

British Government as Proselytising Auxiliary of Christian Missionaries

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I believe, notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit that country (India), the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined.

Lord Lawrence

It is believed modern European imperialism was actuated by a quest for “God, Gold and Glory”¹ in which God stands for Christian (or more specifically, Protestant Christian) missionary proselytizing to spread the “good news” of the Gospels that sinners can find redemption - and gain eternal life-through the “saving grace” of Jesus Christ. Where the flag went, another metaphor proclaimed, the cross was never far behind.² In the late 1780s, English Evangelicals started making plans for exporting the message of the Gospels to Bengal, Africa and the Caribbean.³ Comprehensive statistics on missionary are difficult to come by, but it is likely that at least 50,000 British Protestant missionaries ventured overseas during the nineteenth century in pursuit of the converts.⁴

It can hardly be a coincidence that this major global missionary initiative occurred during a period of frenetic European political and economic assertion - a period that saw a major part of the land surface of the planet fall under European and American sovereignty. Moreover this was also, by and large, the impression of the British public at the time. The bishop of Stepney declared, “The Imperial spirit in the State calls for an Imperial spirit in the Church.”⁵ For journalist John Hobson, a critic, “imperial

¹ Describes the motives generating the overseas exploration, expansion, and conquests that allowed various European countries to rise to world power between 1400 and 1750. “Gold” refers to the search for material gain through acquiring and selling Asian spices, African slaves, American metals, and other resources. As merchants gained influence in late-medieval Western Europe, they convinced their governments to establish a direct connection to the lucrative Asian trade, leading to the first European voyages of discovery in the 1400s. “God” refers to the militant crusading and missionary traditions of Christianity, characterized in part by rivalry with Islam and hatred of non-Christian religions. “Glory” alludes to the competition between monarchies. Some kings sought to establish their claims to newly contacted territories so as to strengthen their position in European politics and increase their power at the expense of the landowning nobility, See, David Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980*, Yale University Press, 2002; Robert Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World*, 2nd edition, Rowman and Littlefield, London, 2006.

² Copland, Ian, “Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, C. 1813–1858,” December 2006, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. XLIX, Issue 4, pp. 1025 – 1054.

³ Wesley, John, John, *Plan for the Society for the Establishment of Missions Among the Heathen* (1783), David Brown's *A proposal for establishing a Protestant mission in Bengal and Bahar* (1787), and William Carey's *An enquiry into the obligations of Christians, to use means for the conversion of the heathens* (1792) were the most influential.

⁴ Andrew Porter suggests that by 1900, 10,000 British Protestant missionaries were working over- seas. Christopher Bayly gives a figure of 100,000 for Africa, but this must be a misprint. Andrew Porter, “Religion, missionary enthusiasm and empire,” in Porter, ed., *The Oxford history of the British Empire*, Vol. III, Oxford and New York, 1999, p. 222; and C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 349.

⁵ “The Empire and the Church,” in Charles Sydney Goldman, *The Empire and the Century: A Series of Essays on Imperial Problems by Various Writers*, London, 1905, p. 166.

Christianity” was a major constituent of British “jingoism.”⁶ But what was the nature of their connection? Did the missionary societies help to drive imperial expansion, or did they merely take advantage of it better to pursue their ultimate goal of saving souls? That is the issue which continues to exercise the minds of historians.

The British Empire by the nineteenth century had become worldwide and, as a consequence, very diverse. One very obvious measure of this diversity is the fact that missionaries working in different parts of the Empire - engaged in a common enterprise and using similar proselytizing strategies - achieved quite dissimilar rates of success in respect of conversions: high in the Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Pacific, low in Asia and the Middle East. In particular the global paradigms constructed to explain nineteenth-century British colonialism have always struggled to accommodate the Indian case. South Asia has often seemed the exception that proves the rule. For instance, according to Porter, there was a growing perception in Britain by the middle of the century that trade and Christianity could “reinforce one another;” but he acknowledges that this view exercised much less sway among “those whose focus was India or the East.”⁷ Actually, taken at large, colonial India probably does bear out Porter's contention that Christian missions and colonial governments were “as likely to undermine each other as they were to provide mutual support” - though perhaps for reasons other than those Porter advances. Still, the picture of state and church at loggerheads does not work for India during the early nineteenth century. East India Company and the missionary societies, although at first suspicious of one another's bona fides,⁸ eventually developed a fruitful and at times even intimate relationship, based in part on their shared faith, and in part on their common interest in providing Western education to the country's elite. Later this honeymoon did not last, and why, after 1858, both sides came to re-evaluate the benefits of partnership in the light of new theological strategies and changing political imperatives.

For the church, India was an irresistible temptation - the quintessence of heathenism and home, therefore, to countless lost souls crying out mutely for salvation. James Long of the CMS wrote, “the thought of 800 millions passing into eternity every thirty years without a ray of hope often overwhelms me.”⁹ Alexander Duff reflected later, “God has, in a strange way, given us India in trust for the accomplishment of His grand evangelizing designs concerning it.”¹⁰ The Hindoos have no moral books. They have no moral gods. The robber and the prostitute lift up their hands with the infant and the priest, before a horrible idol of clay painted red, deformed and disgusting as the vices which are practised before

⁶ Hobson, J. A., *Imperialism: A Study*, 3rd edition, James Nisbet and Co., London, 1902, p. 216.

⁷ Porter, Andrew, “Commerce and Christianity”: The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth Century Missionary Slogan, *Historical Journal*, Vol. XXVIII, Issue 3, 1985, 28, pp. 615-16.

⁸ In 1792 the English Baptists organized the first Anglican mission Baptist Missionary Society. “The content of their (missionaries) hope was not merely a conglomerate of individual conversions but a comprehensive revolution in heathen Society in which every aspect of that society would be praised from the grip of satanic domination and submitted to the liberating lordship of Christ.” Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1908, p. 221.

⁹ Letter of 12 Oct. 1838, quoted in Anthony Copley, *Religions in Conflict - Ideology, Cultural Contact, and Conversion in Late-Colonial India*, Delhi, 1997, p. 9; For quite a while officials of the East India Company kept missionaries out of the territories which were falling to the Company. Later, while the missionaries were allowed to operate, the Government insisted on being neutral as between religions: the Bible was not to be taught in Government schools and colleges it instructed, for instance, and teachers in these establishments were not to engage in religious instruction even during their spare time.

¹⁰ Alexander Duff, *The Indian rebellion*, Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1858, p. 255.

it.¹¹ 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 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.¹²

Yet in the eighteenth century missionaries were actively discouraged from entering the East India Company's burgeoning dominions because it was feared that their proselytizing would give rise to the suspicion that the British intended to impose Christianity by force or stealth. A common ground was needed for the two when the two principal parties to religious debate appeared to be separated by unbridgeable ideological chasm, found themselves together in an embrace.

The Flag and the Cross: Mutual Reinforcement

For over a hundred years missionary activity was interwoven with, and inextricably tied up with British imperial control of India: that the missionaries — even those of Indian origin — did not join the Independence Movement was not an accident; nor was it an accident that those who did — C.F. Andrews for instance — abandoned missionary work all together.¹³ They worked in tandem with each other. Administrators and ethnographers drew upon the writings of missionaries working in their distant mission fields in order to learn from their everyday experiences; they consulted them for information on the basis of their recognized contact with the ‘natives’ amongst whom they lived. And thus they contributed to the making of the ethnographic and anthropological understandings of the tribe or other people. There were some among the missionaries—a relatively miniscule number—who had mastered the ‘native’ languages and who believed that for effective conversion, it was important to be acquainted with the culture of the heathen and the converted.¹⁴ Recording the local history, religion, culture, and practices was an integral part of their evangelical project.¹⁵ While they did not always distance themselves from the imperial project, it was their emphasis on their ethical and humanistic concerns that made the missionaries adopt the stance of the moral bearers of the empire’s conscience.¹⁶ As Allan Davidson points out, British Evangelicals were ready and willing to support governmental regulation of social behaviour where it served their religious

¹¹ Ibid, p. 37. The Hindoo superstition has been denominated lascivious and bloody. That it is bloody, is manifest from the daily instances of the female sacrifice, and of the commission of sanguinary or painful rites. The ground of the former epithet may be discovered in the description of their religious ceremonies, “There is in most sects a right-handed or decent path and a left-handed or indecent mode of worship.” See *Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Brahmins*, K. T. Colebrooke, Esq. *Asiat. Res.* Vol. VII p. 281. That such a principle should have been admitted as systematic in any religion on earth, may be considered as the last effort of mental depravity in the invention of a superstition to blind the understanding, and to corrupt the heart.

¹² Ibid, p. 40.

¹³ Shourie, Arun, *Missionaries in India, Continuities, Changes, Dilemmas*, Harper Collins Publishers, New Delhi, 1994, p. 200.

¹⁴ They were men who wanted to provide more than “only fragmentary information . . . given in reports from time to time,” and conduct “systematic enquiry,” a “special study of the superstitious beliefs and customs,” Dasgupta, Sangeeta, “*Heathen Aborigines, Christian Tribes and Animistic Races: Missionary Narratives on Oraons of Chotanagpur in Colonial India.*” *Modern South Asian Studies*, Vol. L, Issue 2, 2016, p. 443-444.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 444.

¹⁶ Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1992.

purposes, as, for example, in respect of the proper observance of the Sabbath.¹⁷ The Reverend Keane, sometime associate secretary of the CMS in Calcutta, concurred, “A missionary must feel himself deeply grateful for the benefits ... he enjoys from the Government of the Company. The perfect protection with which I lived for 16 months in a mud house in the ... jungle, six miles away from any one who could speak my native tongue, I owe to the Company. I was enabled, with perfect safety, to go from village to village for seven months and if I had ever been molested I had only to go to the Company's Officer, and I should have been received with respect, and obtained protection.”¹⁸ Likewise, it soon became clear to the missionaries that, despite its ideological failings from the Christian point of view, the Company Raj enjoyed considerable prestige, and that the native elite, to some extent, looked to it for moral guidance. They hoped that, in time, the natives would come to see the Company's government as a fundamentally Christian one, which would raise the profile of Christianity in the country and help to “create an atmosphere in which [that] religion could flourish.”¹⁹ After 1813, guided by the cautious theology of Josiah Pratt, the early CMS leaders took the view that they should “follow in the wake of imperial expansion rather than ... strike out on their own.”²⁰ As for the Calcutta government, it had already started to revise its hostile attitude to missionaries. As with the Baptists, personal contact served to vanquish some of the ingrained prejudices that had given rise to the Company's stand against Christian proselytizing. At the same time, official fears that an avalanche of missionaries might endanger the public peace diminished, as the memory of Vellore and other intermittent revolts faded, and there were no further recurrences of unrest in the sepoy army. Official anxieties were also eased by the seeming indifference of most Indians to the Christian message. By the early Nineteenth Century, Company service was starting to attract middle-class boys bent on carving out a life-long professional career. After 1805, all new recruits were required to attend the Company's finishing school at Haileybury, where they were lectured to by a teaching staff that included a number of ordained Church of England clergymen and several noted Anglican Evangelicals, such as William Dealtry and W. E. Buckley, and which had been commanded by the Court of Directors to inculcate in its charges a respect for Christian values.²¹ They were typically earnest and pious; and many insisted on bringing their faith to bear upon their work. John Dalzell, the sub-collector of Bellary, was caught by his superior in 1822 distributing Christian tracts and copies of the New Testament translated into the Kannada language to his household servants and Indian subordinates; he defended his actions vigorously by appealing to “Divine authority.”²² Lord William Bentinck, who, as governor-general from 1828, initiated the first serious governmental push for Westernizing reforms during the Company period, is usually remembered as a disciple of Jeremy Bentham, but he was a devout Christian too- for several years president of his local CMS branch. Many of the missionaries possessed specialist skills that the British administration in India needed, and could not easily supply from within its own ranks. William

¹⁷ Davidson, Allan, *Evangelicals and Attitudes to India 1786-1813: Missionary Publicity and Claudius Buchanan with the Text of Buchanan's Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, Both as the Means of Perpetuating the Christian Religion Among Our Own Countrymen, as a Foundation for the Ultimate Civilization of the Natives (1805)*, Sutton Courtenay Press, New York, 1901, pp. 40-1.

¹⁸ *Evidence of the Rev. W. Keane before the select committee of the House of Lords on the Government of India territories, 19 July 1853*, pp. xxxii, as quoted by Coupland, Ian, *Christianity as an Arm of Empire*, Op. cit., pp. 1025-1054.

¹⁹ Cox, Jeffery, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power In India, 1818-1940*, Stanford University Press, 2002, p. 32.

²⁰ Porter, Andrew, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 64.

²¹ Cohn, Bernard, S., “Recruiting and training of British civil servants in India, 1600- 1860,” in Braibanti, R. (ed.), *Asian Bureaucratic Systems emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1966.

²² Coupland, Op. cit., p. 56.

Carey and Claudius Buchanan were recruited to the faculty of Fort William College, Marquis Wellesley's finishing academy for new recruits, to teach languages; Carey's Sanskrit and Bengali grammars, and William Ward's encyclopaedic Account of the writings, religion and manners of the Hindoos, became standard governmental reference works; Scottish General Assembly missionary John Wilson was frequently called on by the Bombay government for advice on curly questions of native religion, law, and custom; he and other missionaries also assisted with translations from Persian and the vernaculars; and missionary presses initially furnished the greater part of the government's printing requirements.²³ For intimate knowledge of Indian life and manners, the sole authority for half a century was the great work by Ward of Serampore, *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, in 2 volumes. A helpful compilation on Caste was *Hindu Castes and Tribes as represented in Benares*, by Rev. M. A. Sherring of the London Missionary Society.²⁴ By making themselves useful, the missionaries put the government in their debt. In return, officials too showed a zest to unfold the flag of Christianity upon Indian soil. Even if there were scholars who urged greater attention to Indian languages, they had typically the same motive like, H.H. Wilson; he urged much greater attention to Sanskrit. But the object of even such a scholar was of course not very different: explaining the reason for writing his book *The Religious and Philosophical System of the Hindus*, he noted, "These lectures were written to help candidates for a prize of Pound Sterling 200/- given by John Muir, a well-known old Haileybury man and great Sanskrit scholar, for the best refutation of the Hindu Religious System."²⁵ He now urged Parliament's *Select Committee on Indian Territories*, "you have to approach the natives through persons they respect and these are not persons who are well-versed in western books and lore, but those who are learned in Sanskrit and Arabic; it is through these persons therefore that you must reach the common folk; in the meantime of course, by following the course advocated, you would have reoriented these learned classes."²⁶

"I feel convinced, that this translation of the Veda, will hereafter tell to a great extent on the fate of India and on the growth of millions of souls in that country. It is the root of that religion and to show them what the root is, I feel sure, is the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last 3,000 years. If those thoughts pass through one's mind, one does grudge the hours and days and weeks that are spent in staying in people's houses, and one feels that with the many blessings showered upon one, one ought to be up and doing what may be God's work."²⁷ Exposing the very roots of another culture so as to uproot everything that *has flowed from it for 3,000 years*, and this seen as God's work. Not quite the motive and belief we would associate with an objective scholar. And yet that is Max Muller writing to his wife in December 1866 about his translation of the Rig Veda. A large number of Vedic hymns are childish in the extreme," Max Muller had written, "tedious, low, commonplace."²⁸ By the side of these "simple, natural, childish thoughts," he relented later, there were "many ideas which to us sound modern, or secondary and tertiary."²⁹ But all flashes of this kind in religions like Hinduism, Buddhism etc. had been, in Max Muller's view, mere glimpses of the truth which God had allowed man in the ascent to

²³ Potts, Eli, Daniel, *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837: The History of Serampore and its Missions*, Cambridge University Press, 1967, pp. 92, 96, 112, 174-6.

²⁴ Richter, Julius, *A History of Missions in India*, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1908, p. 303.

²⁵ *Eminent Orientalists, Indian, European American*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991, p. 72.

²⁶ *Select Committee on Indian Territories*, Minutes of Evidence taken on 18 July, 1853, p. 7.

²⁷ Muller, Georgina, *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Muller*, Longmans, London, 1902, Volume I, p.328.

²⁸ Muller, Frederick, Max, *Chips from a German Workshop*, New York, 1891, Vol. I, p. 26.

²⁹ Muller, Frederick, Max, *India: What can it Teach Us*, Longmans, London, 1883, p. 118.

Christianity that He had ordained for man. He exhorted the audience not to be swayed by the argument that it cost too much to secure a convert overseas. He commended the contribution which “parental” missionary work was making — where children were taken when still very young, acculturated, and then sent back to their communities as seeds — a practice which, he noted, some had described as “religious kidnapping.”³⁰ But the most effective way of spreading Christianity was going to be the other kind, “and through which alone, I believe, the final victory will be gained.” This was to abstain from all direct attempts at conversion, whether by force or by argument, but to know that our religion is on trial, that we are being watched. To lead, in other words, the sort of life that the best missionaries had led.³¹ Now, there is no denying the scholarship of Max Muller: his output alone was prodigious. But, as we see, there is no denying his commitment to Christianity either, no denying his hope and expectation about the ultimate, indeed imminent triumph of Christianity, his conviction that every Christian was in duty bound to put his shoulder to winning the “Holy War”; no denying that he looked upon scholarly and missionary work as a joint undertaking for attaining the same goal — the goal of ensuring that Christianity acquires dominion over the world.

Another scholar who worked along with bureaucracy and Christian missionaries to perpetuate British rule in India. Monier-Williams. Then the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford, his accounts of our philosophy, our beliefs and practices, his Sanskrit-English dictionary are in use to this day. His acquaintance with India had led him to appreciate much about its culture and philosophy, and he lectured missionaries and others back in England that such a people could not be dismissed as uncivilised. He felt, and said, that James Mill had done great injustice to Indians, and inflicted much harm on British interests by blackening Indian character and thereby sowing deep prejudices in the minds of Britishers who were being sent over to govern India. But even in such a person was there the slightest doubt or ambiguity about the objective? Or about what constituted the obstacles to that objective being attained?³² “For what purpose, then, has this enormous territory been committed to England?” he asked in his *Modern India and the Indians*. “Not to be the ‘corpus vile’ of political, social, or military experiments; not for the benefit of our commerce, or the increase of our wealth — but that every man, woman and child, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya mountains, may be elevated, enlightened, Christianised.”³³ The course he was counselling, he argued, was the best way to ensure that the people would voluntarily come to Christ, “We require to raise up a whole generation — perhaps two or three generations — of really educated men,” he wrote, “— men, not only instructed in scientific truth, but well imbued with moral and religious truth — with the spirit, if not with the letter of Christian teaching — and with European views on all social subjects. And to this end, we have not to denationalize the men of India: we have to strengthen and consolidate their nationality. We have not to extinguish their own civilization: we have to refine and elevate it, we have not to sweep away their social institutions: we have to shape and mould them according to a higher pattern. We have not to erase every feature of their moral code: we have to expunge the bad and retain the good. We have not even to exterminate their religions: we have only to lay the axe to every

³⁰ Muller, *On Missions*, Scribner, Armstrong and Company, New York, 1874, p. 51.

³¹ Ibid, p. 145; This is how, he said, in India, Islam had benefited Hinduism, “It has cut into the very roots of idolatry, and has spread throughout India an intelligent and spiritual worship, which may at any time develop into a higher national creed.” And that was exactly the sort of improvement which had started taking place as a result of the mere presence of Christianity in India, Ibid., p. 56.

³² Shourie, Arun, Op. cit., p. 152.

³³ Williams, Monier, *Modern India and the Indians*, Fifth Edition, Kegan Paul London, 1891, p. 168.

root and fibre of error, and, after eradicating the false, to engraft the essential doctrines of Christianity on pre-existing germs of truth.”³⁴ The commissioner of Peshawar, Herbert Edwardes wrote, “The Giver of Empires is indeed God,” and He gave the Empire to Britain because “England had made the greatest effort to preserve Christian religion in its purest apostolic form.”³⁵ As a result, the more the British worked to spread that pure faith, the more Providence smiled on their empire-building endeavours. In this spirit, Fatehpur’s district judge, Robert Tucker, recently erected massive stone columns inscribed with the Ten Commandments in Persian, Urdu, Hindi, and English, which he used “two or three times a week to read the Bible in Hindoostanee to large crowds gathered in the compound to hear him.”³⁶ Colonel Steven Wheeler, commanding officer of the 34th Native Infantry, was known in Company’s army for reading the Bible to his sepoys and preaching to them, “natives of all classes.... in the highways, cities, bazaars and villages (hoping that) the Lord would make him the happy instruments of converting his neighbour to God or, in other words, of rescuing him from eternal damnation.”³⁷ The growing number of Evangelicals among the Company’s directors, the first and foremost of who was Charles Grant, shared similar ideas. Grant recommended a massive increase in missionary effort in order to convert a nation he described as “almost impossible to conceive of any people more totally enchained than they (the Hindus) are by their beliefs.”³⁸ Lord W. Bentinck commissioned Abbe Dubois, a French clergyman, to write a book on the religious and social customs of Indians and paid him Rs 8,000 out of the Indian Exchequer. The book reviled Indians to the limit and pictured them as a barbarous people whose only hope of salvation lay in Christianity and English rule in the country. The book was widely published in England and East India Company rewarded a life pension to Abbe Dubois when he retired and went to France.³⁹

It was the issue of public education, however, that turned this warming relationship into something approaching a formal collaboration. Evangelicals, and other reform-minded sections of the British middle classes like Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, thought it both fit and achievable. Ideological children of the Evangelical Movement and the Enlightenment, they shared not only a fervent Positivist belief in the immutability of progress at home, but also an unshakeable conviction that the values, institutions, and technologies that had lifted England up were applicable, and readily transferable to, other countries and societies. This programme appealed to the government, because, even as it made the Raj look appropriately benevolent, it also promised to buttress its hegemony. The more Westernized the Company’s native subjects became, the more they would be able to understand why they were required to contribute to its revenues, and the more they would learn to “appreciate every other benefit” which they derived from British rule.⁴⁰ And how was this grand strategy to be realized? In Macaulay’s conception, essentially through the purveyance of government-sponsored ‘English’ meaning both English-medium and Western

³⁴ Ibid, p. 327.

³⁵ Allen, Charles, *Soldier Sahibs: The Men Who Made the North-West Frontier*, London, 2000, p. 340.

³⁶ Hibbert, Christopher, *The Great Mutiny: India 1857*, London, 1978, p.52.

³⁷ David, Saul, *The Indian Mutiny 1857*, London, 2002, pp.72-3.

³⁸ Marshall, P, J, *The British Discovery of Hinduism*, Op. cit., p.42.

³⁹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. VIII, edition 11th, Cambridge University Press, 1910, p. 624. In Madras all sorts of privileges and facilities were given to the Christian missionaries. Their proselytising pamphlets, appeals and literature were printed free by the Government presses and very widely distributed. Special facilities were provided to the missionaries to preach Christianity to the Indian soldiers of the Company in and outside its forts and cantonments in the Presidency. Free grants of large areas of land were made to the missionaries for carrying on their proselytising work, Pandit Sunderlal, Op. cit., p. 11.

⁴⁰ *Evidence of Sir Charles Trevelyn before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories, 7 July 1853, Parliamentary Papers, 1852-3, Vol. XXVIII, p.45.*

education, to the native elite. As time passed and they began to establish schools, they began painting India as a land that was bereft of education, of schools, a land whose people were steeped in darkest ignorance. "It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say," Macaulay wrote, "that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books which have been written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgement used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same." He wrote of "...languages in which by universal confession there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own...; systems (of scientific knowledge) which whenever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse;... medical doctrines which would move laughter in girls at an English Boarding-School, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns 30,000 years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter... a literature admitted to be-of small intrinsic value... (one) that inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects... hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality... fruitful of monstrous superstitions... false history, false astronomy, false medicine- in company with a false religion..."⁴¹ The remedy was to teach the Indians English and through that to open their minds to modern, western learning. "We are not without history to guide us," Macaulay wrote. "History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society — of prejudice overthrown — of knowledge diffused — of taste purified — of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous."⁴² On 7 March 1835, Lord William Bentinck decreed that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India." Macaulay declared in his essay, "Gladstone on Church and State", the heathenism of India is "more cruel, more licentious, more fruitful of absurd right, and pernicious laws" than that of any other part of the world.⁴³ The people of India, he declared in "The Gates of Somnauth", are "idolators, blindly attached to doctrines and rites which, considered merely with reference to the temporal interests of mankind, are in the highest degree pernicious."⁴⁴ "But for our interference," he wrote, "human victims would still be offered to the Ganges, and the widow still laid on the pile with the corpse of her husband and burned alive by her children."⁴⁵ Hence to condone Brahminical idolatry and to discountenance Christianity is "to commit high treason against humanity and civilization." He revelled in the effects which were already apparent. Writing to his father, he reported, "Our English schools are flourishing wonderfully. We find it difficult, — indeed, in some places impossible, — to provide instruction for all who want it. At the single town of Hoogly fourteen hundred boys are learning English. The effect of this education on the Hindoos is prodigious. No Hindoo, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy; but many profess themselves pure Deists, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytise; without the smallest interference with religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection. I heartily rejoice in the prospect."⁴⁶ And this is Macaulay whose religious feelings, his biographer reports him as

⁴¹ *Macaulay's Minute on Education*, February 2, 1835.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Macaulay, Thomas, Babington, *Gladstone on Church and State*, London, 1851, p. 37.

⁴⁴ "The Gates of Somnauth," A Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on 9th March 1843.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Trevelyan, George, Otto, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, Vol. I, Op. cit., p. 464.

saying, were not “ardent... even to enthusiasm,” who, the biographer quotes an interlocutor who met him noting, “seemed to me not to have the slightest taint of fanaticism.”⁴⁷ Why should the Indians be taught at all? Wouldn’t it be safer to leave them to wallow in ignorance and ritual and superstition? Would education not ignite ideas of freedom and the rest? These were the questions that a young civil servant- Charles Edward Trevelyan- addressed in a tract, *On the Education of the People of India*. In the chapter VII of the tract, on “*The Political Tendency of the different Systems of Education in use in India*” wrote: “There can be no dispute as to what our duty as the rulers of India requires us to do. But it has been said, and may be said again, that whatever our duty may be, it is not our policy to enlighten the natives of India; that the sooner they grow to man’s estate, the sooner they will be able to do without us; and that by giving them knowledge, we are giving them power, of which they will make the first use against ourselves.”⁴⁸ This was also prophesied by Trevelyan who assured Lord Bentinck that English education shall sound the death knell of the idolatrous religions not only of India, but of all Asia. Hinduism is “not a religion which will bear examination,” he said. “It is sufficient to prove,” he told the House of Commons Select Committee, “that the world does not rest on the back of the tortoise, or is not composed of concentric circles of wine, and cake and milk, and so forth, and their religion is gone.” The natives were already in a “middle state” of enlightened heathenism. But they could not remain in that state. They needed a religion, and were bound to come over to Christianity.⁴⁹

Although the Charter Act of 1813 had authorized the setting aside of up to a lakh of 'surplus' rupees (about 10,000 at the then current rate of exchange) for the “revival and improvement of [vernacular] literature, and ... for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India,”⁵⁰ for the first seven years of the life of the Act, total governmental expenditure on education across all the provinces only once topped 7,000 pounds. The Calcutta government was more than happy for individuals and agencies in the private sector to take up the work; and in the absence of other potential providers, they turned to the missionary societies. And the missionaries were more than happy to lend a hand – partly because they subscribed to the East India Company's colonial project and partly because they saw education as a means to their hallowed goal of conversion and redemption.⁵¹

Even after the door had been opened to them in 1813, the Evangelicals had continued to campaign vigorously against the Company's declared policy of religious neutrality for its indirect support for Hindu idolatry, and for its failure to protect the civil rights of Christian converts. Under pressure from the BOC, and from some of its principal stockholders, and perhaps, too, in recognition of the stalwart assistance rendered by the missionary societies to the Company's project of civilizing its subjects, the Court of

⁴⁷ Clive, John, Leonard, *Macaulay: the Shaping of the Historian*, Knopf, New York, 1973, p. 412.

⁴⁸ Trevelyan, Charles, E, *On the Education of the People of India*, London, 1838, p. 187.

⁴⁹ Clive, *Macaulay*, Op. cit., p. 410.

⁵⁰ Muir, Ramsay ed., *The making of British India, 1756-1858*, reprint, Lahore, 1969, pp. 296-7.

⁵¹ One stream of missionary thought on the question of conversion held that a strong dose of Western science and philosophy, though secular, could serve, by exposing the falsity of the superstitions on which Hinduism rested, to make ready the minds of the natives to receive God’s Word, Andrew Porter, “Commerce and Christianity: the rise and fall of a nineteenth century missionary slogan,” *Historical Journal*, Vol. XXVIII, 1985, pp. 615-16. Whilst more expensive than street preaching, education promised to pay better dividends: first, because the Indians asking for the introduction of Western learning were overwhelmingly Brahmins; secondly, because it opened up for the missionaries the possibility of directly accessing, and indoctrinating, impressionable young minds.

Directors gradually gave ground on both issues, conceding, in a dispatch to Bengal in February 1831, that its administrative interpretation of neutrality may have erred too much in favour of conciliating the Hindu majority at the expense of other sections of the population.⁵² Shortly afterwards, the Court sanctioned a Bengal regulation, authored by Bentinck, prohibiting the disinheritance of Hindu apostates. In February 1833, it prescribed that officials in India should no longer interfere with “the interior management of native temples, in ... the religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, [or take part] in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites and festivals”, nor have any connection with “the collection, or management, ... of fines or offerings” related to Hindu worship, and that the Hindus should hence- forward “be left entirely to themselves.”⁵³ In 1840, the Bengal government abolished the traditional tax on pilgrims visiting the great Hindu temple complex at Purl, site of the notorious rite of the Jagannath car festival; in 1845 the governor-general Lord Hardinge ordered public work to cease on Sundays; and in 1850 the legal position of Christian converts was further buttressed by the passage of the Caste Disabilities Removal Act.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, and perhaps most significantly of all, the Company began to relax its attitude towards Christian instruction in government-run schools, from the 1840s allowing Bibles to be placed in school libraries and, in 1854, amending its rules to permit teachers in public schools who were approached by their students for instruction in Christianity, to teach it, if they wished, after normal school hours.⁵⁵ If the path was not always straight, its overall direction remained constant from the 1830s through to the 'Mutiny' of 1857: every year, the Company's government moved closer to identifying, philosophically, with the Christian cause in India. the trajectory of the period seemed salient that it begs the question of what might have transpired had not the Great Revolt intervened to disrupt it.

Although the 1857 outbreak was, from the start, universally condemned in Britain as a gross display of heathen folly and barbarism, its causes and 'lessons' rapidly became the subject of heated argument between different interest groups. Once again, church and state found themselves on different sides of the fence. For their part, the missionary societies interpreted the rebellion as a divine wake-up call, sent to spur the faithful to greater efforts.⁵⁶ For British, the post-1858 period in India as one of

⁵² Coupland, Ian, Op. cit., p. 61.

⁵³ Kaye, John, William, *Christianity in India: An Historical Narrative*, Smith, Elder, London, 1859, p. 417.

⁵⁴ Lord Dalhousie passed the Act XXI of 1850, giving Christian converts the right to inherit their ancestral Property. The necessity for it arose from the fact that under both Hindu and Muslim law an apostate forfeited all right to inherit property. This naturally raised a substantial barrier to the spread of Christianity and was regarded by many Englishmen as a serious injustice. The missionaries had long clamored for the enactment of some legislative remedy, but the Government hesitated because they considered themselves bound to uphold the provisions of Hindu and Muslim law. Dalhousie by contrast insisted that the Government alone possessed the right to regulate succession to property, and that it could not tolerate the infliction of civil injury upon anyone by reason of his religious belief, *Minute of 9 April 1850*, quoted in Kaye, John, *Christianity in India*, London, 1859, p. 464; *letter of 16 April 1850*, in Baird, J. ed., *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, London, 1910, p. 118, 27-28. The Act as passed made no mention of Christianity. It simply embodied the principle that changes of religion should not entail civil disability. But the act benefitted converts to Christianity exclusively, and came under heavy fire from the Hindu community on the ground that as the convert would be unable to perform the religious duties required of the inheritor of property, the spiritual welfare of the deceased owner would suffer, Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, Op. cit., p. 28.

⁵⁵ *Report of Education Commission, 1882*, p. 129.

⁵⁶ “CMS secretary Henry Venn wrote: Here the broad fact stands out to confront us, that India has been lying passive at the feet of Great Britain for the greater part of a century ... But the Christian Church has not taken advantage of the opportunities opened up in India ... The vast tracts of the country lying in unbroken Heathenism - the paucity of the Missionaries, scarcely one for half a million, reproach our neglect ... The instrument of Divine Judgement has been the cherished high caste Bengal army, from which the first sepooy Christian convert was expelled ... in the year 1819, by order of the Governor-General,”

“reaction” against the Company policies that supposedly had provoked the Mutiny. This was true, certainly, of the area of social policy, which became ultra-cautious and defensive. The Evangelical project to trim Hinduism of its 'barbaric' excesses was put permanently on hold. However, while the new Indian government made a great show, of distancing itself from the evangelizing of the missions, it did not stop giving aid to Christian schools. In fact, in most provinces, the subvention actually increased- rising in the Punjab to 15 per cent of total government expenditure in 1868.⁵⁷ Nor did the government's warnings to its officials about the danger of their associating with missionaries stop pious members of the Indian Civil Service and there continued to be many, such as Lawrence's protegee, Richard Temple (Governor of Bombay, 1877-80), and Andrew Fraser (governor of Bengal, 1896-1900) –from publicly attesting to their personal belief in the moral superiority of Christian values.⁵⁸ Significant, too, in retrospect, is that the queen insisted on prefacing her Proclamation of 1858 with the assertion that she herself acknowledged the 'truth of Christianity' -and appears to have deliberately and pointedly struck out the reference to 'religious neutrality' from the government's draft.⁵⁹ Though initially poles apart, the Company Raj and the missionary societies found a common cause, 'English' education, and through this nexus, a robust partnership between the two was forged during the 1830s, which might well, in the fullness of time, have grown closer still, had the Great Revolt not intervened. After the Indian Mutiny (1857–8), missionaries were held in check (at least officially), yet, ironically, in northern India missionaries came to be relied upon by a cash-strapped Education Department. They came to dominate education and were credited with doing much to push the frontiers of western pedagogy in their efforts to propagate their faith.⁶⁰

In a word, the work of the Church was not done by the missionaries alone, the religiously “neutral” administrators did a good bit of it. Correspondingly, the work of the Empire was not done by the administrators alone, the missionaries did a good bit of it. And that contribution was acknowledged by ruler after ruler. “It is not only our duty,” declared Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, “but in our own interest to promote the diffusion of Christianity as far as possible throughout the length and breadth of India”⁶¹; “Every additional Christian,” declared Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State, “is an additional bond of union with this country and an additional source of strength to the Empire”⁶²; “They are doing for India”, said Lord Reay introducing a deputation of Indian Christians to the Prince of Wales, “more than all those civilians, soldiers, judges and governors whom Your Highness has met”⁶³; they are “the most potent force in India,” declared Sir Macworth Young.⁶⁴

Minute of the Church Missionary Society on the Indian Mutiny, in its Connexion with Christian Missions and the Future Government of India Upon Christian Principles, in The Church of England Magazine, Vol. XLIII, London, 1857, p. 325.

⁵⁷ Allender, Tim, “Anglican evangelism in North India and the Punjab missionary classroom: the failure to educate the masses, 1860-1877”, *History of Education*, Vol. XXXII, May 2003, p. 276.

⁵⁸ For Fraser's views, see his *Among Indian rajahs and ryots*, London, 1904, chapter 19.

⁵⁹ Cox, Jefferey, *Imperial Fault Lines, Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940*, Op. cit., p. 33.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 370.

⁶¹ Speer, Robert, *Missionary Principles and Practice, A Discussion of Christian Missions and of some Criticisms upon them*, Fleming H. Revell Company, London, 1902, p. 422

⁶² “No person can be more anxious to promote the spread of Christianity in India than we are,” Viscount Halifax, cited from Robert Speer, *Missionary Principles*, Op. cit., pp. 28-29.

⁶³ Shourie, Op. cit., p. 109.

⁶⁴ *Report of the Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee*, Government Printing Press, Nagpur, 1956, Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

The Christian Missionaries heartily endorsed the initial Government's policy of being neutral, "I should be sorry to see the Government departing from its present position of strict neutrality," Reverend Tucker told the Committee, adding, "I should be very sorry if the Government were to think of rendering any assistance whatsoever to our Society (the Church Missionary Society), further than protection. If I knew of any proposal from the Government to assist our missions, I am sure the Society itself, and certainly I personally, should at once decline it."⁶⁵ But there was something bothering Christian missionaries, and they pressed for its removal with vigour. As the Company extended its territorial sway into the west and south, it inherited not only the lands and revenues of the former regional kings but also their religious obligations, which involved, amongst other things, overseeing the management of state-owned temples and making ceremonial appearances at important Hindu festivals. Of course it could have ignored tradition and farmed out these duties to some appropriate native agency (which was the solution eventually adopted by its successor, after the trauma of the Great Revolt). But it did not do so. Instead, it opted for what it saw as the safer path of conformity. This Christian Government, they maintained, has not yet fully rid itself of connections with the heinous and sinful idolatry of this land. In Surat, Mysore and Kumaon, when the local Rajah or chieftain proceeds in procession on a religious occasion, British, Christian officials and soldiers have to stand on the sidelines, sometimes even to fire in salute. They wanted this pandering to idolatry to be stopped forthwith.⁶⁶ The other way in which the Government was perpetuating and encouraging this sinful practice continuance of grants to temples. And they urged that the grants be stopped forthwith. The Minutes of the Select Committee contain several memoranda from the missionaries to this effect — they not only focus on the same instances and present the same arguments, the very words in them, whole sentences and paragraphs in them are identical, showing close coordination.⁶⁷ "Your memorialists, with deep pain and sorrow, beg to direct the attention of your Honourable Court to the pernicious effect of the Government donation in impeding and to frequently rendering unavailing their endeavours to eschew the people of these provinces from the curse of idolatry, and to bring them under the benign influence of the pure and holy religion of Christ."⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Minutes of the Evidence taken before The Select Committee on Indian Territories*, taken on 28 July, 1853, pp. 100-101; "The natives are now convinced that Christianity is left to depend upon its own merits," explained Reverend Kennedy, "that it neither seeks nor employs for its diffusion any means but those of argument and suasion. If the Government openly announces Christianity to be a part of the education it imparts, Christianity will immediately lose the high vantage point it now occupies," *Ibid*, 8th August, 1853, p. 786.

⁶⁶ Shourie, Arun, *Op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁶⁷ The Jagannath Temple at Puri was their special target. A petition which Protestant missionaries working in Bengal and Orissa presented first to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. "That your memorialists, being missionaries belonging to various Protestant denominations, and having laboured (most of them) many years in India, have had special and frequent opportunities of knowing that the annual pecuniary grant from the Government Treasury to the Temple of Juggernaut perpetuates, and in no ordinary degree encourages, the vilest characteristics of Hindoo idolatry as notoriously connected with that shrine," *Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories; Together with the proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix*, Vol. XXIX, Session 4 November 1852- 20 August 1853, p. 203.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*; "Your memorialists further show unto your Lordship in Council, that they forwarded a memorial against the donation to Jagannath to the Honourable Court of Directors in the year 1850." "As their object at present is to deal with the claims of the temple, not on the grounds of morality, benevolence and religion, nor even on the grounds of public policy, but on those only of simple arithmetical account, they abstain from dwelling on any other considerations. They conclude with the humble request and the earnest hope that your Lordship in Council will now, by passing the draft Act of 1851, finally terminate the connexion of Government with the temple of Jagannath, and leave it to be sustained by its own votaries till the time (which your memorialists pray may not be distant in India) when the idols shall be banished from the earth, and the true Lord of the universe, whose right it is to reign, shall establish His peaceful kingdom throughout the world," *Ibid*, p. 206.

Mr. Edmunds, a colleague of Reverend Midgeley John Jennings, the chaplain of Delhi's Christian community in Calcutta, was outspoken in his conviction that the Company should utilise its position more forcefully to convert India. In a widely circulated circular letter, he stated, "The time appears to have come when earnest consideration should be given to the topic of whether or not all should embrace the same system of religion. Railways, steam vessels and the electric telegraph are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth... The land is being leavened and Hinduism is being everywhere undermined. Great will someday, in God's appointed time, be fall of it."⁶⁹ John Jennings had been working on a plan to convert the city's population to Christianity. The Mughal Capital, Jennings had concluded, was nothing less than the Prince of Darkness's last terrestrial bulwark.⁷⁰ Jennings' objective was to eradicate what he saw as India's false religions, using force if necessary, "The roots of ancient religions have here, as in all old places, struck deep and men must be able to fathom deep in order to uproot them."⁷¹ His strategy was simple, use the burgeoning British Empire's might to convert the heathens, as the instrument of the unfathomable sway of God's Providence. Harry Gambier, 23 years old British officer, wrote letters to his beloved Annie Forrest, 'the dome of the church is minus the cross, the Jama Masjid looks provokingly erect and towering in majesty beside it- as if Christianity lay low before the false Prophet's faith.'⁷² The bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber, had been the missionaries' principal ally within India. He composed a number of hymns that served as rallying cries for the boldly confident new purpose during the revolt of 1857. His impassioned lines are replete of imagery of Holy War and Christian militarism, as Christian Soldiers fight their way to salvation, fighting despite hazard, toil, and agony. The attitude of the missionaries toward their potential converts is also shown in Heber's hymns.⁷³

*From many an ancient river, From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain!
What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle, Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile : In vain with lavish kindness
The gifts of God are strown, The heathen in his blindness
Rows down to wood and stone !
Can we, whose souls are lighted
With Wisdom from on high, Can we to men benighted
The lamp of life deny ? Salvation ! oh, Salvation !
The joyful sound proclaim. Till each remotest nation
Has learn'd Messiah's name '
Waft, waft, ye winds, his story,
And you, ye waters, roll, Till like a sea of glory
It spreads from pole to pole 1 Till o'er our ransom'd nature.
The Lamb for sinners slain. Redeemer, King, Creator,
In bliss returns to reign!*

⁶⁹ Hughes, Derrick, *The Mutiny Chaplains*, Michael Russell Publications, 1991, p.20.

⁷⁰ Dalrymple, William, *The last Mughal, Fall of a Dynasty, Delhi, 1857*, Knopf, Alfred, 2007, p. 77.

⁷¹ *Jennings Papers, Copies of Letters by the Revd. Midgeley Jennings, Chaplain of Delhi 1851-57, JMJ to Hawkins, 4 May 1852*, quoted in Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal*, Op. cit., p. 78.

⁷² Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal*, Op. cit., p. 317.

⁷³ Heber, Reginald, *The Poetical Works*, Little Brown and Co., Boston, 1853, pp. 86-87.

Stories circulated about the British utilising government institutions to convert orphaned children, a trend that seemed to be reinforced by law passed in 1832 permitting converts to inherit ancestral property, something that the Sharia clearly forbade. There were also reports that missionaries were given free reign to preach to the captive audience in the Company cells, which was not an unreasonable charge given that the region's Superintendent of Jails was also on Jennings' committee.⁷⁴ Other instances occurred where the Company simply bulldozed revered temples and mosques to make way for roadways, which enraged influential theologian Shah Abdul Aziz. This was also one of the principal complaints of Begum Hazrat Mahal of Lucknow when explaining what had led her to fight the British. In her proclamation issued in the dying days of the Uprising, she mocked the British claim to allow freedom of worship, "To eat pigs and drink wine, to bite greased cartridges and to mix pigs' fats with sweetmeats, to destroy Hindoo and Musalman temples on pretence of making roads, to build churches, to send clergy men into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion, to institute English schools, and pay people a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindoos and Musalmans are to this day entirely neglected; with all this, how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with?"⁷⁵ In a few situations, land was stolen from mosques and given to missionaries so that they could build churches; in other cases, missionaries and normal Christian clergy were given confiscated or wrecked mosques to live callous, with equally astounding insensitivity.

Despite the fact that the missionaries were largely unsuccessful in their trawl for converts in northern India,⁷⁶ the growing missionary phobia created such an atmosphere of suspicion that even seemingly innocuous British initiatives sparked alarm: the construction of a hospital in Saharanpur, north of Delhi, sparked fears that the British were planning to abolish the Purdah system, because veiled women were asked to go there rather than being treated at home. Similarly, all British schools and colleges began to be considered as clandestine missionary organs. The Delhi College, which was originally more of a madrasa than a Western institution, was remodelled by the Company in 1828 to provide an education in English language and literature in addition to eastern disciplines. The goal was to 'uplift' what the new college committee referred to as India's "uneducated and half-barbaric population." Charles Trevelyan, Thomas Babington Macaulay's brother-in-law and protégé, was behind the move. He once said, "the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England.... The languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar."⁷⁷ At Delhi College, Trevelyan put his ideas into practise, declaring that, "Only the pure fount of English literature (can make) headway against the impenetrable barrier of habit and prejudice backed by religious feeling."⁷⁸ Shortly after, in 1837, the British replaced Persian as the official language of government with English and occasionally the regional language as well.⁷⁹ It was evident that

⁷⁴ Hibbert, Christopher, *The Great Mutiny*, Penguin Books, 1980, p. 52.

⁷⁵ 17 December 1858, from J.D.Forsyth Sec. to Chief Commissioner Oudh, To G. J. Edmonstone, Sec. Government of India, Lucknow, 4 December 1858, indiaculture.gov.in.

⁷⁶ Dalrymple, William, *The Last Mughal*, Op. cit., p. 80.

⁷⁷ *Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay*, dated the 2nd February 1835.

⁷⁸ Fisher, Michael, "Mohan Lal Kashmiri (1812-1877): An Initial Student of Delhi English College," in Margrit Pernau, *The Delhi College Traditional Elites, the Colonial State and Education before 1857*, Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 236.

⁷⁹ Mir, Farina, "Imperial Policy, Provincial Practices," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XLIII, Issue 4, pp. 398-405.



the British were in charge, and India would be run totally according to their preferences, customs, and judgments.