly be praised by the evangelical camp as "an indispensable and decisive authority".⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Charles Grant, *Observations on the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*, (London, 1813), 6.

⁷⁷A. T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), 9.

⁷⁸J.C. Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, 2vols, London, 1859, I: 35 quoted in Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 51.

⁷⁹House of Commons, "A minute of the Governor-General relative to the College Fort William", Sessional Papers 1812-13, 12 June 1813, vol. 10, 3.

⁸⁰T.T. Bidulph, *Christian Charity* (London, 1821) 38-9 quoted in Embree, *Charles Grant*, 15.

There is no doubt that the publication of *Observations* marks a significant turning point in the progress of the missionary activities. Trautman in his *Aryans and British India* points that before 1797 the general feeling towards the Indians in the motherland can easily be called “Indomania” and continues “British Indomania did not die of natural causes; it was killed off. The Indophobia that became the norm in early nineteenth century Britain was constructed by Evangelicalism and Utilitarianism, and its chief architects were Charles Grant and James Mill.”⁸¹ According to him, it was with the *Observations* that the British started to think that they were in “every way different”⁸² from the Indians by rejecting every theory on the existence of a “kinship between Europeans and Indians”.⁸³ Thus the feeling of superiority together with the ‘Indophobia’ was imposed on many a mind in Britain. What is striking in this work was its author’s conclusion that the EIC was as much responsible as Grant for the appearance of ‘Indophobia’. Nevertheless at this stage one should remember that being an Evangelical Grant rarely spoke from the Company’s mouth , in particular when the subject was religion.

Although Grant underlines that his “wish is not to excite detestation, but to engage compassion and to make it apparent , that what speculation may have ascribed to physical and unchangeable causes springs from moral sources capable of correction”⁸⁴, he certainly contributed to the changes in the general point of view on Indians. According to Grant, Indians were deeply degraded due to three factors;

⁸¹Thomas Trautman, *Aryans and British India*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1997), 99. Together with Grant’s *Observations* the author also refers to J. Mill’s the *History of British India* (1817).

⁸²Ibid., 130.

⁸³Ibid., 121.

⁸⁴Grant, *Observations*, 31 quoted in *ibid*, 103.

“climate, government and laws and religion”⁸⁵ and after the battle of Plassey the duty of the EIC became to improve these factors:

The civil servants of the English EIC therefore can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern, they are in fact the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign; they must now be viewed in that capacity with reference not to their nominal but to their real occupations; they are required to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations, and under peculiar circumstances which greatly enhance the solemnity of every public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge.⁸⁶

In this respect, the best means “remedying disorders” which would “destroy their happiness and obstruct every species of improvement among them”⁸⁷ could be Christianity.

If the English language, if English opinions and improvements are introduced in our Asiatic possessions, into Bengal for instance, if Christianity especially is established in that quarter, and if together with these changes many Englishmen colonise there, will not the people learn to desire English liberty and the English form of government, a share in the legislation of their own country and commissions in the army maintained in that country? Will not the army thence become, in time, wholly provincial officered by natives of India without attachments to the sovereign state:—will not the people at length come to think it a hardship to be subject, and pay to tribute, to a foreign country; and finally will they not cast off that subjection, and assert their independence.⁸⁸

Grant also meets the “possible oppositions” which might come from the Company with the words below:

Are we bound forever to preserve all the enormities in the Hindoo system? Have we become the guardians of every monstrous principle and practice which it contains? Are we pledged to support, for all generations, by the authority of our government and the power of our arms, the miseries which ignorance and knavery have so long entailed upon a large portion of the human race? Is this the part which a free a humane, and an enlightened nation, a nation itself professing principles diametrically opposite to those in question, has engaged to act towards its own

⁸⁵Grant, *Observations*, 39.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 75.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 92. Interestingly enough, Grant explains the end of the Portuguese overseas superiority as a reason of “unsystematic and rapacious” administration rather than their proselytising zeal. *Ibid.*, 112.

subjects?...Shall we be in all time to come, as we hitherto have been passive spectators of this unnatural wickedness?...shall we resort to the power we possess to destroy their distinctions of castes, and to demolish their idols? Assuredly not. Force, instead of convincing them of their error, would fortify them in the persuasion of being right; and the use of it, even if it promised happier consequences, would still be altogether unjust. The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them...Undoubtedly the most important communication which the Hindoos could receive through the medium of our language would be knowledge of our religion the principles of which are explained in a clear, easy way, in various tracts circulating among us, and are completely contained in the inestimable volume of Scripture.⁸⁹

Especially on this account he was appreciated by the evangelicals, since “he purged the Company’s government of abuses at the worst period of its history”.⁹⁰

The main aim of Charles Grant in writing the *Observations* was to receive official support for missionary activities, mostly from Henry Dundas⁹¹. Since he could not achieve it till 1813, one may include his publication in “the failed efforts to force the EIC to open India to missionaries”⁹². However this respect never lessens the great significance of that pamphlet which was called by Kaye as “one of the most statesmanlike papers ever written upon British influence in India”.⁹³ As a matter of fact, what makes this pamphlet noteworthy in respect to the aim of this study is the fact that the *Observations* is a crucial landmark on the way leading to “one of the most interesting-and frankest- public discussions in the nineteenth century of the role

⁸⁹Grant, *Observations*, 76-79

⁹⁰Dr George Smith’s words quoting in Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 54-55. In fact, Charles Grant is among the most appraised men in missionary publications despite his rejection to grant a license to Carey. Apparently it was due to “his strong disapprobation” of Carey’s *companion*, John Thomas, and it did not prevent him to be cited as “an honoured and honourable Christian gentleman who saw no reason for trying to separate and keep distinct the business of God and the business of man”. Penny, *Church in Madras*, 1: 441. For a detailed account of Grant’s dislike of John Thomas, see Kaye’s *Christianity in India*, 138-9. Also Stock underlines that “without him, little would have been done”. Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 2: 294.

⁹¹Embree, *Charles Grant*, 10.

⁹²Elbourne, “The Foundation” in *Church of England*, ed. Walsh, 256.

⁹³Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 54.

of religion in national affairs”⁹⁴, namely the War of Pamphlets. From this standpoint I have preferred to stress Grant and his work that extensively.

For the spread of Christianity, the missionaries substantially depended on the unique power that the EIC possessed in the sub-continent. Since its policy of non-interference with religion was extremely uncompromising, the little aid that the missionaries received from the Company was mainly due to “the individual personality”⁹⁵ of the officials, as it was in the cases of Brown, Buchanan or Grant. And depending on personal choices, there were times when even the Governor-Generals supported the missionary activities. In fact, by the turn of the eighteenth century the missionary lobby became so influential that it became harder to stand against the missionaries than to support them.

Among the Governors-General, the first to stand “decidedly against” the missionaries was Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793).⁹⁶ His administration was at a time when the evangelicals had just become enthusiastic to enter India. According to Carson, one may easily observe his aristocratic and ‘Whiggish’ distaste for ‘enthusiasm’ as the reason for his opposition.⁹⁷ Owing to the above-mentioned Regulation III of his Permanent Settlement, one of the early regulations underlying the ‘dual character’ of the EIC as “commercial monopolist” and “an instrument of administration”⁹⁸, he was severely denounced by the missionary leaders. Nevertheless at the same time there was another regulation in that code for most of

⁹⁴Embree, *Charles Grant*, 9.

⁹⁵ Ingham, *Reformers in India*, 5.

⁹⁶ Carson, “Soldiers of Christ”, 52.

⁹⁷Ibid., 45 - 6.

⁹⁸Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2:455.

the Europeans within the territories of the Company to be deported. Undoubtedly such a regulation included the Catholic missionaries and this was more than enough to silence the British ones. Interestingly enough, Kaye, who severely attacks every high official of the Company, who obstructed the progress of the foreign missions, does not mention the Regulation III and instead mentions Lord Cornwallis as “the pure example of a blameless way of life, not reflecting the common morality of his countrymen at home, but greatly outshining it”.⁹⁹ According to the author, his deporting the French and his contribution to the foundation of St John’s Church in Calcutta in 1787 cleaned Cornwallis of the evangelicals’ accusation.¹⁰⁰

As a fortunate happening for the missionaries, Lord Cornwallis was replaced by the Evangelical Sir John Shore (1793-1798) who later became Lord Teignmouth. Kaye stresses the main difference between the administrations of these two Governors-General with these words:

the religious movement, commenced during the reign of his predecessor (Cornwallis), made no great demonstrations, it was quietly and successfully encouraged. Christianity owes much, indeed, to John Shore. He was eminently a Christian man.¹⁰¹

Similarly Stock underlines Shore’s character as “a godly Christian, who made no secret of his personal religion, refusing to transact business on Sundays, and getting churches built at the civil and military stations”¹⁰². His main concern was to prevent his officials from being influenced by the scepticism on religion and faith spread through the world after the French Revolution. He was widely considered as “an admirable civil servant but lacking both the determination and the creative ability

⁹⁹Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 117.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 140-141.

¹⁰²Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 55.

necessary in a powerful Governor-General”.¹⁰³ Throughout his government of five years, Shore remained in close relation with Charles Grant and the military chaplain David Brown. And “in the spring of 1797, Sir John Shore, glad to divest himself of the cares and the pomps of high office, turned his back for ever on the shores of India”.¹⁰⁴

Hunter emphasises that “in their retirements, some distinguish themselves for profound thinking, some for the quiet exercise of every virtue. It was to the last mentioned class that Sir John Shore belonged”.¹⁰⁵ Indeed after his retirement “the natural tendency of Lord Teignmouth was to navigate his bark to some quiet creek in the river, and there placidly remain”¹⁰⁶ and this tendency brought him to Clapham. He settled there in 1802 and became a member of the Clapham Sect. Further, in 1804 he was elected as the first president of the BFBS which was his title when he participated in the War of Pamphlets.

Sir John Shore was succeeded by Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) who was welcomed again by the missionary lobby as “the great Patron of useful learning”.¹⁰⁷ His government was marked by the foundation of the College of Fort William in 1800 for the study of oriental languages. In the minute presented to the House of Commons on the foundation of the College, Wellesley assures them that the territories under his government are “the most opulent and flourishing parts of India, in which property, life, civil order and religious liberty, are now secure” and “the

¹⁰³Ingham, *Reformers in India*, 6.

¹⁰⁴Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 144. Although Kaye points the spring of 1797 as the date Shore left India, his departure was in March 1798.

¹⁰⁵Hunter, *History of India*, 172.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 175.

people enjoy a larger portion of the benefits of good government than in any other country in this quarter of the globe”¹⁰⁸. However in sharp contrast with the policy he named ‘religious liberty’, to educate the heathens he appointed to the College Fort William a missionary, William Carey, who despised of towards the Company’s toleration was evident. This appointment was not something to be disregarded for the directors of the Company in the Leadenhall Street. As a reaction, they decided to found a college in Hertfordshire for training the civil servants of the Company.¹⁰⁹

Wellesley was the first to recognise Carey as a Baptist missionary and saved him from having to travel within the Company territories as an indigo maker.¹¹⁰ In the course of time, the College of Fort William turned into a center of the missionary activities and Carey became the most prominent figure in it. Lord Wellesley had much appreciation for Carey’s endless passion to teach and it is known that shortly before his return to England in 1805, he admitted that “he would rather have the testimony of a person like him (Carey)...then the applause of the Parliament”.¹¹¹

Lord Wellesley was succeeded by Sir George Barlow (1805-1807) who remained the Governor-General for less than two years. However this short government of Barlow included two crucial features which extremely alarmed both the EIC and the missionary camp. Beginning with 1805, the tense relationship between the Company officials and the ‘Soldiers of Christ’ which is stressed

¹⁰⁷Owen, *History of the BFBS*, 1: 278.

¹⁰⁸Copy of a minute of the Governor-General relative to the College of Fort William (18 Augustus, 1800)

¹⁰⁹Bourne, *Patronage*, 100.

¹¹⁰At the outset, Lord Wellesley did not seem disturbed from the activities of the Baptists who were commonly associated with the French Revolution till he heard of their printing activities in Serampore. Nevertheless, the conciliation of Buchanan and Brown convinced the Governor-General that “the Baptists would print nothing political”. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 174.

throughout this chapter, became tenser each year till the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813.

What happened in 1805 was a good example of showing how unbridgeable the gulf between the Company and the missionaries on administrative measures was. In 1805, the Governor-General's council decided to collect the Pilgrim Tax by means of an office of Collector of Tax on Pilgrims at Jagannathpur in Orissa. The Pilgrim Tax was collected by Indian princes in order to raise the revenues of the temples all around India which the Hindus frequently visited for pilgrimage. As the EIC desired to be seen as the new 'prince', from the directors' point of view such an obligation had to be adopted as another duty to be fulfilled towards its Hindoo subjects. They thought that "whilst even the arrogant Muslim princes did involve in the Pilgrim Tax, why should not we as well?". However an harsh opposition was soon raised from the missionaries and the 'Saints'. They were extremely alarmed by the situation that the new regulation would guarantee the prevalence of heathen institutions, if not encourage the idolatry.¹¹² George Udny, then the chaplain of the Company, condemned the Pilgrim Tax as "...a system of gross idolatry which Government is neither bound nor does it seem becoming in it to do so."¹¹³

As usual, Charles Grant together with Edward Parry who was the deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors supported the missionaries in their opposition against the tax. Nevertheless the EIC never intended to concede the issue which would mean losing a considerable amount of its revenue. Thus the missionaries and

¹¹¹Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 176. Ward's MSS. Journal, II, 10 Feb. 1805.

¹¹²Cassels, "Compact and Pilgrim Tax", 39.

¹¹³Ibid., 42. *Minute by Mr Udny (Extract from Bengal Judicial Consultations, 3 April 1806), printed in Parliamentary Papers (1812-1813) viii, Cmd, 194, p. 41.*

the 'Saints' stepped back and stopped their opposition in public for a short time, till the Vellore Mutiny in 1806. However, the debates left unresolved on the Pilgrim Tax were taken up again in 1808, after the appointment of Lord Minto as Governor-General.

In any colonisation activity, the army was the key element in maintaining the civil administration as well as public order and such was the case in India. Under Robert Clive's command, the army of the EIC turned into a well-equipped and self-disciplined power which served to the utmost the imperial expectations of the motherland. As Madan mentions, the victories in the sub-continent were never "a series of coincidences" but "a result largely of the fighting machinery"¹¹⁴ which was continuously being strengthened concurrent with the territorial expansion. Meanwhile the recruitment of the Hindu and Muslim sepoys increased in great numbers. While the Indians, mostly from the high castes, were organised to become an important instrument securing the existence of the British in India, the officers stayed on alert. As a policy in the renewal and extension of the army, the only section which the sepoys were allowed to serve in was the infantry. The Company was determined that "none of the natives from the interior of the country of Hindostan, shall be taught the exercise of Artillery"¹¹⁵. In other words, while the sepoys were being granted privilege to some degree, they were purposely excluded from the strategic corps of the army. Thus the military power of the Company was evolved into a "decentralised" army which would meet any possible uprising.¹¹⁶ Then whenever a mutiny was to occur in a garrison, the mutineers would not be able to contact with their potential

¹¹⁴ Paul S. Madan, *Indian Army Under the East India Company* (New Delhi: Sicling Publishers, 1976), 246.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13. *Home Public Proceedings, 21 September, 1785, Para. 83 (MS)*.

allies in other garrisons. In the course of time, various mutinies between 1796 and 1858 proved that the directors' fears were not groundless. Among these mutinies, the one in Vellore in 1806 is significant with its close link to the War of Pamphlets.

Be this as it may, the EIC substantially benefited from the sepoys' prevalence within the army during the turbulent times. In fact, the sepoys were not always to blame for causing a commotion. As an officer aptly concluded after the Mutiny of Barrackpur in 1824,

There is nothing but our own mismanagement to prevent natives of India being as good soldiers, and as loyal to us, to their foreign masters, as they have ever been. It depended upon army officers what native troops became. With good officers, who understood and managed them well, they produced the exemplary results.¹¹⁷

Nevertheless, long before that incident, the directors had established another fact that "no politics could have changed the loyalty of sepoys, if religious prejudices had not come in their way".¹¹⁸ On this account, the Company adopted the policy of non-interference with religions in India and remained uncompromising on the issue till 1813. Although the acts of some officers disregarding the delicacy of the 'religious prejudices' occasionally disturbed the peace, what was aimed at in these incidents was only to civilise, never to christianise. From the Company's point of view, if the intention had been to christianise instead, suppressing the mutinies could not have been so easy and immediate.

In 1806, John Cradock, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army, wanting his men to be "smart and soldier-like"¹¹⁹, took some measures which would regulate the dressing of the Indian soldiers. In uniforms, none would be allowed to

¹¹⁶ Madan, *Indian Army*, 62.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 180-81. *Inquiry, Letter of H. B. R. Frere, Esquire, Commission of Bombay.*

¹¹⁸ Madan, *Indian Army*, 179.

¹¹⁹ Hunter, *History of India*, 194.

wear earrings or special marks of the casts. However, the sepoys in the garrison of Vellore near Madras were disturbed by the thought that the new uniforms would terminate the cast distinction. Also they were asked to wear a new kind of turban with a leather cockade in the front which was unacceptable both in Hinduism and Islam. Their outrage soon started a mutiny which was on "a larger scale than ever before in the army of the Company".¹²⁰ More than a hundred British officers and soldiers in Vellore were violently killed by the sepoys.¹²¹ The British troops put down the uprising easily and tranquillity was brought back to the sub-continent in a short time. Nevertheless Sir George Barlow, together with the Commander-in-Chief and Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, was immediately recalled.¹²² The seriousness of the incident which proved the "fragility of British rule in India" and "its dependence on the loyalty of the sepoys", was aptly conceived by the motherland.¹²³

The committee investing the cause of the mutiny concluded that the incident was an outcome of the Company's neglect of the religions in India:

The article of dress is both with the Hindoos and Mahometans an indication of their caste, and a badge of their respective distinctions and place of society and when its recalled how obstinately the Indians of all descriptions adhere to their customs, and with what difficulty the natives were brought to adopt many parts of their present military dress, it will not appear surprising that some of the late innovations in that respect were offensive to their feelings.¹²⁴

Also within the Company there were voices of self-criticism identifying the same cause with the committee:

¹²⁰ Madan, *Indian Army*, 177..

¹²¹ Hunter, *History of India*, 196.

¹²² Ibid. Hunter informs about the recall of Barlow as such: "Finally changes being the order of the day, Sir George Barlow was recalled from Calcutta, by the King's sign-manual, against the wish of the Court of Directors; but, as a solace to his wounded feelings, was appointed to the government of Madras, the lesser prize, when the greater prize, Bengal, nay, India generally-was snatched away."

¹²³ Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 119.

there are officers in our service, who never trouble themselves about their men, never go near them, and never allow them to come and detail their complaints. The sepoys are keen observers and excellent judges of their officers; and when they are kind and just to them, the sepoys love and are proud of them. But in the case of Vellore the officers had not understood their men, which caused disaffection.¹²⁵

However, the general view among the Company officers, both in India and England, was to accuse the missionaries of inducing the mutiny. Missionaries' alleged association with France and Jacobinism was once again remembered.

In the Vellore case, the Company officers strongly believed what had been imposed by the Commander-in-Chief might be wrong, but the course of events would have been different if the aggressive missionaries had not previously awoken the "indigenous sensibilities"¹²⁶ of India. While the missionaries were attacking the Hindoo and Muslim religions prudently, the Company was bitterly convinced of the fact that "the prejudices of the conquered have always triumphed over the arms of the conqueror".¹²⁷ The words of William Fullarton Elphinstone, the chairman of the Court of Directors in 1806, are significant in reflecting the EIC's defense for that shocking incident against the severe accusations of mismanagement:

They (the EIC) certainly are canting, & preaching away their Authority in India. The very keystone of the Arch of that authority is now in Danger. The Country can only be held by the native Troops, & it is in vain to disguise; that at this Moment, their Attachment is wavering. The operations of the Missionaries, even admitting them to be well meant, which I very much doubt, & the numerous Translations of the religious books of the Christians, have alarmed the Sepoys, or rather have furnished a pretence for Emissaries & evil disposed Persons to alarm them, with the Idea, that the Company intend to make them all Christians, they would as soon be converted into as many Devils....

I shall not enter into the private characters of the Missionaries, one or two of them, or their Agents, before they became Apostles, were Indigo Makers in Mr Udny's Service. Instead of fermenting a Weed, which is finished in 24 hours, they are employed in fermenting the whole Country & their handy work will last for years.

¹²⁴ Madan, *Indian Army*, 178. Pp. vol. 42, p. 689; *Commons 284 of 1861*.

¹²⁵ S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty Seven: Government of India* (New Delhi, 1957) quoted in *ibid.*, 179.

¹²⁶ Elbourne, "The Foundation" in *Church of England*, ed. Walsh, 262.

¹²⁷ Madan, *Indian Army*, 178.

I believe they all of them reside at Serampore...from this Place, there is constant Intercourse, either direct, or by way of Tranqubar, with the Isles of France; from their own Connexions, & the Manner in which they are received in some Societies they must know everything that passes in Calcutta, & all the News of the Country. From them, the French residing at Serampore, can get every Species of Information...

I shall however confine myself to the internal Evils, caused by the Countenance given to these People, in following the Links of the Chain, I find them connected with some Clergymen (Brown and Buchanan), whose Doctrines from the pulpit ought not to be tolerated. Complaints of them have been made to the Governor-General, & I believe they have been referred home. They cannot however do much harm to an English Audience. Still going on, I find them publicly patronized by Mr. Udny a Member of the Government & it is said, by Mr. Grant the late Chairman.

Sanctioned by such high Authority, the Missionary goes to work with Zeal, & perhaps points out to the Convert temporal as well as spiritual advantages.

Nor will the Emissary (Frenchman) miss so good an opportunity, he will spread the alarm among the Troops, by shewing that the Innovators (missionaries), have the support of a Man (Udny), who has been (temporarily) at the head of the Government, & whom an accident (to the governor-general) may place there again.¹²⁸

In opposition to the EIC's policy, Charles Grant represented the voice of the missionaries, stressing the dress regulations of the Commander-in-Chief as the main reason.¹²⁹ Besides, there were the sons of the Tipu Sultan residing in the garrison for an investigation at the time of uprising and most probably they had provoked the mutineers to recapture Mysore from the Company. Although Grant was not alone in suggesting the incident as a conspiracy of the Tipu Sultan, since one of the princes had been made king by the sepoys¹³⁰, that view was not commonly accepted. According to him, if the cause was not the Tipu Sultan, then it was apparently the French.¹³¹ All in all, anything could be the real reason, but the missionaries. And the

¹²⁸ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 179-180. C.R.O. MSS., MSS.Eur.F.89, Box 2c, Pt. 5, minute 'On Missionaries', n.p., n.d. (1806). Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 125.

¹²⁹ Cassels, "Compact and Pilgrim Tax", 43.

¹³⁰ Hunter, *History of India*, 196.

¹³¹ Cassels, "Soldiers of Christ", 43.

Company should be ready for worse disasters, if the Company was not to adopt a "prudent method of spreading a knowledge of Christian truth" .¹³²

After half-a-century, the missionaries were likely to interpret the Vellore Mutiny as an unfortunate event which was caused by simply a misunderstanding and neither the missionaries nor the Company was to blame. The Rev. Robert Hunter expresses such view:

Need it to be said that, if they (the sepoys) had known what Christianity is they would have been aware that it is a religion of the heart, and has nothing whatever to do with-head dress, or with body-dress, or with ornaments or appendages of the face...Would that the sepoys had understood all this, and history would not have had to record the massacre of 1806...¹³³

Nevertheless in 1806 the missionaries, more aggressive and decisive than ever, did not remain silent about the "foolish military order"¹³⁴ in India and about the attacks of the EIC on the issue. They claimed that the Company was trying to hide its fatal negligence and everyone in the motherland as well as India should know the truth about its misjudgments which through slander were turned by the Company against them to defame their 'honourable' activities. Stock's words are significant in reflecting that view:

Then, in 1806, occurred an event which threw back the progress of liberty for seven years. Some of the Sepoy troops at Vellore, near Madras, mutinied. A mighty panic was endangered; and it suited the purpose of the Anglo-Indians who were opposed to Missions to attribute the outbreak to alarm caused by the presence of missionaries.¹³⁵

This time they would not retreat as they did in the discussions of the Pilgrim Tax a year before.

¹³²Embree, *Charles Grant*, 247.

¹³³Hunter, *History of India*, 194.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, 219.

¹³⁵Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1:98.

The missionaries strongly believed that they played no part in the killing of the British soldiers:

It is always religion that is to blame. If a man catches cold, he caught it at church; such accidents never happen at the theatre.¹³⁶

However, despite the missionaries' claims of non-involvement, the mutiny terminated the little progress of their activities in thirteen years since the arrival of Carey. Lord Minto, the succeeding Governor-General, immediately adopted new regulations which would substantially obstruct any movement of the missionaries within the territories of the EIC. The Baptists became the first to be affected by these obstructions when two Baptists, William Robinson and John Chater, were forbidden to enter India in 1807. Thus the Vellore Mutiny marked the beginning of a period of crisis in the missionaries' relation with the Honourable Company. Nevertheless unlike Stock's words above and the general tendency among historians, this period lasted longer than "seven years" ending with at the Renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813.

The Vellore Mutiny¹³⁷, by carrying the never-ending dispute between the missionaries and the Company to its peak, became a crucial landmark on the eve of the Pamphlet War. The first pamphlet which was written by Thomas Twining in 1807 to prove that if the missionaries were to continue their pressure on Indians to change their religions, the occurrence of incidents more dramatic than the Vellore Mutiny would not be far away. Thus throughout two years, more than twenty contributors, opposing or supporting Twining, participated in this debate and there appeared more than thirty pamphlets in which the real cause of the mutiny was frequently discussed. As a matter of fact, one should be aware that the real cause of the mutiny had a

¹³⁶Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 252.

secondary place in the War of Pamphlets. Indeed, the war was between the EIC and the missionaries and the real debate concerned the religious policy of the Company restraining the propagation of Christianity in the Indian sub-continent.

CHAPTER III

THE WAR OF PAMPHLETS (1807-1809)

Lord Minto (1807-1813), the new Governor-General appointed after Sir Barlow, was a politician who had rather been specialised in the Mediterranean affairs. Thus, in his wife's words, he was "a dark horse" among the directors of the EIC with many years of experience in the sub-continent and those politicians in Britain who devoted their lives to Indian affairs.¹ Nevertheless, though inexperienced, Minto was positively determined that in his administration there would not be any such tragic event as the Vellore mutiny within the territories of the Company.

Shortly before Minto's arrival², the Court of Directors, in a despatch sent to the Governor of Fort St George on 29 May 1807, once again reminded all the officers that the concept of 'toleration' in the religious policy of the Company was unchangeable:

In the whole course of our administration of the Indian territories it has been our known and declared principle to maintain a perfect toleration of the various religious systems which prevailed in them; to protect the followers of each in the undisturbed enjoyment of their respective opinions and usages; neither to interfere with them ourselves, nor to suffer them to be molested by others. When we afforded our countenance and sanction to missionaries who have from time to time proceeded to India for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion, it was far from being in our contemplation to add the influence of our authority to any attempts they might make; for on the contrary we were perfectly aware that the progress of such conversion will be slow and gradual, arising more from a conviction of the principles of our religion itself, and from the pious examples of its teachers, than from any

¹ Gilbert Elliot, *Minto in India: Life and Letters of Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto from 1807 to 1814* ed. The Countess of Minto, 48.

² Cassels in her *the 'Compact' and the Pilgrim Tax* seems to confuse the date of Lord Minto's arrival to India by referring to the spring of 1808. Cassels, "The Compact and the Pilgrim Tax" 44.

undue influence or from the exertions of authority, which are never to be resorted to in such cases.³

Lord Minto made clear his attitude towards the missionaries, in one of his early comments on the delicacy of the British existence in India. In a despatch he sent to Edward Parry, the chairman of the EIC, in September 1807, the Governor-General underlined that,

If we avoid, as we shall with scrupulous attention, every measure that might furnish our enemies with even a pretence to work upon, -if we maintain discipline with a firm hand, and keep a watchful and observant eye on every attempt to practice on the prejudices of the native soldier - the danger will be confined to those general circumstances inherent in our situation, for which, as there is no remedy, it is neither profitable nor manly to make them the topics of fruitless dread and lamentation... The only successful engine of sedition in any part of India must be that of persuading the people that our Government entertains hostile and systematic designs against their religion. this persuasion, if it could be established in Bengal, would be as fatal there as on the coast; but the difference is that nobody in Bengal is interested in propagating that falsehood, and to incur danger here we must ourselves furnish probable cause for sincere alarm.⁴

Then a pamphlet, which was later to be called as the 'Persian Pamphlet', appeared to disturb the tranquillity established with difficulty after the Vellore mutiny. The pamphlet included subversive lines which proclaimed that the Muslims would all "suffer the pains of hell-fire".⁵ Further, in its appendix, there was a biography of the prophet Mohammed under the title of 'An Account of a certain Tyrant from his birth to his death...' in which it was stressed that "no wise man will believe in his Creed which is only the source of mental darkness"⁶. Therefore the Muslims should abandon "the lying Religion which you have been taught to believe" and to "embrace

³Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India 1756-1858*. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1917), 251 and Elliot, *Minto in India*, 63-4 When Lord Minto asked a brief instruction from the Court of Directors on the religious policy of the Company after the crisis mentioned below, he was referred to this despatch. Carson, "Soldier of Christ", 175.

⁴Elliot, *Minto in India*, 62-63.

⁵Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 183.

⁶Ibid.

the faith of Jesus Christ”⁷. Such statements aroused an outrageous reaction among the Muslims which worried the new Governor-General extremely.

In this respect, Lord Minto first issued a strict warning to the Danish governor of Serampore on 1 September,

to permit the issue and diffusion of a publication containing the most direct and unqualified abuse of the principles and tenets of the Religion of the Country, proscribing its ordinances and vilifying its founder and professors, would be manifestly a departure from that principle of toleration which the British Legislature has prescribed, which we have uniformly professed and observed, and to which the faith of Government is invisibly (sic) pledged.⁸

Then since it was found out that the pamphlet was printed in the Serampore press of the Baptists, William Carey was called to the office of N. B. Edmonstone, the secretary to government, and was read Minto’s letter saying,

the issue of publications and the public delivery of discourses of the nature above alluded to, are evidently calculated to produce consequences in the highest degree detrimental to the tranquillity of the British Government to arrest the progress of any proceedings of that nature. In the present instance this objection is enforced by the necessity of maintaining the public faith, which under the express injunctions of the Legislature has been repeatedly pledged to leave the native subjects of the Company in India to the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of their respective religions.⁹

The letter ended with the lines ordering the Serampore press to “be removed to the Presidency, where alone the same control that is established over presses sanctioned by the Government can be duly exercised.”¹⁰

In the later missionary publications the letter above was frequently cited since it was considered as ‘the first instance’ of the crises which included the War of Pamphlets:

⁷Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 183. ‘Home Misc. Series’, vol.690, .9-21, ‘Translation of Missionary pamphlets to Muslims’.

⁸Ibid. ‘Home Misc. Series’, vol. 690, 37 ‘Minute of N.B. Edmonstone dated 2 Sept. 1807.

⁹Eliot, *Minto in India*, 65-66.

¹⁰Ibid, 66.

This is the first instance in which the Government of India brought forward the plea of being bound by a *pledge* to grant the natives the undisturbed exercise of their 'respective religions'. No such pledge was ever exacted by the natives or granted by the Government. British rule was established in India by the sword and the sword alone, and at no period were the conquerors in a position which obliged them to give pledges to the conquered...To assert the existence of a pledge to allow the full, free, and undisturbed exercise of the native religions; and then to maintain that any 'effort directed to the object of converting the natives to Christianity', was a violation of that pledge, was, in fact, to assert that Government had solemnly pledged itself to resist every effort to Christianise the country,-which is simply absurd.¹¹

Also Hunter, referring to the same letter, describes Lord Minto as a Governor-General "who belonged to a party pledged to aim at the extension of civil and religious liberty".¹²

Be this as it may, Minto's instructions put William Carey and his brothers into one of the most difficult situations in the history of the Baptist missionaries. As I mentioned in the first chapter, the Baptists were extremely cautious about acting against the regulations of the government. On one hand they could never give up their press and on the other hand they did not want to be in conflict with the EIC. Nevertheless, an harsh answer came from Ward of the Trio saying, "such a letter was never written by a Christian Magistrate, and never I suppose by any Magistrate since the fall of pagan Rome. A Xn. Magistrate supporting idolatry in all its splendour & proscribing his own Religion."¹³ Although one may easily consider these words as one of the first explicit Baptist challenge to the religious policy of the EIC, William Carey and the other members of the Trio preferred not to participate in the War of Pamphlets. Instead, another Baptist Andrew Fuller was to be one of the pamphleteers.

¹¹Eliot, Minto in India, 66 and John Clark Marshman, *Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, I, 317-18. quoted in Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 186.

¹²Hunter, *History of India*, 201.

¹³Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 185-86.

The discussions on the removal of the press were not ended easily. The missionaries' attempt trying to prove that they had no malicious intention in printing such a pamphlet was of no avail. On this account, the Baptists first thought of starting a campaign on the parliamentary front but since such an attempt would take months, they rather asked the assistance of the Governor of Serampore. Thus Krefting mediated between the missionaries and the EIC. In his letter to Minto he first stressed the importance of the press for the Danish since "all his official printing was executed there" and then guaranteed the Governor-General that "the press's religious character would be suppressed" and he himself forbade "the printing of Bibles and Testaments pending Minto's permission for their resumption".¹⁴ Only after this assurance was the Baptist press permitted to stay in Danish territories. Nevertheless Minto, still under the influence of the Vellore mutiny, censored all religious works -except the Bible- going to publication.¹⁵ And in a secret letter of 2 November 1807 addressed to the Court of Directors, the Governor-General expressed his anxieties that the activities of the Baptists had not ceased.¹⁶

¹⁴ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 187. 'Home Misc. Series', vol. 690, pp. 124-5, J. Krefting to Lord Minto, *Fredericksnagore*, 30 September, 1807. As Ward informs, Krefting assured the Baptists that "he would not 'part with the press'; he would rather 'strike the flag & surrender himself a prisoner' than do so". Ibid., *Ward's MSS. Journal*, III, 21 September, 1807.

¹⁵ Ibid., 188. Carey was however content with such a regulation, saying that "as we wish to avoid every thing inflammatory and have a genuine desire to promote the tranquillity (sic) of the country, I have no doubt we shall be permitted to print nearly all we wish". Ibid. *Carey to Andrew Fuller, Calcutta*, 14 October, 1807.

¹⁶ As Potts informs us, section 295 A of the Indian Penal Code, passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1927, is based on these words Minto wrote in the letter cited above: "That meritorious spirit of religious zeal which animates those respectable persons who deem it their duty to exert their endeavours to diffuse among the misguided natives of India the truths and blessings of the Christian Faith, can seldom be restrained by those maxims of prudence and caution which local knowledge and experience can alone inspire and without which, the labours of the Missionaries became a source of danger, and tend to frustrate, rather than promote, the benevolent object of their attention." Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 188. *Parliamentary Papers 1812-13*, viii, 46-7.

As soon as the tense atmosphere calmed down, the Baptists printed an pamphlet to pay their gratitude to “the particular interposition of Divine Providence and the instrumentally of the Danish Governor”. There is no doubt that the statements in it disappointed Minto who later expressed his discontent -rather mockingly- saying, “I confess that I thought it was to the Governor-General in Council that gratitude was due, but I suppose I was wrong”.¹⁷ After the Persian pamphlet, there was no further crisis between the Baptists and Lord Minto. While the Governor-General continued his strict control over the missionary activities within the Company territories, he comparatively condoned the activities of William Carey and his agents.¹⁸ In 1808, Carey wrote to Fuller that the dispute in the previous year “has arisen from a political panick than from a wish to burden us in our undertaking”.¹⁹

At the beginning of November, Minto received Edward Parry’s letter of June 1807 consisting of bitter criticisms of his attitude towards missionaries. Despite being a Company official like Charles Grant, Parry was one of the most prominent MPs in opposition to the religious policy of the EIC. Robert Dundas, the president of the Board of Control, was the foremost advocate of the ‘compact’ mentioned in the previous chapter. Grant and Parry frequently found themselves in angry polemics

¹⁷Eliot, *Minto in India*, 69.

¹⁸Interestingly enough, fifty years later Lady Minto was to consider his husband’s attempt to remove the Baptists’ press from Serampore as an outcome of “bad advice”: “When a public man is better liked than his measures, it is not uncommon to hear them ascribed to bad advisers. So it was in this case. But Lord Minto was not willing to accept a defence based on his ignorance of matters which he was bound to know; still less on his docility in accepting views inculcated by others. He had, he said, after deliberate investigation and reflection, thought it his duty to prohibit, for a time, public preaching by natives for the purpose of conversion, and also to prevent the dissemination of publications in the native languages, containing scurrilous abuse of persons and things holy in the estimation of our Indian subjects, whether Hindoo or Mahommedan. He had not, be confessed, been aware of the ruin which a removal of the mission press from Serampore would inflict on the missionaries, ‘owing to the peculiar circumstances of their property’ there.” Ibid, 67.

¹⁹Carson, “Soldier of Christ”, 168. *Carey to Fuller, 20 April 1808*.

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¹⁹Carson, “Soldier of Christ”, 168. *Carey to Fuller*, 20 April 1808.

with Dundas saying “no man has the right to make another happy against his will”.²⁰

In 1808, when discussions on the Pilgrim tax were revived, two ‘Saints’ were on one side and Dundas was on the other.

Grant and Parry, who were ironically called the “pious chairs”²¹ due to their indispensable support to the missionaries, managed to stop the discussions going around the Persian pamphlet and thus “the subject was never discussed outside a secret Court of Directors”.²² Believing what he had done was the only way to secure the British rule, Minto was “very hurt by this letter”²³ of the man who had appointed him to the office of the Governor-General. Thus he spoke out his well-known words in his reply to the Chairman of the EIC:

Let me recommend to your serious consideration the principal publications which have issued from the Serampore, in the native languages, the sole effect of which was not to convert, but to alienate, the professors of both religions prevalent amongst the natives of this country. Pray read especially the miserable stuff addressed to the Hindus, in which...without proof or argument of any kind, the pages are filled with hell fire, denounced against a whole race of men for believing in the religion which they were taught by their fathers and mothers, and the truth of which it is simply impossible it should ever have entered into their minds to doubt. Is this the doctrine of our faith?...If there are two opinions among Christians on this point, I can only say that I am of the sect which believes that a just God will condemn no being without individual guilt...A total abolition of caste is openly preached...Is it possible that your Government should be required to countenance public exhortations addressed to a Hindu nation to efface at once, not a little spot of yellow paste from the forehead, but the whole institution of caste itself, that is to say, their whole scheme of civil polity as well as their fondest and most rooted religious tenets? This is to be accomplished by coarse and scurrilous invective against the most revered order of Hindu society and addressed to that order itself. I leave you to form your own judgement on these performances, which will be that of a Christian gentleman....I am no enemy at the progress of Christianity in India. It is the way, I observe, of some who are personally engaged in the work of conversion to confound any little check in correction of their own errors with opposition or hostility to their purpose, and to call out Atheism, Deism, and above all persecution,

²⁰C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1940), 161. *IOR, Home Misc. 818, fol.355, Mar., 1807*.

²¹*Ibid.*, 158.

²²Carson, “Soldier of Christ”, 171.

²³*Ibid.*, 163.

whenever a slip in their own conduct has required to be rectified...I do not think we should be justified in refusing the dispensation of the Christian revelation to this great country for our interest or security, but I am not equally ready to sacrifice the great interest or security which are confined to me to a blind principle of complaisance towards every indiscretion which zeal or negligence may commit.²⁴

As the preceding pages of this chapter shows, the government of Lord Minto was the period in which the number of debates on the missionary activities and the Company's religious policy were greatly increased. The tension gradually spread outside India and each day more MPs began to take an interest in the issue. Within that period, the Persian pamphlet became the first incident in the motherland indicating how unbridgeable the gap between the missionaries and the EIC was. In the same year, in October 1807, there appeared another pamphlet, namely *A Letter to the Chairman of the East India Company on the Danger of Interfering in the religious opinions of the natives of India; and on the Views of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as Directed to India*, by Thomas Twining. This pamphlet became the beginning of a phenomenon what is called the 'War of Pamphlets' or the 'Pamphlet War' or the 'Battle of the Missions'.²⁵ A detailed account of the pamphlets engaged in that war is given in the Appendix.

Being aware of Kaye's worry not "to detain the reader with a long recital of narcotic details of this war of pamphlets"²⁶, in the coming pages I will try to study

²⁴Muir, *British India*, 251-52.

²⁵ One may suggest that Jörg Fisch's "A Pamphlet War on Christian Missions in India 1807-1809" is a unique work wholly concentrated on the War of Pamphlets. According to Fisch, a "Statement" by Andrew Fuller written in June 1807 to testify the innocence of the Baptists in the 'Vellore' case should be chronologically the first to mention. However, since the 'Statement' was only distributed to a limited number of MPs and directors, that work is not included in the pamphlets which are the subject of this study. Fisch, *Pamphlet War*, 29. As Carson informs, Fuller was very near to convince Robert Dundas, the president of the Board of Control, to grant licenses to the Baptist missionaries, but then Grant's prediction saying "some side blows against missions" was realised by the appearance of Twining's pamphlet in October. Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ', 136.

²⁶Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 151.

these pamphlets within the framework of the previous chapters.²⁷ The War of Pamphlets, which is an outcome of the evangelical revival in the motherland and of the missionary interest in India, is one of the most significant events within the missionary challenge to the EIC's religious policy of non-interference. Before Minto's government, the discussions going about the missionary challenge to the Company's religious policy were not "official" but rather "private communications".²⁸ With Twining's pamphlet, such disputes in closed "official or semi-official circles" began to take place in front of a wider audience than ever.²⁹ As one of the reviews in the Evangelical Magazine, says "Mr Twining's pamphlet has brought the subject fairly before the public, and has afforded the friends of the gospel an opportunity to vindicate their proceedings from any just ground of alarm or offence."³⁰©

Between the years 1807 and 1809, over thirty pamphlets containing the discussions on the real cause of the Vellore Mutiny, the religions in India, the religious policy of the EIC, the possibility of an ecclesiastical establishment within the Company territories, the activities of the Baptists, their implicit competition with the Church of England, the fear of France, the concept of 'toleration' for the EIC and its evangelical version dominated the political and religious atmosphere of Britain. While some remained obscure and disappeared, some reached a considerable number of readers.

Kaye, in his *Christianity of India* points to the significance of the War of Pamphlets as such:

²⁷ Since the Vellore Mutiny has already studied extensively in the previous pages, I will leave out how it is mentioned within the pamphlets.

²⁸ Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 136.

²⁹ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 188.

The early years of the nineteenth century were distinguished by a great strife of pamphlets—a war prosecuted with some earnestness, perhaps with some acrimony, by both the contending parties... From that time the subject stood prominently before the public: and in spite of the necessary obtrusion of more exciting topics throughout those stirring times of European war, there were circles in which the progress of that great battle between truth and error was regarded with livelier interest than the contest between the Corsican Adventurer and the Allied Sovereigns of Europe.

Having exhumed a considerable number of these long-buried pamphlets, and very carefully and conscientiously examined their contents, I am bound to declare my conviction that they are very heavy affairs. One wonders, in these days, how so interesting a subject could have been treated in so uninteresting a manner.³¹

Indeed this incident is among the disregarded issues in the historiography of the British India. The only extensive work on the War of Pamphlets is Jörg Fisch's *A Pamphlet War on Christian Missions in India 1807-1809*.

Thomas Twining (1776-1861), the first pamphleteer, was from the Twining family well-known in the tea business. He entered the service of the EIC in 1792 and came to be known as “one of the leading Proprietors and a very level-headed man”.³² From his first years in the Company which were concurrent with the missionary awakening, Twining strongly believed that the missionary zeal would break the peace in the sub-continent. Before England heard of the Vellore mutiny, he had already put the missionary challenge to the prevailing religious order in India before the General Court or the Court of Proprietors. In his address to the court, Twining's main concern was to denounce —almost word by word— the *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India* by Claudius Buchanan. He was severely attacked first “in the General Court, and later in the press as an opponent of Christianity, and asked to “drop the whole question”.³³ However, the mutiny proved him right and showed that his anxiety was not a

³⁰“The Review of An Address to the Chairman of the EIC’. *Evangelical Magazine*, 16(1808): 35.

³¹Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 149-50.

³²Philips, *The EIC*, 159.

paranoia. In October of the same year he published his pamphlet in which Buchanan's *Memoir* was frequently cited.

As Fisch stresses, the Vellore Mutiny, though extensively mentioned in most of the works on the War of Pamphlets, never became "the object of a thorough study" in which the questions such as "Had the missionaries directly or indirectly, willingly or unwillingly, been responsible for the mutiny?" or "If so to what extent?"³⁴ Nevertheless when the missionaries' connection of the Vellore mutiny was questioned there was one name which came often to the fore as the sole culprit; Claudius Buchanan. In this respect before examining Twining's pamphlet extensively, I will survey the crucial place of Buchanan and his *Memoir* in the progress of Christianity in India.

Claudius Buchanan (1766-1815) was appointed to the chaplaincy in Bengal in 1795. From then till his return to England in 1808, he became a "power" in the progress of missionary activities in India.³⁵ Nevertheless, since he was a Company chaplain, his support to the missionaries remained covert like that of other four chaplains mentioned in the previous chapter. If his cordial relations with the voluntary societies had been known by the Board of Directors, he would have been immediately expelled from the sub-continent. However, his deficient activities of preaching the Gospel in the first years of his chaplaincy, began to disturb the evangelicals in the motherland. Kaye vindicates Buchanan's activities in his first years which were subjected to severe attacks with the words saying,

³³ Philips, *The EIC*, 160.

³⁴ Fisch, "Pamphlet War", 28-29.

³⁵ Stock, *The History of CMS*, 1: 97.

But he (Buchanan) had never been anything but a Company's chaplain. It was simply Buchanan's duty to obey orders; to bury the Company's officers when they died, to marry them when they turned their thoughts towards marriage (which was not very often in those days), and to baptize their Christian children. The only work that he could add to this was the study of the Scriptures and of the native languages, hoping one day to turn his acquirements to good account. It was, I repeat, a sore trial; but what could Buchanan do?³⁶

In fact, he soon found out what to do on the issue. From the turn of the century, he offered prizes to seven universities in England, Scotland and Ireland for the best works -written in English, Latin, and Greek- on the progress of Christianity in India.³⁷ Stock mentions of a total amount of 1650 pounds that was distributed as prizes in five years.³⁸ In 1803, William Cockburn from Cambridge University won the best 'English prose dissertation' prize with his *On the best means of civilising the subjects of the British Empire in India; and of diffusing the Light of the Christian Religion throughout the Eastern World*.³⁹

Cockburn's *Best Means* is a temperate work which does not include any aggressive statement on India and its people. Evidently, the author did not claim any authority on the sub-continent which he had never visited. His impression of India is significant to reflect the general view of the literate English on 'the best means of civilizing the subjects of the British Empire in India':

Civilization is a relative term: the Caffres of Africa are more civilized than the barbarous Bosjesmans; and these, perhaps, than the savages in the interior of New Holland: yet all of them, when compared with the bulk of mankind, are unworthy to be ranked among nations to whom that term has been usually applied. Not so the subjects of the British Empire in the east: in such a comparison, they would perhaps yield to most of the inhabitants of Europe, but to few those who possess the remaining quarters of the globe. It would be foreign, therefore, to the object of this

³⁶ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 174.

³⁷ Stock, *History of the CMS*, 1: 97.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ In 1803, while Cockburn was granted 100 pounds, *On the Restoration of Learning in the East* which was chosen as the best English poem, was granted 60 pounds. The winners of Greek and Latin ode, won 25 pounds each. The total of 210 pounds from Buchanan's personal saving.

essay, to point out the means by which a nation may be taught to emerge from barbarism: it is only required of me to state the best methods by which the degree of civilization, which is known to exist in British India, may be increased. The two great and universal causes of progressive civilization, which have never failed to produce that effect in every nation and age, are peace and good government; the one affording a continued security to the persons and properties of men from external, and the other from internal violence.⁴⁰

Cockburn was extremely cautious of not pronouncing any term which could provoke the anger of those in Leadenhall-street. As a matter of fact, Buchanan himself would have never granted the author his prize, if he had been in an explicit opposition to the Company. Within that framework, the essay particularly condemns the once “exclusive and intolerant zeal of the Christians”⁴¹ and the Portuguese as those “whose swords were yet stained with blood”.⁴² Further Cockburn cites ‘good government’ as the only instrument of civilising which certainly refers to the EIC.⁴³

Be this as it may, the author also stresses “the zealous and constant attachment of the Hindoos to a religion of superstition and slavery”⁴⁴ as the main obstruction to front of the any progress in the sub-continent and “the free religion of pure Christianity”⁴⁵ was definitely the sole cure. Yet, any upheaval due to the attempts of conversion was impossible, because

⁴⁰Cockburn, *A Dissertation on the Best Means of Civilizing the Subjects of the British Empire in India*. (Cambridge, 1805), 1.

⁴¹Ibid., 31.

⁴²Ibid., 35.

⁴³Ibid., 1.

⁴⁴Ibid., 21.

⁴⁵Cockburn, *Best means of civilising*, 23. Nevertheless, as William Tennant, a chaplain in Bengal informs, despite his moderate rhetoric Cockburn was denounced as ‘Christian advocate’ within the Cambridge University on account of his words on the necessity of Christianity for India. When Tennant’s *Thoughts on the Effects of the British Government on the State of India: Accompanied with Hints concerning the Means of Conveying Civil and Religious Instruction to the Natives of that Country*, nominated for the same prize that Cockburn had won in 1803, was published in 1805, he supported Cockburn with these words: “It is worthy of remark, that no particular malversation is here laid hold of, in order to ground this undistinguished and invidious charge. This, the *modest*

India surrounded by the natural barriers.....is a world within itself. Its immense territories are divided among several mighty states...Europe fears little from any alliance between France and England, Austria and Prussia, Russia and Turkey: a long spirit of warfare, rivalry in matters of commerce, and aggrandisement, with a discordance in religious opinions, have sown such seeds of dissension between them, that there is little probability of their uniting cordially, even in aggression. (And such was the case in India.)⁴⁶

Undoubtedly this conclusion was exactly what Buchanan desired to be heard in public more than anything.⁴⁷

In 1805, while organising two more prizes with a sum of 500 pounds; one to Cambridge and the other to Oxford⁴⁸, Buchanan wrote his *Memoir* and changed the

essayist says would be unbecoming; other moralists have held, that, before libelling a numerous and respectable body of men with the grossest imputations, the charges should not only be specific, but fully proved; it deserves notice also, that the immediate occasion of penning this unprovoked and illiberal attack, was to obtain a magnificent bounty held out to the literary world, by one of those rapacious and abandoned servants, who are here so cruelly stigmatised; and although it may occasion the reader some surprise, we are obliged to add also, that this extraordinary production of the *Christian advocate*, in the University of Cambridge, was judged by that learned body deserving of the prize.” William Tennant, *Thoughts on the effects of the British Government on the state of India*, (Edinburgh, 1807), 56. In the same essay, the author testifies how Buchanan’s prize was considered at that time by a certain group: “Within the same beneficent intentions a clergyman of a very limited fortune, has advanced the sum of two thousand pounds to be distributed to the British Universities, for the most approved essays on the means of civilizing the natives of India, and of diffusing the Christian religion in the eastern world.” *Ibid.*, 52. The essays submitted to the first Buchanan prize were indeed moderate works mostly mentioning the liberal and millennial thoughts of that era and condemning the French revolution and rationalism. The general tendency among the authors was neither attacking the Hindu religion nor the EIC. Francis Wrangham, for instance, evaluated his own essay, *A dissertation on the Best Means of Civilizing the Subjects of the British Empire in India, and of diffusing the Light of the Christian Religion throughout the Eastern World*, as “the brief and imperfect rudiments of a plan, of which the object is undoubtedly one of the most glorious that can be conceived” and added “to have extended our view, if such a measure had been consistent with the limits of a Dissertation, to its more minute and particular details, would have demanded the local knowledge of a Hastings, united with the genius of a Burke or of a Jones.” Francis Wrangham, *A Dissertation on the best means of civilising the subjects of the British Empire in India*, 38. In 1803, Wrangham’s essay won the second prize. Apparently these words saying had costed him the first prize: “We must follow the genius (of the Gospel), observe the habits, and respect to a considerable degree the prejudices, of such a mighty mass of people. Their involuntary ignorance must be treated with tenderness, and some degree of regard must be extended even to their erroneous customs, as well as to their irrational models of worship.” *Ibid.*, 15-16.

⁴⁶Cockburn, *Best Means of Civilizing*, 12.

⁴⁷ Further, Cockburn mentions “the expediency of assigning sufficient provision for an established Clergy in every part of British India, and of placing a Bishop at their head”, two years before Buchanan wrote his *Memoir* which was built on the idea of an ecclesiastical establishment in India. *Ibid.*, 47.

whole course of the relationship between the missionaries and the EIC. According to Buchanan, the year 1805 was the most appropriate time to indicate his views on the religious order in India:

It may be presumed that India has of late occupied more of the public attention than formerly, and that the minds of men are now gradually converging to the consideration of the subjects of this Memoir. Our extensive territorial acquisitions within the last few years, our recent triumph over our only formidable foe; the avowed consequence of India in relation to that unexampled and systematic prosperity of Indian administration, which has now consolidated the British dominion in this country; -every character of our situation seems to mark the present era, as that intended by Providence, for our taking into consideration the moral and religious state of our subjects in the east; and for Britain's bringing up her long arrear of duty, and settling her account honourably, with her Indian Empire.⁴⁹

Apparently the chaplaincy was not enough for the progress of Christianity since "the present establishment of English chaplains for the British empire in India, is not much greater than the *factorial* establishment in the time of Lord Clive".⁵⁰ On this account, what was needed in the sub-continent was definitely an ecclesiastical establishment:

⁴⁸ The prize was planned to be granted in three categories as "I. The probable Design of the divine Providence in subjecting so large a portion of Asia to the British dominion; II. The Duty, the Means, and the Consequences of translating the Scriptures into the Oriental Tongues, and of promoting Christian knowledge in Asia; III. A Brief Historic View of the Progress of the Gospel in different nations, since its first promulgation; illustrated by maps, shewing its luminous tract throughout the world, with chronological notes of its duration in particular places." Only two essays -John William Cunningham's *Christianity in India* (Cambridge) which won the first prize in the second category and Hugh Pearson's *A Dissertation on the Propagation of Christianity in Asia* (Oxford)-were published. Fisch, 'Pamphlet war', 27. Thomas Twining in his *A Letter* indicted Buchanan for organising the prize of 1805 with these words: "What must the natives of India think, when they shall know as most assuredly they will that Mr Buchanan has been *permitted to engage* the national Universities of this country in discussing and determining, *the best means of diffusing the Christian Religion through India*. It is a fact, and, I think, a most improper, and a most alarming fact, that the Vice Provost of the Company's college at Fort William, has actually bestowed a prize of 500 pounds, at each of the Universities, for the best dissertation on the following question; *viz.* "WHAT ARE THE BEST MEANS OF CIVILIZING THE SUBJECTS OF BRITISH INDIA, AND OF DIFFUSING THE LIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION THROUGH THE EASTERN WORLD!" Thomas Twining, *A letter to the Chairman of the EIC on the danger of interfering in the religious opinions of the natives*, (London, 1807), 27. As one will realise this question was the subject of the previous prize in 1803 and apparently Twining confused these two prizes. Nevertheless, the amount of money Twining mentioned for 1805 is correct.

⁴⁹ Claudius Buchanan, *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India* (London, 1805), xi. These words of Buchanan are one of the most significant examples in evangelical rhetoric to point why the missionary interest for India had started.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 1.

A regular ecclesiastical establishment for British India may be organized without difficulty. Two Bishops might suffice, if India were less remote from Britain; but the convenience resulting from sudden demise, and from the long interval of succession from England, renders it necessary that there should be three or more men of episcopal dignity; an archbishop and metropolitan of India, to preside at the seat of the supreme government in Bengal, and one bishop at each of the two subordinate presidencies, Madras and Bombay.⁵¹

As such a proposal would be considered too impudent for a Company chaplain and be severely attacked by the directors, Buchanan meticulously answered every aspect of the question asking, “Is an ecclesiastical establishment necessary? Our commercial Indian empire has done hitherto without it”.⁵² Nevertheless his words justifying his proposal did not save him from denunciations. Further the terms he used for the description of the Hindu religion were extremely insulting and provoking:

As for extreme delicacy toward the superstition of the Hindoos, they understand it not. Their ignorance and apathy are so extreme, that no means of instruction will give them serious offence, except positive violence.⁵³

We shall not pollute the page with a description of the horrid rites of the religion of Brahma Suffice it to say that no inhuman practices in New Zeland, or in any other newly -discovered land of savages, are more offensive to natural feeling, than some of those which are committed by the Hindoo people.⁵⁴

With this aggressive rhetoric, it was really hard to convince the Company that Buchanan had no relation with the mutiny.

Claudius Buchanan’s *Memoir* is one of the typical evangelical publications of the early nineteenth century. The thought which viewed India as the most suitable place for the evangelicals to show their gratitude for Christ had found its place among Buchanan’s lines:

Providence hath been pleased to grant to us this great empire, on a continent where, a few years ago, we had not a foot of land. From it we export annually an immense wealth to enrich our own country. What do we give in return? Is it said that we give

⁵¹Buchanan, *Memoir*, 9.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 14.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 47.

protection to the inhabitants, and administer equal laws? This is necessary for obtaining our wealth. But what do we give in return? What acknowledgment to Providence for its goodness has our nation ever made? What benefit hath the Englishman ever conferred on the Hindoo, as on a brother? Every argument brought in support of the policy of not instructing the natives our subjects, when traced to its source, will be found to flow from principles of Deism, or of Atheism, or of Polytheism, and not from the principles of the Christian religion.⁵⁵

Second, 'toleration' which was subjected to many debates between the missionaries and the EIC was another matter mentioned in *Memoir*:

Our toleration is celebrated by some as being boundless. It is just to tolerate speculative religions; but it is doubtful whether there ought to be any toleration of practical vice, or of the shedding of human blood.⁵⁶

Additionally, Buchanan mistreated the two concepts, 'civilisation' and 'Christianisation', as if they were of the same meaning. As I mentioned before, such an approach was common among the first generation missionaries and their activities were criticised by the second generation as 'civilising attempts' rather than 'Christianising'. In *Memoir*, which was supposed to be on Christianity only, there is an extensive chapter 'On the Policy of Civilizing the Natives'.⁵⁷

Last but not least, Buchanan's words carry the traces of the covert competition between the Anglican and Dissenting missionaries in the sub-continent. Being a member of the Church of England, Buchanan apparently proposed an Anglican ecclesiastical establishment to dominate the religious activities in India and to pacify the Dissent missionaries⁵⁸.

All in all, one may surmise how much Buchanan's *Memoir* alarmed the Governor-General George Barlow. Robert Dundas, in a letter -still secret-

⁵⁵ Buchanan, *Memoir*, 38.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 50.

⁵⁷ Buchanan asks, "if there be a hope that they will be civilized, when is it to begin, and by whom is it to be effected? Buchanan, *Memoir*, 39.

⁵⁸ Fisch, "Pamphlet War", 26.

immediately after the publication of the *Memoir*, stated that he would not tolerate “the authors or editors of any publications, that could justly and unequivocally be considered as offensive to the natives, and tending to excite their religious fears and jealousies to an extent that would naturally indispose them towards our Government”.⁵⁹ Similarly William Hastings stood against Buchanan and protested against the work by saying that “process of missionary warfare, however, modified, can never derive its sanction from the Gospel of peace”.⁶⁰ As mentioned in the previous chapter, the opposition against Claudius Buchanan reached its climax after the Vellore mutiny which was to take place a few months after the publication of the *Memoir*.

At the moment of mutiny, Buchanan was visiting Madras and thus was very close to the garrison at Vellore. This situation intensified the directors’ discontent with him. Undoubtedly Buchanan denied that he had any relation with that unfortunate event and counterattacked Barlow by mentioning his personal inadequacy as a Governor-General. According to him, Barlow was not so able as ‘tiger Wellesley’ to maintain order in India:

A rumour has for some months pervaded India, that all castes are to be made Christians. I know the alleged causes of the rumour, but I consider them as inadequate to produce the effect without a concurring Providence. This strange rumour of conversion is perhaps auspicious to the event itself; as the shaking of an old building announces its approaching fall. It was attempted to be shown that the massacre at Vellore, which happened when I was in the neighbourhood, was in some measure caused by this rumour. But it has been proved by the evidence of the conspirators that the design of resuming the Mahomedan dynasty in Mysore was planned by the princes immediately on their hearing the joyful news that the tiger Wellesley, as they called him, had returned from India.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Carson, “Soldier of Christ”, 169.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 172. *A Plan of Constitutional regulations for the Administration of the British Dominion in India*, 34

⁶¹ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 247-48.

Buchanan did not write another pamphlet to answer the discussions going around his *Memoir*. Instead of “flinging pamphlets at his opponents”, he rather “preached sermons to his friends”.⁶² His most celebrated sermon between the years 1807 and 1809 was *The Star in the East* which was preached and published in 1809. As Stock informs us in a journal of 27 February 1809, the sermon was overpraised by the evangelical camp for keeping “the minds of a large auditory in a state of most lively sensation for an hour and twenty-five minutes”.⁶³ *The Star in the East*, like the rest of the similar pamphlets, was considered as one of the works “to have first awakened the interest in India which was presently to win so remarkable a victory in parliament”⁶⁴.

Although the *Memoir* had raised a considerable opposition against Buchanan, the accusations in Twining’s pamphlet were still unexpected, and thus this pamphlet “exploded like a shell in the enemy’s camp”⁶⁵. In the first edition of *A Letter*,

⁶² Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 99. Although Claudius Buchanan remained silent during the hot years of Pamphlet War, close to the renewal of the charter he published three voluminous pamphlets consecutively. After *Christian Researches in Asia: with notices of the translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental Languages* appeared in 1811, there came *Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment: Being a Brief View of the State of the Colonies of Great Britain, and of her Asiatic Empire* together with *An Apology for Promoting Christianity in India* in 1813. Buchanan’s *Apology* is a collection of his secret letters written in his years in India under the government of Lord Minto. Most significant is the ‘Letter and Memorial, addressed to the Right Hon. Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor-General of India; dated Calcutta, 9th November 1807 in Defence of Promoting Christianity in India’. Buchanan, *An Apology for Promoting Christianity in India*, 54-98.

⁶³ Quoted in Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 100.

⁶⁴ Stock, *Church Missionary Society*, 1: 100. By the “victory in parliament”, Stock refers to the regulations following the renewal of the Company’s Charter in 1813. Owen also praised the sermon saying “The Star in the East has done wonders.” Owen, *History of BFBS*, 1: 47. What in the sermon impressed these authors in the sermon was definitely its enthusiastic rhetoric: “Fearful Christian! Does not this revive your hopes that the rays of the East shall soon mingle with those of the West, and illuminate the world sitting in darkness? That the “fullness of the Gentiles shall come in,” and Israel and Judah shall be gathered from the four corners of the earth, and “all Israel shall be saved?”----Hail, happy period! When “the Lord alone shall be exalted,” “when every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess” that Jesus is “King of kings, and Lord of lords!” “Let every one that hath breath” say, “THY KINGDOM COME.” Buchanan, *Star in the East*, (London, 1810), 32.

⁶⁵ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 151.

Twining did not put his name in it and signed it as 'A Proprietor'. However since he had already spoken out his opinions on an ecclesiastical establishment in India in the General Court, the real identity of 'a proprietor' was very well known in public. Consequently, the second edition was published in December with Thomas Twining's name written on the cover. He made his claims of good intention with the words saying,

From a very early period of life, my time has been spent amongst the natives of India, and, I believe I may say it has in some degree been spent in promoting the happiness.....and this intercourse has led to an attachment, which will not permit me to remain a silent spectator of attempts to disturb their dearest rights and wound their tenderest feelings.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, he was bombarded with pamphlets saying "no such letter was ever before written in a Christian country, under a Christian king, by a gentleman professing the Christian religion".⁶⁷

A Letter was addressed to Edward Parry whose sound support for the missionaries had already been apparent. From this standpoint one may suggest that Twining's attempt to prevent the missionaries from acting in India was vain from the beginning. Nevertheless throughout a year Twining, though claiming "I desire no vote, and no support"⁶⁸, carried the hope that the Chairman of the Company would one day share his anxiety for "the happiness of the natives" and be aware the "fatal consequences to ourselves (British in India) from any interference in their Religious Opinions"⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ Twining, *A Letter*, 28-29.

⁶⁷ Kaye, *Christianity in India.*, 151-52.

⁶⁸ Twining, *A Letter*, 2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

The leading theme in the letter was to denounce the bitter words of Buchanan on the people of India and to relate these words to the mutiny in Vellore. Buchanan's words, for instance, saying "a wise policy of seems to demand that we should use every means of coercing this contemptuous spirit of our native subjects"⁷⁰ are responded to with: "Gracious Heaven! What sentiment are here sent forth amidst the population of our provinces in India."⁷¹ Though being only one from the many quotations from the *Memoir*, these words and Twining's comment on them are significant of what the letter is mainly consisted.

The support that Buchanan and David Brown gave the Baptists' translations of the Scripture into the languages of India was another concern of *A Letter*. On this account, Twining extracted not only from Buchanan, but also from the letters of Brown and William Carey. Additionally, there were lengthy quotations from the reports of the BFBS. Besides the similarity between the ideas in the *Memoir* and that in the reports, Twining extracted passages on the Bible Society due to another reason. The society had many members from Clapham who were at the same time in the service of the Honourable Company. The president of the BFBS was Lord Teignmouth, late Governor-General, and the vice president was Henry Thornton, then a prominent director. Charles Grant, the deputy Chairman of the Company, was also among the 'Saint' members of the Society.⁷² Undoubtedly, such an association was a definite departure from the religious policy of the Company.

I must then, Sir, observe, that my fears of attempts to disturb the religious systems of India, have been especially excited, by my hearing that a Society exists in this

⁷⁰ Buchanan, *Memoir*, 31.

⁷¹ Twining, *A letter*, 21.

⁷² In the first chapter, these names are cited as members of the CMS. After 1804, though continuing to be a member of the former society, they heartily supported the BFBS whose slogan was 'A Society for All'. Carson, "Soldiers of Christ", 266.

country, the “chief” object of which is the “universal” dissemination of the Christian Faith; particularly amongst those nations of the East to whom we possess a safe facility of access, and whose minds and doctrines are known to be most obscured by the darkness of infidelity. Upon this topic, so delicate and solemn, I shall, for the present, make but one observation. I shall only observe, that if a society having such objects in view, does exist, and if the leading members of that Society are also leading members of the East India Company; and not only of the East India Company, but of the Court of Directors; nay, Sir, not only of the Court Directors, but of the Board of Control; if I say, these alarming hypotheses are true, then, Sir, are our Possessions in the East already in a situation of most imminent and unprecedented peril; and no less a danger than the threatened extermination of our eastern sovereignty, commands us to step forth, and arrest the progress of such rash and unwarrantable proceedings.⁷³

In the close of his letter, Twining underlined the seeming relation of the names cited above with the Vellore Mutiny and once again warned Parry on the delicacy of the British existence in the sub-continent:

Again and again, Sir, I must insist upon the extreme danger to our very existence in India, from the disclosure of such opinions and views to the native inhabitants of that country. Let Mr Brown and Mr Buchanan, and their patrons at Clapham and Leadenhall Street, seriously reflect upon the recent catastrophes of Buenos Ayres, Rosetta, and Vellore; and let them beware how they excite that “rage and infatuation which competent judges describe as without example among any other people”.⁷⁴

The British existence could only be maintained by the long-established policy of non-interference with religion:

As long as we continue to govern India in the mild tolerant spirit of Christianity, we may govern it with ease: but if ever the fatal day shall arrive, when religious Innovation shall set her foot in that Country, indignation will spread from one end of Hindostan to the other; and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of globe, with as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind.⁷⁵

Twining’s pamphlet was attacked by the pamphleteers not only because of the thoughts it involved, but also due to its intellectual level. As mentioned in the first

⁷³ Twining, 4-5. At the end of his letter Twining expressed his regret for citing these names in his letter: “In the course of my remarks I have felt sincere regret in animadverting upon the conduct of persons most of whom I know personally, all of whom I much respect, and towards some of whom I feel a sense of personal obligation: but, Sir, that which I may, perhaps, be allowed to call a *public* duty on this occasion, is, I confess, a point of paramount consideration.” Twining, *A letter*, 28.

⁷⁴ Twining, *A Letter*, 27 and Buchanan, *Memoir*, 34.

⁷⁵ Twining, *A Letter*, 30.

chapter, education was one of the crucial hallmarks of the evangelicalism and evangelicals believed that their high education was the fact which distinguished them from the rest of the clergymen and certainly from the traders. Kaye, for instance, comments on the poor intellectual quality of the pamphlet with these words:

There is a fine antiquarian flavour about them. As relics of a by-gone age, as fossil remains indicating a pre-existent condition of the religious mind of England, they will be pored over with wondering curiosity.⁷⁶

Another criticism was that Twining did not write a pamphlet of his own but rather extensively quoted from Buchanan and the reports of the BFBS. John Owen, the secretary of the society, who was the first to answer Twining, stresses in his *The History of the BFBS* that Twining began to mention his own thoughts only “after twenty-two pages of extracts from the Bible Society’s Reports and Mr Buchanan’s Memoir (the entire pamphlet consists only thirty).”⁷⁷ Kaye denounces the pamphlet with similar words:

It consisted mainly of extracts from the reports of the Bible Society and the publications of Claudius Buchanan. The original comments were brief, but pungent.⁷⁸

Thomas Twining, though known as the person started the War of Pamphlets, did not much continue to participate in the discussions to follow. Indeed in the preface to the second edition, Twining admitted that he did not intend to start such a war between the Company and the evangelicals:

I little expected that the following letter, written and published without communication with any person whatever, and by a stranger to almost every proprietor of East India Stock, would be imputed to *party* considerations -to motives of *party* resentment towards certain individuals, and of *party* hostility towards the East India Company. I shall not attempt to remove such ungenerous impressions.⁷⁹

⁷⁶Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 152.

⁷⁷Owen, *History of the BFBS*, 1: 324-25.

⁷⁸ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 151-52.

⁷⁹ Twining, *A Letter*, 1.

When *A Letter* was brought before the Court of Directors in December 1807, the directors supporting Twining were defeated owing to the strong opposition of Grant and Parry. Thus Twining withdrew his case and did not speak out in public on the issue again. More about these developments in the Court of Directors are mentioned below.

Interestingly enough, in *Travels in India A Hundred Years Ago With A Visit to the United States*, which consisted of Thomas Twining's notes edited by his grandson William H.G. Twining, there is no single word referring to his pamphlet. In fact, one can hardly believe that the author of *Travels in India* and that of *A Letter* was the same man. Evidently after fifty years passed from these turbulent days and far away from India, he felt free to mention the "selfish and merciless power of Brahmins"⁸⁰ and thus to make a cast distinction. The sentences below, for instances, are like being taken from the evangelical pamphlets of the year 1807:

While some parts of the Hindoo worship are simple and inoffensive, others are highly revolting by their cruelty and indecency...It is the duty of the Government, particularly of a Christian government to make every effort to suppress these dreadful acts.⁸¹

And similarly his views on the government's toleration to the 'dreadful practices' in the sub-continent are no different from those in William Kaye's *Christianity in India*:

Accordingly while leaving to the influence of time, instruction and example, and to the operation of such prudential discouragement as the precarious nature of our position in the East will permit, the correction of the mere opinions and theories of the people, the Government of India no longer tolerates, or seems to sanction by its forbearance, deeds of cruelty which openly violate every sentiment of religion, and all principle of social order and common protection.⁸²

⁸⁰ Twining, *Travels in India a hundred Years Ago With a Visit to the United States*, (London, 1893), 462.

⁸¹Ibid., 461-62.

⁸²Ibid., 462.

As a last word for governing British India, though believing “the spiritual position of the country” would remain “much as it was on our arrival”, Twining warns:

How long our Indian Empire may last it is impossible to say, but great will be our responsibility as a Christian nation if, *when we retire from East, we leave behind us the same idolatry and impiety that we found when we first landed in these regions.*⁸³

Apparently Thomas Twining began to consider the evangelicalism and the missionary activities in India in a more sympathetic light while nearing to death.

As a matter of fact, four months before the publication of *A Letter*, there appeared a pamphlet mentioning the missionary relation with the Vellore Mutiny. Chronologically, Scott Waring’s *Observations on the Present State of the East India Company* is the first pamphlet in the War of Pamphlets. Nevertheless the first edition was away from the assertive rhetoric common in the pamphlets and thus the *Observations*, though widely read and discussed, did not raise any reaction. Only after the third edition to which Waring inserted the ‘Prefatory remarks on the Alarming Intelligence Lately Received from Madras’ on the lately received news about the Vellore Mutiny, he took its place among the pamphleteers of the battle. Meanwhile, Twining had already published his pamphlet.⁸⁴

John Scott Waring (1747-1819) entered the service of the Company in 1766 and during Hastings’ government became one of his prominent agents. Between the years 1784 and 1790 he was the MP for Cornish borough of West Looe. When he participated in the discussions going around the missionary challenge to the

⁸³Ibid, 463.

⁸⁴Twining heard about the Preface included in *Observations* in December and ended the second edition of *A Letter* with these words: “Since the preceding pages were printed, the writer of them has seen a pamphlet, entitled, “Observations on the present state of the east India Company”. The following extract will shew, how for the author of those observations, and the writer of the foregoing letter, agree upon *one* subject.

Company's religious policy, he was "not now in Parliament, nor have...a voice at the Indian house" and "retired from public life", and in his own words he was "an invalid during the winter months".⁸⁵ He wrote his *Observations* in July 1807 as a detailed account of the financial situation of the EIC from the times of Lord Clive. His reaction to Buchanan's proposal for an ecclesiastical establishment was considerably tranquil when compared with Twining's:

Mr B. goes on to explain very fairly and fully what is his object in proposing an ecclesiastical establishment: it is, as he says, to convert fifty millions of men to Christianity, which in another generation he supposes *to be very practicable*...No Englishman could object to this plan, unless he was convinced also that the very attempt would inevitably lose the British Empire in India.⁸⁶

Apparently, after the Vellore mutiny he was "convinced" that the attempts of not only Buchanan but also of the Baptists in Serampore could easily cost India. Thus, in the missionaries' eyes Waring became, as Kaye mockingly says, "this Scott Waring" who "held the chief place in the little army of pamphleteers that fought with such good will, in defence of genuine Hindooism".⁸⁷

There is no doubt that the *Observations* includes many sentences reflecting how the missionary interest in India was considered by the Company officials. The general tendency of evaluating the missionaries misinterpretation of the caste system found its place in Waring's words saying,

They attempt to draw a distinction between the Bramins and the people at large. On all occasions they speak *of the enmity of the Bramins*, and only occasionally of the abuse

If what has already happened, does not open the eyes of his Majesty's Ministers, if they do not feel the necessity of disavowing their participation in the visionary schemes of Mr Buchanan, our Empire in India is not worth a year's purchase."(Twining, *A letter*, 31.)

⁸⁵ John Scott Waring, *A Letter to the Rev. John Owen, A. M. in Reply to the "Brief Strictures on the Preface Observations on the Present State of the East India Company"*, (London, 1808), 16.

⁸⁶John Scott Waring, *Observations on the Present State of the East India Company*, (London, 1808), 9.

⁸⁷ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 150.

bestowed upon them by the other casts of Hindoos. Should we be mad enough to make the same distinction, our destruction is *inevitable*.⁸⁸

Additionally, Waring referred to the missionaries' peculiar zeal for acting in India which was not observed in the other British colonies all around the world:

I sincerely applaud the Christian zeal and liberality of the various missionary societies, and I conceive that their exertions on the continent of Africa, amongst the savages in America, and in the islands of the South Seas, may be productive of much good, and the field is large enough for the employment of fifty thousand missionaries. In India the missionaries, and the liberality of the Bible Society, can produce nothing but mischief.⁸⁹

What was underlined by Waring in the first two editions⁹⁰ was the harmlessness of the missionary activity in regard to British imperial endeavour, unless they had any relation with the British government in India.

Missionaries can do no mischief in India if they are treated as formerly, neither encouraged nor oppressed. But if men paid by the British Government in India are encouraged to make converts to Christianity, our empire will be in more danger than what it was from a French or a Mahratta war.⁹¹

However when the sharp shift from his thoughts in the Observations occurred in the prefaces to the third and fourth editions, the missionary group, extremely shocked by this change, began to attack him immediately.⁹² Waring stressed the latest bloody incident in India as the fact which "opened his eyes to the dangers of missionary activities"⁹³. And on this account, the "immediate recall of every English missionary" together with "a prohibition to all persons dependent on the Company from giving

⁸⁸ Waring, *Observations*, iv.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, x-xi.

⁹⁰ The first two editions of *Observations* were published anonymously.

⁹¹ Waring, *Observations*, 12.

⁹² When mentioning the pamphleteers in the war of Pamphlets, Penny considered Waring as a man who "was continually changing his ground". Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2: ii. To be called "mischievous madmen" was definitely unexpected for the missionaries. Waring, *Observations*, lx.

⁹³ Fisch, "Pamhlet War"; 31.

assistance to the translation or circulation of our Holy Scriptures” should be enacted.⁹⁴

Although his dislike for the dissenting missionaries was well-known, Scott Waring aimed to divide the missionary camp by drawing the Dissenters’ attention to “the Establishment card” which was being played by the Anglican evangelicals, such as Buchanan, for a long time.⁹⁵ Though being perfectly aware of the cost of an ecclesiastical establishment for them, the dissenting missionaries, in particular the Baptists, found themselves in an involuntary pact with the Anglicans. Undoubtedly, for the Baptists the cost of being separated from that pact would be higher than that of an Anglican episcopacy in India.⁹⁶

Unlike Twining who withdrew his case after the second edition of his letter, Waring published six pamphlets between the years 1807 and 1809. Additionally, close to the renewal of the Company’s charter in 1813, he wrote two more pamphlets -one was as an answer to the *Christian Researches* of Buchanan which was published in 1811⁹⁷. On this account he was reputed “a prolific writer”⁹⁸ with “indefatigable zeal”⁹⁹. His habit to answer almost every pamphlet contradicting him and his “endless repetitions of the same arguments”¹⁰⁰ caused a tedium in the public

⁹⁴Waring, *Observations*, x-xxxi, lxi, lxxii-lxxv.

⁹⁵ Carson, “Soldiers of Christ”, 145.

⁹⁶Ibid, 145.

⁹⁷ All through his life, whenever there was crisis in the political arena Waring published his thoughts on the issue. *Observations on Belsham’s ‘Memoirs of the reign of George III’* (1776) and *Seven Letters to the People of Great Britain by a Whig* (1789) are the most significant ones among many.

⁹⁸ Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2: ii.

⁹⁹ Fisch, “Pamphlet War”, 30.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 30.

and, in the end, his views began to be dismissed. Through the end of the War of Pamphlets, Twining's name was almost forgotten and the evangelical publications were denounced mostly Waring and Charles 'Hindoo' Stuart. More about Stuart below.

Back in 1807, Owen became the first to answer Twining's pamphlet; even before Waring's Preface. John Owen (1766-1822) who was the secretary of the BFBS since 1804, wrote *An Address to the Chairman of the East India Company, Occasioned by Mr Twining's Letter to that Gentleman* simply to

...prove, that, neither in the *object*, the *patronage*, nor the *proceedings* of the Society, was there anything to justify the charge of culpable interference with the religious systems of India, or to authorize the apprehension of those alarming consequences to our sovereignty in the east, which had been so confidently predicted.¹⁰¹

As he stressed in the *History of the BFBS*, it was his "Noble President" - Lord Teignmouth- who had suggested that he gave "the hostile letter a serious examination".¹⁰² Thus with "a triumphant reply to Mr Twining's tirade"¹⁰³, in Kaye's words, he joined the battle.

Regarding Twining's attacks on the reports of the BFBS, Owen considers the year 1807 as a time

when on a sudden the horizon of the Society was darkened, and a storm arose, which frowned defiance upon its eastern labors, and seemed to portend the annihilation of its plans for disseminating the invaluable blessings of divine revelation through the regions of Hindoostan.¹⁰⁴

In order to protect his brothers from that 'storm', he without delay wrote his reply to Twining's pages of "irony and satire, rather than of grave complaint and serious

¹⁰¹ Owen, *History of the BFBS*, 1: 331-2.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 331.

¹⁰³ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 155.

expostulation”¹⁰⁵. And when the Preface of the *Observations* appeared, he added a Postscript to the third edition of his pamphlet attacking Waring. Since Twining had already retreated from the battle, the answer to the *Address* came only from Scott Waring in 1808.¹⁰⁶

Owen’s pamphlet addressing to Edward Parry precisely differs from Buchanan’s *Memoir* which shows knowledge of and attention to Indian realities. Accepting the inefficiency of his knowledge on the situation in India, Owen rather criticises Twining explaining the obstacles before the BFBS in distributing the Scripture to India. One paragraph among the many on the Bible distribution is significant referring to the dispute not only between the Anglican and the dissenting missionaries but also between the SPCK and the BFBS which is mentioned in the first chapter:

There exists, Sir, in this country, as you very well know, a most venerable and useful Institution, “The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge”. This society may be accurately enough represented within the limits prescribed by its Charter, (and happy should I be to see British India within those limits), as having for its *object*, the Dissemination of the Christian faith. The latitude of its designation, and the generality with which its object is expressed, allow to this Society an unlimited choice of means . It may define and systemize and classify the several points of Christian Theology: It may issue Tracts on all and any matters of Doctrine and Discipline, at its discretion: it may employ Missionaries and Catechists, erect Churches and Schools, and proceed *ad libitum*, for the accomplishment of its purposes. And why?----For the reason above given: because its Designation is

¹⁰⁴ Owen, *History of the BFBS*, 1: 324.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 1:330.

¹⁰⁶ In his letter to John Owen, Waring stated that the government in India was not Christian: “Can you point out to me one *political evil* that has resulted from the people professing religions different from our own, the religion of the *governing power*. Nonsense even from a clergyman must still be nonsense”. Waring, *A Letter to the Rev. John Owen*, 23. He also explicitly pointed his detest for the dissenting missionaries by saying “The English Missionaries were neither appointed by Parliament nor by the Company but by Sectarian societies in England, supported by the voluntary contributions of individuals in England. If they have had and *success* in the course of several years why is it not publicly stated?” and explained the reason for his dislike: “My objection to the efforts of the Sectarian Missionaries in India, is occasioned by my detestation of Voltaire and his principles. He was fond of *innovations and experiments*, I detest both the one and the other, unless my understanding is convinced that we may *improve* without incurring the risques of insurrection, rebellion, and the loss of millions of our fellow creature” Waring, *A Letter to Rev. John Owen*, 54-5.

general and its object *undefined*. Not so the British and Foreign Bible Society. It can do but *one* act for the propagation of Christianity. It can distribute but *one* Book; and that Book ---the BIBLE.¹⁰⁷

Interestingly enough, in the last paragraph of his *Address*, Owen seems to foresee on 21 December 1807 that the above-mentioned three pamphlets were the presages of a war soon to erupt:

We are engaged in a doubtful conflict, and our human resources are few and low, I hope we shall not make our little less by disunion in matters of eternal moment, nor aggravate the dangers of our warfare BY MAKING GOD OUR ENEMY.¹⁰⁸

The first pamphlet of 1808 became the first part of Andrew Fuller's *An Apology for the late Christian Missions to India* which was the answer both to Twining's *A Letter* and to Waring's Preface in *Observations*. Andrew Fuller (1754- 1815), who was then a secretary to the BMS, was one of the most prominent Baptists together with Carey and Ward. Like Waring, he was the author of various publications "both of a polemical and practical nature"¹⁰⁹ on the important religious issues of his age. John Ryland, in his *Memoir of Andrew Fuller* evaluates the *Apology* which consisted of three parts as such:

I have not attempted any regular review or analysis of these polemical works, nor shall I do so as those of a more practical nature; I am willing to bear a full share of whatever reproach may be thrown upon me from any quarter, for highly esteeming them; but my time would admit of nothing more than the few cursory remarks I have interspersed. They are all pretty well known to the religious public, among whom he had his share of good report, as well as of censure and opposition. I shall leave his works to defend themselves against the nibbling of minor critics, which I think they are as able to do as the best tempered file.¹¹⁰

Among the evangelical pamphleteers, Fuller had a significant place as being the only dissenting pamphleteer. His dissenting character became apparent in the second

¹⁰⁷ Owen, *An Address to the Chairman of the East India Company*, (London, 1807), 6-7.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 35.

¹⁰⁹ John Ryland, *Memoirs of Fuller*, (London, 1816), 201. For a detailed account of Fuller's publications see Ryland 201-235.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 225.

part of his *Apology*, only after Waring's letter to John Owen was published. As mentioned above, in his letter Waring attempted to divide the missionary camp by putting the blame solely on the 'sectarian' missionaries. Before mentioning Fuller's answer to Waring's attacks, I will point to a few issues related with those cited in the previous chapters.

While answering Twining's letter, Fuller took 'toleration' as his main concern :

Is giving the Scriptures then to the natives, in their own languages, and offering to instruct them in their leading doctrines, opposed to the mild and *tolerant spirit of Christianity*?.....The question, Sir, which Mr Twining proposes to submit to a general court of proprietors, whatever be the terms in which it may be couched, will not be, Whether the natives of India shall continue to enjoy the most perfect toleration; but **WHETHER THAT TOLERATION SHALL BE EXTENDED TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES?**.....Toleration is a legal permission not only to enjoy our own principles unmolested, but to make use of all the fair means of persuasion to recommend them to others... In former times unbelievers felt the need of toleration *for themselves*, and then they generally advocated it on behalf of others; but of late owing perhaps to the increase of their members, they have assumed a loftier tone-Now, though for political reasons, all men must be allowed to follow their own religion, yet *they must not aim at making proselytes*. Men who have no belief in the Christian religion may be expected to have no regard for it; and where this is the case, the rights of conscience will be but little respected.¹¹¹

Then, expressing the evangelical belief which views India as a heavenly gift just to spread Christianity, with the words saying "Mr Twining may be disgusted at the idea of the eastern empire being given us by Providence, *for the very purpose* of introducing the gospel"¹¹², Fuller stressed the necessity of distributing Scriptures all around the sub-continent and continued:

May I not take it for granted, Sir, that a British Government can not refuse to tolerate Protestant missionaries; that a Protestant Government can not forbid the free circulation of the Scriptures; that a Christian Government can not exclude Christianity from any part of its territories; and that if, in addition to this the measures which have of late years been pursued in India, without the least

¹¹¹ Andrew Fuller, *An Apology for the Late Christian Missions to India: Part the First*, (London, 1808), 5-8.

¹¹² Fuller, *Apology part the first*, 36.

inconvenience arising from them, can be proved to be *safe* and *wise*, they will be protected rather than suppressed? I trust I may.¹¹³

As Carson aptly points out, Fuller, deeply affected by the public's dislike of the Dissent, was extremely cautious of opposing neither the government in India nor the Church of England.¹¹⁴ In his *Apology*, he evaluated the pamphlets of Twining and Waring as the works of "individuals" which did not reflect the tendency of the British government.¹¹⁵ Thus he assured the reader that when he denounced them, this did not mean that he was opposing the EIC.

The second part of the *Apology* is an answer both to Scott Waring and Charles Stuart's *Vindication of the Hindoos*. Since Waring "certainly labours in this his second performance to divide his opponents"¹¹⁶, Fuller - after underlining that "with an Ecclesiastical Establishment" he had "no concern"¹¹⁷ - defended his Baptist identity and additionally rejected any Baptist involvement in missionary activities in India:

But as it may be supposed from the preceding remarks that we are parties in The Baptist mission in the East Indies, and that therefore our testimony may be justly liable to the charge of undue *partiality*; to remove every impression of this kind from the mind of the Reader, we here declare, that we never *had*, nor *have* we now any *religious* connexion whatever with the missionaries abroad, nor with their directors at home.¹¹⁸

Vindication of Hindoos by a Bengal officer is notably the most eccentric pamphlet of the War of Pamphlets. Though siding with Twining and Waring in

¹¹³Fuller, *Apology part the first*, 24-5.

¹¹⁴Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ', 61.

¹¹⁵Fuller, *Apology part the first*, 33. Fuller mentions 'individuals' also in the part two of his *Apology*: "...the sons of Protestant Britain would so far degenerate as to become the Advocates of Paganism; or though that were the case with a few individuals, yet who could have imagined that a number of men would be found who would have either the power or the resolution publicly to oppose the propagation of Christianity?" Fuller, *Apology for the late Christian missions to India part the second*, (London, 1808), 5.

¹¹⁶Fuller, *Apology part the second*, 23.

¹¹⁷*Ibid*, 30.

opposition with missionary activities in India, the author of the *Vindication* strictly differs from those two names by advocating “the Hindoo system on the broad basis of *its own merits*”¹¹⁹ Much discussion went around the identity of the Bengal officer - or the Vindicator - and remained unknown throughout the conflict. Recently the historians think that it was Charles Stuart whose nickname was ‘Hindoo’.¹²⁰ At that time, there could have been no other person in Britain but Charles Stuart indicating the Hindoo gods as part of “the most complete and ample system of Moral Allegory that the world was ever produced”.¹²¹

The most well-known denunciation to the *Vindication* was that of Fuller:

This production surpasses all that have gone before it. Messrs. Twining and Scott Waring were desirous of being considered as Christians; but if this writer does not formally avow his infidelity, he takes so little care to disguise it, that no doubt can remain on the subject.¹²²

Charles Stuart (1757/58-1828) who entered the service of the EIC in 1777, became “notorious during his lifetime” due to his “special sympathy for everything Indian”.¹²³ Although he confesses in the *Vindication* that he is an anti-Christian¹²⁴, he was definitely not converted to Hinduism, since that religion hardly accepted any

¹¹⁸ Fuller, *Apology part the second*, 128. The Baptist missionaries were still the indigo makers within the territories of the EIC.

¹¹⁹ *A Vindication of the Hindoos from the Aspersions of Claudius Buchanan*, (London, 1808), 9.

¹²⁰ Curiously enough, the Dictionary of National Biography and the records of the British Library and the Indian Office include the *Vindication of Hindoos* in the works of Scott Waring. Nevertheless for anyone who will read both the *Observations* and the *Vindication*, it is evident that these two pamphlets can not be written by the same author. Waring’s desire to present himself as a true Christian - disliking the Dissent - definitely contradicts with the Vindicator’s words overpraising Hinduism. In this respect, like Marshman, Potts, Carson and Fisch, I venture to accept *Vindication* as a pamphlet by Charles ‘Hindoo’ Stuart. For a detailed account of the conflict on the identity of the ‘Bengal Officer’ see Fisch’s “Pamphlet War”, n.38.

¹²¹ *Vindication of the Hindoos*, 9.

¹²² Fuller, *Apology part the second*, 28.

¹²³ Fisch, “A Solitary Vindicator of the Hindus: The Life and Writings of General Charles Stuart”. *Journal of Asian History* 1(1985):53.

¹²⁴ *A Vindication of the Hindoos: part the second* (London, 1808), 106-108.

converts.¹²⁵ The two-third of the pamphlet contains a theological discussion about the superiority of Hinduism to Christianity.

One may easily consider the *Vindication of Hindoos* as the most interesting work among those pamphlets which merely repeat the same prototype sentences on the same issues. Nevertheless, since the *Vindication* neither reflects the religious policy of the missionaries nor the EIC and is rather to be considered as a fantasy, I shall not cite any more quotations from that pamphlet. The ideas of the Vindicator were so shocking for his age that Fuller, after giving a lengthy extract of the pamphlet, concluded that “I presume the reader has had enough, and needs no reflections of mine”¹²⁶ and prefers not to comment further on it.

On the hottest days of the war in early 1808, the reviewers joined the debate.¹²⁷ According to Kaye, “if it had not been for the Reviewers, the controversy would have been the dullest, perhaps, on record”¹²⁸. The evangelicals who had their own journals for years consecutively published numerous articles on the prevailing discussion and reviews of the above-mentioned pamphlets. There was *The Christian Observer*, *The Eclectic Review* and *The Evangelical Magazine*. The reviews in the Clapham Sect’s *Christian Observer* were published separately in the same year.¹²⁹ Almost every review ended with an implicit invitation to the evangelicals to participate in the war.

¹²⁵ Fisch; ‘Solitary Vindicator’, 53.

¹²⁶ Fuller, *Apology part the second*, 50.

¹²⁷In addition to the reviews, there eventually appeared some anonymous works whose authors remained unknown till today. In 1807 *A few cursory remarks, A Letter to the President of the Board of Control, Two Letters to the Proprietors and Candid Thoughts* and in 1808 *An essay to shew that no intention has existed, The dangers of British India* were published.

¹²⁸ Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 150.

While evangelicals could easily publish their comments in pamphlets, the other camp had considerable difficulties in answering them. Then, Sydney Smith (1771-1845) engaged the support of the “influential and popular”¹³⁰ *Edinburgh Review* to challenge the missionaries. Smith’s review on Indian missions which was published in April 1808 became one of the most prominent works of that year.¹³¹ His words calling the missionaries a “little detachment of maniacs”¹³² intensified the enduring dispute which had already turned into a battle. Further he attacked *Christian Observer* as “a publication which appears to have no other method of discussing a question fairly open to discussion, than that of accusing their antagonists of infidelity”.¹³³ Again like Waring, what he meant by ‘missionaries’ was the ‘Baptists’. Therefore it was mainly the Baptists to be opposed to and their claim for ‘toleration’ was unacceptable:

It is in vain to say that these attempts to diffuse Christianity do not originate from the government in India. The omnipotence of government in the East is well known to the natives; if government does not prohibit, it tolerates; if it tolerates the conversion of the natives, the suspicion may be easily formed that it encourages that conversion. If the Brahmans do not believe this themselves, they may easily persuade the common people that such is fact; nor are there wanting, besides the activity of these new missionaries, many other circumstances to corroborate such a rumour.¹³⁴

Robert Southey (1774-1843) responded to Smith in the first issue of the *Quarterly Review* in February 1809. He was one of the last participants of a

¹²⁹For a detailed account of the reviews of the pamphlets participated in the war within the years 1807-1809 see Appendix.

¹³⁰ Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 190.

¹³¹ Although Smith’s essay is one of the most cited works, few knows that it is a polemical pamphlet and written on account of the War of Pamphlets.

¹³²Sydney Smith, ‘Indian Missions’, *Essays from the Edinburgh Review*, 12: (1808), 179.

¹³³ Smith, “Indian Missions”, 125. However the Clapham Sect was not the only group accusing Smith and his friends of being ‘infidel’. Also Fuller in a letter to Marshman denounced the writers of the *Edinburgh Review* as “enemies to all true religion”, if not “really infidels”. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, 190. *Andrew Fuller to Marsham, 5 March, 1808*

controversy, which in his own words was “carried on with more than the usual virulence and unfairness of polemical writing”.¹³⁵ In his *Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society*, Southey though not a Baptist backed the BMS against the attacks of both the *Edinburgh Review* and the Church of England:

Nothing can be more unfair than the manner in which the scoffers and alarmists have represented the missionaries. We, who have thus vindicated them are neither blind to what is erroneous in their doctrine, or ludicrous in their phraseology: but the anti-missionaries cull out from their journals and letters all that is ridiculous, sectarian, and trifling; call them fools, madmen, tinkers, Calvinists, and schismatics; and keep out of sight their love of man, and their zeal for God, their self-devotement, their indefatigable industry, and their unequalled learning.....Why will not the Church of England adopt a policy more favourable to her views? Sectaries, such as these, instead of being discountenanced, should, in fact, be regarded as useful auxiliaries: their services, indeed, are desultory; but, like the Pandours and Croats of military powers, they may precede the main body, and, by their zeal and intrepidity, contribute to facilitate the success of the regular force.¹³⁶

Thus he answered also to William Barlow’s *Expediency of Translating Our Scriptures into Several of the Oriental Languages* (1807) in which the author suggested that Church of England should make “one uniform and general attempt to the exclusion of all others, where we have the power to exclude (Baptists).”¹³⁷

Chronologically the final curtain fell on the Pamphlet War with Southey’s article. However it is better to accept Lord Teignmouth’s *Consideration on the Practicability, Policy, and Obligation of Communicating to the Natives of India* in 1808 as the end, since Teignmouth was considered as the “highest authority”¹³⁸ in the

¹³⁴ Smith, “Indian Missions”, 118.

¹³⁵ Robert Southey, “Periodical Accounts Relative to Baptist Missionary Society”. *The Quarterly Review*, 1(1809): 205.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 225-26.

¹³⁷ William Barlow, *The Expediency of Translating our Scriptures into Several of the Oriental Languages*, (Oxford, 1808), 26.

¹³⁸ Fisch, “Pamphlet War”, 36.

dispute. According to Penny, Teignmouth's words were as "oil on troubled waters" and after his *Consideration*, there remained no need and will to continue the war.¹³⁹

Lord Teignmouth was criticised by the evangelical camp for not writing on the issue until 1809. The editor of the *Christian Observer* who wrote *Sketch of Life of the Late Rig. Hon. Lord Teignmouth* answers such criticisms with the words saying:

Even two years before the publication of this pamphlet his mind was actively at work upon the question, by informing our readers of one of our literary secrets,- that it was his Lordship who wrote the review, in the *Christian Observer* in 1806, of Dr Buchanan's "Expediency....."¹⁴⁰

As a matter of fact, what caused him to wait for two years was his cautious, or in Carson's words his "necessity to be economical with the truth"¹⁴¹, owing to his being the president of the BFBS. The members of the BFBS who were all Anglicans, were working hard to gain approval from the Church of England and thus they did not want to be associated with the missionary activities in India.¹⁴² Thus Lord Teignmouth waited for two years and only in late 1808 published his *Considerations* anonymously. As an ex-Governor-General of the EIC, Teignmouth did not explicitly oppose to the religious policy of the Company:

It has been the invariable policy of every British administration in Bengal, to protect the natives of that country in the free exercise of their respective religions, and to pay a due attention to their laws and local customs. It is a policy founded on wisdom and justice, from which we ought never to depart.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2: 15.

¹⁴⁰ *Sketch of the Life of the Late Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth*, (London, 1934), 25.

¹⁴¹ Carson, 'Soldiers of Christ', 135.

¹⁴² Within that framework, Kaye points to these words of Lord Teignmouth: "I regret that the conversion of the natives of India has been brought forward so conspicuously by the publications of Dr. Buchanan and his premiums for prize disputations. That Christianity may be introduced into India, and that the attempt may be safely made, I doubt not; but to tell the natives we wish to convert them is not the way to proceed". Kaye, *Christianity in India*, 147.

¹⁴³ *Considerations on the Practicability, Policy and Obligation of Communicating to the Natives of India*, (London, 1808), 23.

Nevertheless his description of the Hindu character as “a compound of insincerity, servility, and dishonesty”¹⁴⁴ and his lengthy narration of the dreadful rites in the sub-continent warrant to his evangelical character. Additionally his underestimation of Hindu conservatism and the caste system differs from the rest of the Company officials:

it would occasion no alarm nor apprehension amongst the most prejudiced Hindoos, to hear that a number of their sect had become converts to Christianity: it might excite their surprise or pity, and perhaps contempt for the converts; but would produce no angry feeling. That such converts would be exposed to the inconveniences attending the loss of cast, is no proof to the contrary: a Hindoo become Christian, relinquishes of course the privileges and distinctions attached to his former sect.¹⁴⁵

The dual position of Lord Teignmouth both as an agent of the British empire and as a ‘soldier of Christ’ finds its expression in the conclusion of the *Considerations*:

Anxious as I am that the natives of India should become Christians, from a regard for their temporal happiness and eternal welfare, I know that this is not to be effected by violence, nor by undue influence: and although I consider this country bound by the strongest obligations of duty and interest, which will ever be found inseparable, to afford them the means of moral and religious instruction, I have no wish to limit that toleration which has hitherto been observed with respect to their religion, laws, and customs. On the contrary, I hold a perseverance in the system of toleration not only as just in itself, but as essentially necessary to facilitate the means used for their conversion; and those means should be conciliatory, under the guidance of prudence and discretion. But I should consider a prohibition of the translation and circulation of our Holy Scriptures, and the recall of the missionaries, most fatal prognostics with respect to the permanency of the British dominion in India.¹⁴⁶

Lord Teignmouth’s pamphlet was a response first to Waring and then to the ‘Bengal Officer’. As mentioned above, in the end of the war Twining’s name was in secondary place among the antagonists of the missionary activities, since he was defeated in the General Court in December 1807 owing to the strong campaign of Grant and Parry.

¹⁴⁴ *Considerations*, 81.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 54.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 100-101.

Before he brought his case to the court, Twining was thinking no different from the director who wrote to Hastings that “if the question were put to the Court, it would result in an order to send all missionaries home”.¹⁴⁷ However on 23 December 1807 Twining’s attempt to forbid the missionaries’ entrance to India was failed.¹⁴⁸ Interestingly enough he did not receive explicit support even from Robert Dundas who was anxious that “heated discussion should not reach the ears of the natives”.¹⁴⁹ A similar attempt came from Sir Francis Baring in January 1808 and again failed by 7 to 13 votes. The same director was now to confess again to Hastings that “We were beat... The Saints are elevated. I never loved them, but now I detest them.”¹⁵⁰ During the session, Andrew Fuller was seated in the gallery.

In April 1808, Grant and Parry were to keep their places in the Board of Directors by being re-elected. As the discussions on the Pilgrim Tax were revived, these ‘pious chairs’ were once again raised their voice against Dundas, the president of the Board of Control who was reminding them the existence of the ‘compact’. Additionally, “obstreperous” Claudius Buchanan, recently returned from India,

¹⁴⁷ Philips, *The EIC*, 160. *Toone to Hastings*, 27 May, 1807.

¹⁴⁸ This meeting of the General Court was mentioned in the *Christian Observer* for December, 1807 as such : “At the Court of Proprietors of the EIC, held on the 23d instant, Mr Thomas Twining, the author of a pamphlet reviewed in our present number, rose to say, that, being aware of the disadvantages which would attend the public agitation of the question discussed in that pamphlet, relative to the attempts now making to propagate Christianity in Hindoostan, he should be willing to withdraw the notice he had given of a motion upon it, provided he received satisfactory assurances from the Chairman, that the attention of the Directors had been turned to the subject, that it was their purpose to prevent the evils which would necessarily be produced by an interference with the religious prejudices of the natives. The Chairman stated, that the subject had certainly occupied the attention of the Board of Directors. They were anxious to discharge their duty in this and every other respect, and worthy member had no right to assume that they had neglected it in this particular instance. He trusted the Court would not withhold from the Directors on this occasion the confidence which they had been accustomed to repose in them. . Quoted in Owen, *History of BFBS*, 2: 347-48.

¹⁴⁹ Carson, “Soldiers of Christ”, 149.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

joined in the discussions.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, he was more eager and assertive on the issue than Parry and Grant. It is widely known that Grant asked Charles Simeon “to warn” Buchanan “against further indiscretions”.¹⁵²

Evidently, since 1808 Buchanan felt himself more free to express what he precisely thought of the religions in India, the Baptists’ activities in Serampore and the religious policy of the EIC. Further, with his *Star in The East* in 1809 he received these words of the Archbishop of Canterbury saying “if it shall please God, through these means to spread the blessings of Christianity, it is a result devoutly to be wished, but not impatiently pursued”.¹⁵³ When the attitude of the Church of England towards the missionary zeal since 1793 is considered, it can easily be accepted that such a semi-recognition was a definite victory for Buchanan. Nevertheless, at this stage, one should remember that the Pilgrim Tax, the obstacles on missionaries, the dismissal of the converted Hindus from the Company army, or simply the EIC’s religious policy of non-interference remained.

¹⁵¹ Cassels, “Compact and Pilgrim Tax”, 45.

¹⁵² Embree, *Charles Grant*, 248.

¹⁵³ Quoted in Penny, *Church in Madras*, 2: 16.

CONCLUSION

The War of Pamphlets is one of the early landmarks on the way leading to the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813. That event is also called "the dramatic Evangelical success in Parliament",¹ since the Honourable Company then began to grant licenses to the missionaries who desired to take part in Christianising the sub-continent. Additionally, to the charter a clause was inserted to set up an ecclesiastical establishment in Calcutta. However whether the renewal of 1813 was a genuine victory for the missionaries or not is highly questionable. First and foremost, by appointing a Bishop to Calcutta the Church of England became the force in proselytising India, not the Baptists, who were in the majority as missionaries there. Secondly, Company's policy of non-interference with the Indian religions was not annulled. Neither the 'dreadful practices' of the Hindus were stopped nor did the Company cease collecting the Pilgrim Tax. Furthermore, the number of Hindus converted to Christianity after the renewal did not increase significantly when compared to those converted before 1813. Only after the renewal of 1833, were the missionaries able to enter India without the Company's licences and they gained a considerable success in their activities of conversion.

The year 1833 marks the end of a period which began with the arrival of William Carey at India in 1793. In the evangelicals' eyes, the consecutive deaths of Hannah More, Lord Teignmouth, William Carey, Charles Simeon and Zachary Macaulay separated "the year 1833-34 from the remainder of the first half century

¹ Cassels, 'Compact and the Pilgrim Tax', 46.

and may be said to close the era of Early men”.² And it was also the year when the directors expressed more frequently that the Company consisted of true Christians.

Between the years 1793 and 1833, many disputes occurred about the Company’s religious policy of non-interference and the most severe attacks came from the evangelicals. The debates which started covertly in the beginning and continued by means of secret letters and official dispatches were first brought to the attention of a wider audience by the War of Pamphlets. More than twenty authors participated in the war by writing more than thirty pamphlets, each appeared at least in two editions. At the outset, the real cause of the war seemed to be the Vellore Mutiny and the Company’s prohibiting the missionaries to enter India. However, in the course of time the pamphlets began to include different polemical issues such as the concept of ‘toleration’, the fear of France, and particularly the competition between the Church of England and the Baptists. On this account, these pamphlets were significant in reflecting not only the unbridgeable gap between the missionaries and the Company, but also the other prevailing topics of the early nineteenth century.

The bombardment of pamphlets lasted for two years and Southey’s review in 1809 ended the fight. However, on the eve of the renewal of 1813 when the Saints started a campaign to disrupt the Company’s uncompromising religious policy, publications on propagating Christianity to India once again spread throughout Britain. In June 1813, the “900 petitions signed by half of a million people”³ in support of the missionaries and the founding of an ecclesiastical establishment in India proved that “the public mind was becoming familiarized with the great

²W. Canton, *A History of the BFBS*, 319 quoted in Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, 34.

questions about to be raised”⁴. The role of the War of Pamphlets for the awakening of the public interest on missionary activities in India was evidently very important.

³Carson, ‘Soldiers of Christ’, 282.

⁴Stock, *History of the CMS*, 1: 100.

APPENDIX

THE LIST OF PAMPHLETS IN THE WAR*

Barrow, William: *The expediency of translating our scriptures into several of the oriental languages, and the means of rendering those translations useful in an attempt to convert the nations of India to the Christian faith: a sermon preached by special appointment, before the University of Oxford. November 8, 1807* (Oxford, 1808).

Bryce, James: *A sketch of the state of British India, with a view of pointing out the best means of civilizing its inhabitants, and diffusing the knowledge of Christianity throughout the eastern world: being the substance of an essay on these objects, to which the University of Aberdeen adjudged Dr Buchanan's prize* (Edinburgh, 1810).

Buchanan, Claudius: *An apology for promoting Christianity in India.* (London, 1813).

----: *Christian researches in Asia: with notices of the translation of the scriptures into the oriental languages* (second edition, enlarged, London, 1811).

----: *Colonial ecclesiastical establishment: being a brief view of the state of the colonies of Great Britain, and of her Asiatic empire, in respect to religious instruction: prefaced by some considerations on the national duty of affording it. To which is added, a sketch of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India. Humbly submitted to the consideration of the imperial Parliament* (second ed., London, 1813).

----: *Memoir of the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India: both as the means of perpetuating the Christian religion among our own countrymen; and as a foundation for the ultimate civilization of the natives* (London, 1805).

* Extracted from Jörg Fisch's, "A Pamphlet War on Christian Missions in India", 66-70. Only the important pamphlets are extensively studied in the thesis.

----: *The star in the East; a sermon preached in the Parish-Church of St. James, Bristol, on Sunday, February 26, 1809, for the benefit of the "Society for missions to Africa and the East"* (third ed., London, 1809).

Candid thoughts respectfully submitted to the Proprietors of East India Stock: occasioned by Mr. Twining's "Letter to the Chairman", and "Observations on the present state of the Company" (London, 1808).

Chatfield, Robert: *An historical review of the commercial, political, and moral state of Hindoostan, from the earliest period to the present time: the rise and progress of Christianity in the east, its present condition, and the means and probability of its future advancement* (London, 1808).

Christian Observer: 6 (1806), 308-315; 6 (1807), 819-825; 7 (1808), 45-62; 104-123; 123-130; 248-257; 257-271; 370-377; 396-407; 8 (1809), 261-265; 315-320: various reviews.

Cockburn, William: *A dissertation on the best means of civilizing the subjects of the British empire in India, and of diffusing the light of the Christian religion throughout the eastern world: which obtained Mr Buchanan's prize* (Cambridge, 1805).

Cunningham, John William: *Christianity in India. An essay on the duty, means, and consequences, of introducing the Christian religion among the native inhabitants of the British dominions in the East* (London, 1808).

The dangers of British India, from French invasion and missionary establishments. By a late resident at Bhagulpore (London, 1808).

Dudley, John: *A sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, on the 28th of June, 1807, agreeably to the institution of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan* (Cambridge 1807).

Eclectic Review: 4 (1808), 70-81; 154-172; 252-272; 336-350; 440-451; 627-632; 1115-1129; 5 (1809), 135-150, 262-274; 418-434; 671-673; 702-705; 1073-1091; 6 (1810), 124-133: various reviews. According to Kaye (see n.2), pp. 150, 159 the author was John Foster.

Edinburgh Review: See under Smith

An enquiry into the causes which oppose the conversion of the Hindus of India to Christianity, and render the attempt to accomplish it extremely hazardous to the

interests of the East India Company, and the nation, and to the personal safety of Englishmen in India, particularly the civil servants of the Company. Addressed to the holders of East India Stock: and dedicated to the President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India. By a Proprietor of East India Stock (London, 1808).

An essay, to shew that no intention has existed, or does now exist, of doing violence to the religious prejudices of India (London, 1808).

Evangelical Magazine: 16 (1808), 30-36; 80-83; 128f.; 134-136; 172-174; 217-220; 349; 17 (1809), 28f.; various reviews: 16 (1808), 98f.: report on the Court of Proprietors of 23 December 1807.

A few cursory remarks on Mr Twining's letter to the chairman of the East India Company. By a member of the British and Foreign Bible society, (London, 1807). According to John Owen, *The history of the origin and first ten years of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 1. (London, 1816), p. 350 the author was Bishop Porteus of London.

Fuller, Andrew: *An apology for the late Christian missions to India: Part the first. Comprising an address to the Chairman of the East India Company; in answer to Mr Twining; and strictures on the preface of a pamphlet, by Major Scott Waring.* (second ed., London, 1808; (first ed. ib. 1808). (= Fuller 1.),

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