Chapter I: CONTESTING IDEOLOGIES OR RELIGION AS POWER?

i. Political and Social background:

British Protestant Missions versus British Empire in India in their broader historical perspective is the main theme of this chapter. This chapter also explores the relationship of Christian missions with the simultaneous spread of imperialism and capitalism. Andrew Porter, a missionary historian described the link: ‘a mission station is an essay in colonization’\(^1\). Therefore, the emphasis of understanding imperialism in its interdisciplinary links has led the historians to the study of the political significance of missions. I underline the importance of mission studies within the framework of British imperialism. It was thought that English education, social reforms and economic changes, all would facilitate conversion to Christianity. Indeed, it became the crucial debate of the colonial project in the 18\(^{th}\) century. Although Andrew Porter balanced his argument when he stated ‘in the divinely driven world it was for the modern missionary to discern the means available for spreading true religion. In such a world national developments might have their place, empire might provide an arena for providential fireworks, but no necessary priorities was to be attached to either. Empire in the form of British rule was never more than one among many such means…to be employed or ignored as Providence thought fit…empire (held)…limited potential when set within the…global perspective of

evangelical Christianity\textsuperscript{2}. This truly defined the missionary’s two realms he occupied in his mind, one a public stance of religious commitment, but that was intertwined with another the private, secular guise of imperialism. The state sponsored Anglican mission, the Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG), no doubt represented British imperialism in ecclesiastical garb, drawing church and state together in the colonies. However, at the very outset, I will state that the colonial state certainly maintained the realms of religion and politics separately: questions of faith and religion did not obfuscate governance. The religious world of the missionary could not evade the state connection because as sustainable activity, it needed both state protection and patronage\textsuperscript{3}.

Many of the missionaries even shared policy-making powers as members of Parliament or as members of Board of Directors. Britain’s own capitalist culture pervaded the missionaries like David Livingston and the missionary administrators, like Charles Grant or Claudius Buchanan who were strong advocates of ‘Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization’. Capitalism was useful as the innovative missionaries took to cattle breeding, farm house culture and industrial establishments and set living examples of “progress”.

The ambiguity of this multi-tasking was also apparent in the initial administration of the empire (1700). The most crucial years of territorial expansion were between 1757-1772 and followed by years of supremacy at war till the close of 18\textsuperscript{th} century\textsuperscript{4}. This was

\begin{footnotes}
\item[3] For Wesleyans, generally, enthusiasm for imperialism and for missions were two sides of the same coin, and for nowhere did they feel that double-sided responsibility more keenly than for India. \textit{Journal of Asian Mission} 4:2 (2002) p.244.
\end{footnotes}
also the period when English rationalism was popularizing the idea that social, ethnic and cultural differences explained disparities in wealth and power. Thus, the kind of capitalism introduced by those policy makers of British parliament, seemed to emphasize the economic and social backwardness in India.\(^5\)

Between 1770 and 1813, anti-imperialist philosophy emerged among the western intellectuals denouncing the effects that alien civilized nations practicing despotism, corruption and lawlessness had upon the helpless and voiceless indigenous people. Edmund Burke was one such voice.\(^6\) But he also felt that indigenous cultures should not be altered in any way. It was the colonizing western imperialists who forgot their Christian upbringing in their quest for wealth. Burke wanted a sharp divide between the morally upright Christian administrators and the native population. Therefore he insisted on the accountability for the conduct of men to the one great master or the Providence. Burke noted the contradiction between the stark colonial corruption and the working of providence on the side of powerless or voiceless subject people. As early as 1783 Burke predicted that the annual drain of Indian resources to England without equivalent return

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\(^6\) Truly this trend inaugurated the double task of two spatial zones, the public and the private appeared in simultaneous pursuit of both in the imperial structure of British rule in India. When looked back at the English parliamentary history an unfolding private face of parliament legislation and public face of their implementation in India by East India Company of the late 18\(^{th}\) and 19\(^{th}\) centuries is striking how many important political controversies were touched on matters of religion, commerce, education etc., disputing the injustices of European imperial rule in India. However, the native Indian eyes were always apart over these developments. Washbrook, D.A. ‘India, 1818-1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism,’ in Andrew Porter (ed), The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume III, The Nineteenth Century, Oxford University Press, New York. 1999.


\(^9\) Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India 1740-1947*, OUP, Delhi, 1976, p.80

\(^{9}\) Francis Canavan (Foreward), *Select Works of Edmund Burke*, 4 Vols, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, 1999, Volume IV: Miscellaneous Writings- Speeches on Fox’s East India Bill (1783).
would eventually destroy India. Burke developed an imperial discourse of justice towards the oppressed in India. This fitted the pattern that capitalism and belief in providence forged a religious worldview that promoted colonial expansion. However, James Mill and J.S. Mill constructed an alternative discourse of empire based on the notion of impartial rule of law, which provided the bedrock of governance for the nascent colonial state. The liberal secular intellectuals like David Hume, the French deist; Voltaire and later Edward Gibbon often contradicted the theory of Providence.

The Evangelical Anglican and the humanitarian voices, criticizing the fraud within the colonies and in England were triggered by strong Christian ethics, as represented by Burke and Wilberforce. Under the leadership of Wilberforce the Parliament became an unrivalled platform for them to disseminate their views in shaping the country and the colonies. The impact of this vital Christianity or muscular and masculine Christianity was wide ranging in the colonies through its evangelical missionaries and evangelical administrators. Thus they helped to create a professional civil service, an ethic of public administration and finally contributed to the development of militarism in Great Britain. Broadly speaking the evangelicals represented four fronts, the commerce, the civil service, the politics and the armed forces in the colonial power project. The Indian army had been rich in English evangelical armed men like

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11 Burke said ‘it is well known that enormous wealth has poured into this country from India through a thousand channels, public and concealed…Forty millions of money at least have within our memory been brought from India into England’. Edmund Burke, *Speeches on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1987, p.17.
12 Gibbon’s theory implies that the triumph of religion was part of the downfall of Rome and thereby, concedes that the moral constriction wrought by imperialism caused the rise and spread of Christianity possible. He marginalized the supernaturalism to naturalism.J.M. Robertson (Introduction), *Gibbon on Christianity*, Rupa & Co., New Delhi, 2003, p.p. xiv-xv..
14 Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India*, 1740-1947, OUP, New Delhi, p.212
Gen. Henry Havelock, Capt. Charles Ackland etc. Most of the missionary journals, ‘The Christian Spectator’, The Evangelical Review, ‘The Friend of India’ etc., played significant roles in drawing government attention to social problems. The annual missionary conferences in different parts of India formulated different schemes and secured the support of government especially for the promotion of education. No doubt, the intelligent and industrious representative evangelicals were power sources in India combined with the adoption of free trade policies created a congenial civil and moral background suitable for promotion of Christianity.

Strikingly, as P.J. Marshall observed, the anti-imperialist sentiments largely of the 18th century, came to a close. Still, the Burkean rhetoric on India was adopted in the later imperial discourses. Prof. Andrew Porter, for example, argues that Burke was instrumental in forming a notion of ‘Imperial Trusteeship’, which remained central in what came to be recognized as the humanitarian approach to empire and overseas influence throughout the 19th century. Porter does concede that Burke formulated a ‘conservative and defensive’ notion of imperial responsibility appropriate only to an eighteenth century society in which government possessed a limited range of functions. Some others argue that a connection existed between Burkean conservative approach to Indian law and later orientalist pursuit of the study of Indian languages against the oppressive nature of English power and authority.

The eighteenth century reformers were also against missionary activity in India in their parliamentary arguments. However, the missionaries in the 18th century did not use

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17 P.J. Marshall (Ed), The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke, OUP, 2000, p.p.20-21
the argument of imperialism for undertaking missions to India. As the empire stabilized their successors became more amenable to missionary activity in the 19th century. In 1793 Wilberforce stated that it was his notion of divine obligation and not the profit-motive, which compelled him to speak about the missionaries’ passage into India in the parliament of England. In 1804, Charles Grant, a leading member of the politically influential Clapham Sect of evangelicals and a former servant of the Company, was elected to serve as a Deputy Chairman of the Company, thereby giving evangelicals their first powerful advocate within the Company itself. Grant appointed evangelicals to posts in India, one of whom was Claudius Buchanan. Buchanan’s ‘Memoir’, written in 1812, was the first statement by a Company official calling for the conversion of the native population.

During the second phase of 1813-1833-34 of Company’s history in India, both the Evangelicals, and the Utilitarian thinkers turned decisively, a little ahead of the earlier thinkers’ views about the empire and its consolidation19. The British Empire in India in the early nineteenth century, with Parliament’s Charter of 1813, ended the East India Company’s monopoly. The colonies were now open to British free merchants, and British evangelicals were permitted to establish missions there. The effect of this charter was not only to align British imperialism with the civilizing mission but also to promote the economic and moral aspects of the empire, now superintended by the British nation, and separated from the political aspect, which remained in the hands of the Company. The former claimed to advance the cause of ‘modernity’ or civilizing and christianizing mission; the Company on the other hand rationalized its politics by insisting that it was

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concerned to preserve ‘native traditions’. The reforms of 1813 again re-emphasized the liberal civilizing mission through clerical influence. On the other hand the colonial administrators saw native traditions as the necessary prop for a stable government. Therefore the Liberal Tory school bureaucrats like the Governor of Bombay, Elphinstone and the Governor of Madras, Thomas Munro, opposed missionaries. The conflict of these opposing ideologies came to the forefront during Anglicist-Orientalist controversy of 1835.

After 1813 Grant’s lobby had become so powerful within the company that every year either the chairman or the deputy chairman was an evangelical. A group of people, the Clapham sect who took their religion seriously, proposed a missionary movement to convert Indians to Christianity. The English Evangelicals began to believe that Providence had given India to them for her salvation. The evangelicals did not find it difficult to convince Great Britain of its providential destiny. Their attitudes provided the inspiration and the basis of government policies related to India as well as Africa throughout the first half of 19th century. Lord William Bentinck, an ardent disciple of Grant took over the reins of India as Governor General, believed in and worked for the moral regeneration of the masses of India. The Charter Act of 1833 was drafted by Grant’s son, Charles, together with another Clapham evangelical, James Stephen. This ended the British support for Hindu temples. The Charter marked the final abandonment of the toleration and non-interference in native affairs and confirmed Britain’s acceptance of its new role in India as Christian missionary and harbinger of western civilization. The

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Charter of 1813 recognized education of the colonial subjects as a major principle upon which the colonial enterprise should be based. Grant’s dream became real when Macaulay proposed the English educative system during his speech in English parliament in 1835 to conquer India culturally. The missions laid the groundwork for much of the linguistic and cultural imperialism that would follow with government involvement.

The third phase of the company’s history in India between 1833-1858 was marked by two political developments. Firstly, The Company became a nominal head. Secondly, Queen Victoria ascended the British throne in 1837 and became the virtual head of British India in 1858. At the instance of these developments, a new spiritual phenomenon called ‘Evangelicalism’ (a topic that has been widely discussed as separate chapter) was at force in shaping the character of the Victorian Britain. These were the years when hundreds of Englishmen went out to India on a Christianizing mission with unbounded optimism. The evangelicals availed a supreme opportunity to influence national policies in this sphere. Interestingly, in the mid 19th century evangelical missionaries proved to be the strongest advocates of colonization and annexation of “native lands” by Britain. The 1857, the Revolt of the Indian communities, sparked by the mutiny of the Bengal Regiment, was a turning point in Anglo-Indian relations. The evangelicals were more convinced that India was a religious duty assigned by Providence. The colonial government, on the other hand, formally detached itself from missionary activity.

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22 Government of Madras-Public Consultations: Consultations No.56, 1817; No.27, 1817; No.34-A, 1846;No.11, 1847 reveal missionary activities of the government in league with missionaries.
The imperial historiography reached a new height with the texts of Seely, James Anthony Froude and their contemporaries. Seely (The Expansion of England, 1883) interpreted the manifesto of colonization as the hand of Providence\textsuperscript{25}. The hand of providence became increasingly the ideological basis of the Empire. However, this remained the spring of motivation for the ruling race, as popularly understood by the western public\textsuperscript{26}. Conversion was not included in this perception of religio-social difference. In this sense, the missionary movement remained apart from the colonial state, even as they claimed the colonial state’s protection. The imperialist Historians like Seeley and Froude retained this perspective\textsuperscript{27}.

The slightly later imperial historians, E. A. Freeman and Lord Acton, were more concerned with articulating the historical and racial connections between Anglo-Saxons, Teutons, and Greeks in order to promote Britain’s imperial greatness to the world than with examining popular manifestations of that racialism in their own historical present\textsuperscript{28}. The domestic and white ethnic minorities who were in the far colonial lands could and did become the imperial ruling classes and claimed for themselves that greatness by

\textsuperscript{25} Catherine Hall (ed), Cultures of Empire: A Reader, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000, p.p. 1-3.

\textsuperscript{26} Boyd Hilton described the actions of Providence in two ways, viz., ‘ad hoc’ and ad hominem; Ad hoc meant the natural law that God operates in a regular, mechanical and non-interventionist way. Ad hominem meant that God acts in a special or particular way through catastrophic interventions. Therefore, it is difficult to decide the actions of Providence associated with a particular interest. Boyd Hilton, The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865, OUP, 1988, p.p.10-17

\textsuperscript{27} Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, London, 1993, p.61. Similarly, David Abernathy defines empire as ‘a relationship of domination and subordination between one polity (called the metropole) and one or more territories (called colonies) that lie outside the metropole’s boundaries yet are claimed as its lawful possessions’. David Abernathy, The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000, p.19; Said also refers to a small inner core of politicians and intellectuals in London, which formed what John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson called the “official mind of imperialism” formed various lobbies in Britain with overseas interests.

\textsuperscript{28} H. A. McDougall, Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons and Anglo-Saxons, Harvest House, Montreal, 1982, p.p. 89-116
virtue of their essential Britishness and a shared past history. Here Christianity took a back seat, and imperial history became a cultural code marking the identity of the ruling classes\textsuperscript{29}. Alan Sandison states in ‘The Wheel of Empire’: ‘Whether as administrator, trader or adventurer the imperial intruder in his embattled consciousness provides the most dramatic evidence of the moral struggle which his physical presence symbolizes’.\textsuperscript{30} Imperial nation at home and global empire abroad were instrumental for sustaining those quintessentially Victorian myths of religious, cultural and racial superiority. Similarly Studdert-Kennedy writes that the empire expansion was the morality of the state as well as the significant characteristic of national life of the British under providential dispensation as was regularly argued by the imperial historians. Another passing observation that the wiser Anglo-Saxon race was elected by the superintending Providence for fulfilling this historical duty, made in the book, ‘A Short History of British Colonial policy’ (1887) by one celebrated historian, Eagerton. And, in keeping with the Whig-historical notions of Christian Providence and progress, the movement of ideas, culture, and improvement was presumed to flow in one direction from home to imperial territories. P. J. Marshall reminds us that British models from utilitarianism to the welfare state have historically been projected on to the empire\textsuperscript{31}. Historiographical practice down to the 1950s neatly replicated the orientalist frame out of which it distantly originated, so that the ‘otherness’ of empire became the natural possession of British national identity. Therefore, it is impossible to understand histories of Britain or historical notions of

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\item \textsuperscript{29} J. Mackenzie, Propaganda and Empire: the manipulation of British public opinion, 1880-1960, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, p. 254.
\item \textsuperscript{30} Sandison, Alan, The Wheel of Empire, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1967, p. 121
\item \textsuperscript{31} P.J. Marshall, Empire and authority in the later eighteenth century, Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 15, 1987, p. 105. His argument rightly reveals that the Missionary plus Christian utilitarianism plus benevolent Paternalism provided different frames for the Empire.
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Britishness outside of the imperial and post-imperial experience\textsuperscript{32}. Said maintained that writers like E. M. Forster, Joseph Conrad and Rudyard Kipling engaged in a novelistic process, whose main purpose was not to raise more questions, nor to disturb or otherwise preoccupy attention, but to keep the empire more or less in place\textsuperscript{33}.

Much of the standard British historiographical ideology regarding Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries thus conforms to two basic related themes. One body of ideological writing emphasizes Britain as the most highly developed civilization in the world and therefore asserts that the people of the regions it controls can only benefit through their exposure to Britain and its culture\textsuperscript{34}. A. P. Thornton in his book ‘The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies’, elucidates: ‘England by her traditions and institutions was the natural guardian of liberty...She must see to it that her ideas were asserted, her influence felt, and her anger feared’\textsuperscript{35}. Thornton, himself a Scot, is thus plotting his own particular imperial and colonial trajectories. The other ideological theme is distinct in focusing specifically on racial, socio-religious and cultural differences between Europeans and native peoples. British imperialism, as compounded by the myth of religious zeal of the Church of England, found a way out within the paradigms of

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missionary enterprise, which turned often into mouthpieces for power, greed and naked self-interest and a lack of any real morals whatsoever and missionary activity became a hidden face of its colonial project. Thus, in the name of ‘Providence’ both the missionaries and colonial administrators erected a structure of imperialism, endowed it with elements of race, class, colour, creed and civilization and functioned as the eyes and ears of imperialism, and which intersected neatly with the enthusiasm for the British Empire.

Enquiries into historical dimensions of Indian social relations and culture by the investigative modalities of historical anthropology was a means to brandish native culture as inert and passive, in contrast to the dynamism of European culture, which in the imperial sense was destined to play the role of civilizing mission. Bernard Cohn, a anthropologist-turned-historian, made a thorough study of the rhetoric of the civilizing mission and its various modalities of knowledge in the anthropological context and exemplified how the British transformed the very texture of indigenous interactions through writing about themselves and their negotiations with the Indian Population. Gauri Vishwanathan in her book, ‘Masks of Conquest’, analyzed the nature of colonial hegemony. She states that it was an overtly political act muffled by Christianity that revolved around the centrality of the English language as the carrier of western religion and culture. Orientalists and Indologists saw the Indic civilization as the cradle of Europe, but they surmised that the rise of ‘superstitious and irrational’ practices had

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36 Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, OUP, 1997
37 A missionary historian Andrew Porter quotes ‘missions strengthen our hold over the country (colony), they spread the use of the English language, they induct the natives into the best kind of civilization, and in fact each mission station is an essay in colonization’. Andrew Porter, *Cultural Imperialism and Protestant Missionaries*, in the ‘Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History’, Sept, 1979, p.369
38 Gauri Vishwanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, OUP, New Delhi, 1989
caused India to stagnate and regress and only the English-style education could lead India in to the path of progress\textsuperscript{39}. However, for the Evangelicals the utmost priority of the Empire was the conversion of the natives through a cultural sub field of English literature inculcating Christian principles\textsuperscript{40}.

The connection between Christianity, capitalism and the working classes has also been a matter of debate for a century. Capitalism, intrinsic to the colonial economy, was essential to imperial ideology and the cooperation of the working classes as an important part of the ruling race. Moreover, the historical process in Europe had anyway ensured that the working classes were imbued with a work culture specific to ‘industrial capitalism’. E.P. Thomson argues that peasant societies could not have been forced to adapt ‘industrial capitalism’, had there not been a change in their mentality as a result of Calvinist discipline and more particularly at the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, of Methodism that swept through the mining and industrial towns of England\textsuperscript{41}, paving the way for future socialist revolutions. In connection to this, Vladimir Lenin in his work ‘\textit{Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism}’, describes imperialism as the ‘product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrial capitalist nation to bring under its control or to annex larger and larger areas of...territory,

\textsuperscript{39} William Stafford, \textit{John Stuart Mill}, Macmillian, 1998. Utilitarians, J.S.Mill and James Mill promoted English education, which wanted to create a class of Indians, well educated in western ideas and sentiment, which would spread their influence to the rest of India and had thus, confined them to a thorough canvassing of the (English-language) literature on India. Particularly the James Mill-Hegel articulation of empire is a devaluing force in Indian perspective, marks a leap in English imperial ideology.

\textsuperscript{40} S.Radha Krishnan, \textit{Eastern Religions and Western Thought}, OUP, 1990, p.10. Radha Krishnan comments that the westerners’ desire for world Christian empire transformed the simple faith of Jesus into a forceful prosylatization creed. Radha Krishnan was a student of William Miller, the principal of Madras Christian College and who taught English literature to Radha Krishnan with religious persuasion.

\textsuperscript{41} E.P. Thompson, ‘\textit{Time, Work-discipline, and Industrial Capitalism}’, Past and Present, No.38, 1967.
irrespective of what nations inhabit those regions..."42. British imperialism, Lenin argues, is the highest or final stage of capitalism and the eve of emergence of socialist revolution43. In the outer reaches of the Empire, the working classes of Britain seamlessly converted to the ‘ruling class’, and were thus staunch defenders of the Empire, and the subordination of the ‘natives’. It is in this public domain that ‘Christian’ identity of the ‘ruling class’ took on a popular marker of imperial identity44. The notion of imperialism as a core ideology thus worked to produce unifying imperial identity45. The ruling classes thus divided into the elite, secular notions successful of governance, and its popular, working class reading of a strong Christian identity and its link to state power. The wide conversion of Indians to Christianity therefore lost all political force, as it was non-essential to the idea of the Empire. In this specific sense, the British Empire laid claims to the Roman imperial heritage46. The modern British Empire saw itself playing the role as new Romans, charged with civilizing and Christianizing the backward peoples incessantly to immortalize the empire47.


43 The years following the I World War were ground for anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist trends and the success of 1917 Revolution was the success of these tirades especially in the context of British Empire. *Journal of South Asia Research*, Vol 26, No.2, July 2006, p.165.

44 The Britain’s fiscal advances in India matched with Industrial Revolution bestowed standard theories of commercial imperialism of free trade, the resultant of laissez-faire. It concurred revenue base of British rule, later on under Crown. The Benthamite reforms were interpreted to suit this enduring fiscal imperative. Karl Marx writes, ‘(The moneyocracy) the milliocracy have discovered that the transformation of India into a reproductive country has become of vital importance to them and to that end it is necessary above all to gift her with means of irrigation and of internal communication’. P.J. Cain & A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion*, 1688-1914, Longman, London, 1993, p.p. 317-326.


Therefore, many Englishmen and Anglo-Indian public believed that the power in the dispensation of Christian providence and the power in the Evangelicals’ ideology animated state imperialism, which represented the ruling classes in India. Sir John Lawrence, who in 1864 was to become one of the most famous evangelical viceroyes of India, articulated this point of view dearly, ‘we have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India’\textsuperscript{48}. Therefore, the evangelical religion and power were in an explosive mixture in men of mission and imperial duty throughout the British rule in India.

The minds of British scholars were shaped by their position as rulers of a fast expanding Empire and by its need to consolidate itself ideologically and politically. As rulers, they felt a new racial and cultural superiority and, reinforced by their religion, developed a strong conviction of their civilizing mission. Many of them also felt a great urge to bring the blessings of Christian morals and a Christian God to a “benighted pagenhood”, as long as the attempt did not endanger the Empire. The dialectic between the imperial perspective and the local one is inevitably adversarial and impermanent, at some later point the inevitable conflict between the ruler and ruled breaks out into all-out colonial war, as happened in India in 1857.

ii. RELIGION AND THE COLONIAL STATE:

Most religions have begun at the local level and even been tribal in their character, yet always had some knowledge and belief in one supreme god. Many religions such as Hinduism, though with the idea of the unity of all godheads, has shown no disposition for proselytization. Three religions alone seem to form the exception, and to have been missionary and universal in their outlook from the beginning- Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. Of the three, two can be understood as revealed religions and all three have identifiable founders.\(^4^9\) Christianity, armed with powerful Western nations during the heyday of Western colonialism, has succeeded in achieving a global reach. In a famous sermon at his enthronement as the arch bishop of Canterbury in 1942 the late William Temple referred to the existence of this world wide Christendom, the result in the main of the Christian missionary work of the last two and a half centuries as the great new fact of our time. How is it that a religion of the Middle East radically changed its character and became the dominant religion of Europe? Protestantism has ongoing positive significance for the history and theology of Christianity. It has strongly influenced the cultural, political, and social history of several countries. Reformation was seen as the recovery, within a Trinitarian framework of Christocentric focus for faith and piety.\(^5^0\) Along with the emergence of Protestantism, there came scientific discoveries, trade, and centralized nation states - all of which transformed Western Europe into an enormously powerful zone with worldwide reach and impact. Moreover, faith-oriented

\(^{5^0}\) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, op-cit, p.27.
language of medieval Europe began to show great cracks with the advent of scientific principles and rational philosophy. The human condition outgrew religious doctrines.

Methodist movement of Wesley and Whitefield in 18th century caused religious and social awakening that shaded into the 19th century Evangelicalism in England. Evangelicalism influenced every sphere and every individual in England. In the British Isles, with its three or four million adherents, its stated services, its home mission activities, and its philanthropic enterprises, it was wielding an influence on all classes and led to far reaching consequences so far as the imperialist identity of Britain is concerned.

‘Go, therefore and make disciples of all nations’, (Matt.28: 19) what was uttered by Jesus was literally taken up by the Protestant men and women as they moved out from their homes, cultures, and societies to make their own particular ways and various methods contributing to the new imperialism through evangelization, converting alien cultures to western Christianity. Some missionaries also recognized the great difficulties inherent in trying to accommodate Christianity to vastly different religious and cultural traditions and devoted much effort on translation work and educating themselves in the cultures of the peoples they sought to convert. The very nature of the missionary enterprise reinforced the goals of the new imperialism. Missionaries provided essential

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52 Sir William M. Ramsay(1851-1939) was a classical scholar and a Biblical archaeologist. His contributions to the study of Ancient History and Geography of New Testament times, are the articles he wrote in 5 volumes, Hastings, ed. A Dictionary of the Bible, NewYork, between 1898 and 1904. There are 63 articles, primarily deals with geographical terms of Greece and Asia Minor. The most important of this series is the extra volume on ‘ The Roads and Travels in the New Testament’, which explains the rapid expansion of the Christianity in the Roman Empire, p.p. 375-402.
information needed for conquest. The other related issues were discussed in detail in the second chapter. The missionaries served as critical communication links in areas remote from the colonial centers. They generated new preferences for literacy, clothing, square houses, villages, work disciplines etc., which produced men prepared to work for colonial capitalism, women prepared to keep their homes, and a domestic market for industrial goods. A handful of missionaries even operated beyond the colonial boarder could still produce a ‘state of colonialism’. While by no means all Europeans adopted the stance of racial superiority dictated by social Darwinists, the pseudoscientific origins of racism were to have a virulent and long-lasting impact around the globe. In the nineteenth century, however, the Protestant missionary movement provided ideological support for the new imperialism or capitalism, especially in Asia and Africa.

The expansionist Empire innovated specialized prospects for settling down on a long term rule took a turn as consolidationist and brought Indian subjects more directly under its conceptual management in all probability from 1813 onwards. As a consequence of it, the moulding of Indian character to suit British administrative needs assumed great importance. Whatever ideas of conserving indigenous traditions in India were replaced by the ‘imperial urge to govern them and 'civilize' them according to British ideas. This trend was clearly visible taking root in two developments. One was the opening of India to free trade in 1813. The London city traders or the political groups,

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54 Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, p.35

55 Kalyan K. Chatterjee *English Education in India: Issues and Opinions*, Macmillan, New Delhi, 1976, p.15
among whom few were successful evangelical bankers and traders also were responsible for the 1813 act, and who were unfamiliar to India’s conditions, reflected their biases and assumptions influenced the home government in doing good for their subjects rather than what the then situation demanded. Free Trade would thus also assist moral transformation. The second development, that was more influential was a group of evangelical missionaries i.e. Clapham Sect. They were men, among whom was Charles Grant, who bestowed upon British expansionism, an ethics of reform and religious conversion.

I

The Missionaries and the State Building Efforts:

Many missionaries had criticized, was the role of the company as the protector of temples and the chief patron of thousands of temples and also the Company’s increasing connection to Hinduism. As a result the Charter act of 1833, of the time of Lord William Bentinck withdrew the support of the government for Hindu temples. This way the imperial government in India played hidden role of Christian government and the introducer of western civilization. To appease the evangelicals of such, company granted rights of inheritance to Christian converts in 1850, and adopted grants-in-aid system for private school in 1854 which mainly benefited the Christian educational institutions. Stephen Neill summed up the relationship of the company and missionaries like this: Mission had assumed many of the attitudes of colonialism, its paternalism, and its arrogance, even its racism. The state was also doubtful of its secularism and neutrality.

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56 Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness*, p.159
There is a popular myth that the British government stayed away from conversions and that the Christian missionaries stay away from politics. Missionaries like William Carey, Claudius Buchanan etc., were able to mobilize secular authority as a vital aid to their undertakings and needed at times to compel authorities to act in their defense. The writings of Buchanan were a call to the English young people to come to India as missionary administrators and thus, the ruler and the ruled acknowledged that contribution.

In the course of a discussion of Methodist missionary work, Rev. Sydney Smith, the editor of *Edinburgh Review* was asked, if it is actually wise to teach foreigners the Gospel. He replied ‘if the Bible is universally diffused in Hindustan, what must be the astonishment of the natives to find that we are forbidden to rob, murder, and steal; we who, in fifty years, have extended our empire from a few acres about Madras, over the whole Peninsula, and sixty millions of people, and exemplified in our public conduct every crime of which human nature is capable’. Further he remarked ‘It would actually be better to tell those natives that Machiavelli is our Prophet’. This comment was made as an eye opener and a check on double role played by the missionaries as well as the evangelical administrators. The Bible and the political aggrandizement would not fit into one sheath. Sydney Smith thus acknowledged the obligation to promote religion, but disputed vehemently the circumstances in which it was practicable and devalued missions as unnecessary. Further he meant that there was scarcely a parish in England and Ireland in which the zeal and activity of these “Indian apostles” had done any good and then what

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good could be expected in India through these men. Therefore, his advice to missions that there was lot to set order at their home than in the populous regions of Asia.

The missionaries and the company administrators from the closing years of 18th century encountered the Indian religions, particularly Hinduism, from several fronts like itineration, orientalism, anglicism, anglo-orientalism and through series of legislations. Christopher Bayly, a recent historian, explained that the 18th century was a period of creativity in Indian religious life and culture, and the 19th century was the radiance of Hinduism. Whereas James Mill pictured Hindu culture of the period had always been Gothic and crude. Therefore, missionaries tended to subscribe to a view of Hinduism as a road to decline. They present in their writings odd criticisms over Hinduism and society. James Mill in his ‘History of British India’ observes ‘the real character of Indian religion was superstition and priest craft…the Hindus, in mind and body, were the most enslaved portion of the human race’. The evangelicals and some members of Clapham sect like Charles Grant and Wilberforce used provocative words against Indian religion and morals. Charles Grant wrote to Court of Directors about the ‘hideous state of Indian society,’ and it was not only inborn weakness that made the Hindus degenerate but the nature of their religion. Wilberforce comments ‘In short, their (Indians) religious system is one grand abomination’. A famous Christian missionary, J.A. Dubois wrote in his book ‘Hindu Manners Customs and Ceremonies’ as his ‘mission of civilizing the heathens’. Even the famous Scottish missionary Alexander Duff held that India had ‘sunk in to depths of demoralization…manifested in aggravated forms, perpetuated and engraved with a pen of iron upon their character’. Such a negative attitude ripes of any promising

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encounter between Christianity and other religions, but bitterness. These preconceived notions led the missionaries to draw a wrong picture of India and the missionaries and the civil servants who arrived in India came with a pre-determined idea of the emptiness of the Indian world which kept them in dark from testifying anything good in Indian society.\(^6\) The 17\(^{th}\) century missionary methods of Robert De Nobili noticed a significant departure from the 19th century missionary policy. Firstly Nobili’s mission was an effort to withdraw from too close an association with the colonial rule; secondly it was to adapt to Indian social customs and manners, and thirdly an attempt to master Sanskrit and other local languages to understand the native philosophy and religion was regarded a true encounter between Christianity and Indian culture. Nobili was naturally called as Roman Brahmin, the ‘Tatwa Bodha Swami’ who wore a sacred thread. He spoke Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu and wrote books on Palm leaves and even commentaries on Vedas. The books\(^6\) in Telugu ‘Gnana Sanksebamu’, ‘Punarjanma’, ‘Aksepamu’ and ‘Viswasa Sallapamu’ are identified as written by Nobili. This idealistic missiology was turned down by the British missions whose minds were set on imperialist ecclesiology.

This kind of fundamentalist and sheer extremism among missions and company officials was due to certain changes in England at the end of the 18\(^{th}\) century.\(^6\) These changes, which were brought by Industrial Revolution and the evangelical revival, gave the British a new vigour and pride in their religion, culture and civilization. This over enthusiasm led them to pass pejorative statements and cultivate intolerance. Britain was looked upon as an advanced and progressive civilization while India was condemned as

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\(^6\) C.B.Firth, *An Introduction To Indian Church History*, ISPCK, New Delhi, 2000, p.p.112-118.
barbarous and superstitious. Consequently, from the early years of 19th century, the life and works of such missionaries like J.N. Farquhar would give some idea of the factors which help to explain the growth of an increasing openness and sympathy for non-Christian religions even among Evangelicals, a trend also visible in papers and speeches of missionary conferences.63

Susan Bayly in her book “Saints, Goddesses, and kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society” (2nd edition, 1992) marked the nineteenth-century missionary enterprise where the social disruption between the Christians and Hindus in south Indian society led to a communal divide.64 She referred to one Mr. Colonel John Munro, British Resident in Travancore from 1810 to 1819 as a staunch evangelical Christian, imbued with a blend of reformer-official qualities, but a strong critic of “heathenism”, “native superstition”, and was in a hurry to reform and “uplift” Indian society. She mocked it as ‘super-charged evangelical Protestantism’ and this led to communal disharmony and communal riots between caste Hindus and Syrian Christians, much accelerated by the mass conversion of low-caste Hindus at the end of the century. She did not reproach the missionaries entirely but admitted that the Indian society was undergoing change quite rapidly barricading each community with communal boundaries. Very often the missions bore the blame of promoters of communalism. Col. Munro had political motives behind his interest in the Syrian church. He called the need for mass support for British rule in

63 J.N. Farquhar tried to draw a synthesis between modern religious movements sprang from the soil of the old religions of India and the Christian missionary movement as an evolved one from Indian Church History. He states all these movements oppose both idolatry and caste, which tried to adapt Christian concepts. Eric Sharpe’s work on J.N. Farquhar (Uppsala, 1965) would give some idea of these factors.  
64 Susan Bayly is currently working as lecturer in Social Anthropology in the Department of Social Anthropology, Cambridge. Generally her areas of study were the cultural and intellectual legacies of colonialism; Religion, society and politics and the indegenization of Christianity. Most of her writings were a result of her extensive research on South India marked with a variety of information.
India. He writes as quoted by Campbell in ‘British India in relation to the decline of Hinduism and the progress of Christianity’ that ‘In Travancore and Cochin, there is already a numerous body of Christian inhabitants, who with the moderate assistance and encouragement from the British government, will firmly attach themselves to its interests...’65 The connection between the Resident and C.M.S (Church Missionary Society) Missionaries continued for many decades. In 1814 Col. Munro obtained a grant of two fields from the government for the missions.

The relationship between Protestant missions and colonial administration has been a matter of debate at least since the publication of the book ‘Christian Missions’ by Stephen Neill. Colonialism provided a atmosphere helpful for the growth of missions. Therefore the impact of colonialism was seen in the missions.66 Evangelicals like Charles Grant was desirous of establishing and extending direct British rule over India and the British rule only can dispel its moral and spiritual darkness. The late 19th century missionaries opposed any evacuation of the English from India, but strongly advocated of colonization and annexation of the native land, with a view that any withdrawal of the English from India would result in its degeneration.67 Therefore, the evangelical religion went along with the territorial expansion of the Imperial government. This shows the Imperialist tendency of the missionaries. The study of British religion abroad would take one directly into imperial history. The assertion raises the issue of the point of view of the scholar, and the nature of the explanatory narratives chosen to tell the story of imperialism. Because, sometimes the scholars marginalized the role of missionaries in the

66 Mission and Evangelism- Study project workshop conducted by protestant Churches at Chennai, Feb 15-17, 1996
67 Charles Grant, Observation on the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, London, 1793, p.94.
imperialist politics. Ranajit Guha in ‘Subaltern Studies’, identifies the dominant foreign
groups such as… British officials of the colonial state, foreign industrialists, merchants,
financiers, planters, landlords and (lastly) missionaries… The modern missionary
societies, which emerged in the eighteenth century in Germany, Britain, and the United
States, were the characteristic form of modern religious activity on a large scale in the
West: the private, voluntary society maintained formally at least by private contributions
and private recruitment of the missionaries included this activity and commenced abroad,
most concentratively in the east. One consequence is that the missionary enterprise was
treated as a closely related branch of imperialist activity.

This raises the question whether Evangelical ideology is on par with the state’s
ideology? Though the colonial state was supposedly secular, did it encourage missionary
activities? From 1813 onwards all pervasive influences of evangelicalism had brought
church and state together. As suggested by Buchanan that “there can never be confidence,
freedom and affection between the people and their sovereign where there exist a
difference of religion.’ Missionaries like Claudius Buchanan and Alexander Duff
supported the cause of colonialism and its progress in India. Buchanan wrote his tour of
Puri Jagannath and the self immolation under the wheels of the car during the festival, in
his book ‘Christian Researches in Asia’ (New York, 1812) to motivate young English
educated class to come to India as missionary administrators. Therefore in the missionary
thinking, colonialism was for the sake of mission, and mission in turn would strengthen

69 Indian Church History Review, op-cit., p.21.
the stability of empire. For example, the bill adopted by the government in 1850 on inheritance was meant to help the Christian converts from Hinduism and Islam. Even thousands of the English army recruits and many administrators were Evangelicals and were equally interested in the Christianizing and Westernizing mission. Among them were Capt. Sherwood, Capt. Charles Auckland, Brigadier General Nicholson, and Gen. Havelock. There were many Evangelical administrators in the East India Company as well as in its Directors such as James Thomson, Lieutenant Governor of North West Province, Henry and John Lawrence and the company Directors like Charles Grant. Throughout the history of imperial expansion, missionary activism offered the British public a model of civilized expansionism and colonial community management, transforming imperial projects into moral allegories. Though the declared policy was neutrality in matters of religion, a number of government officials supported the missionary work. One of the causes for the revolt of 1857 was the suspicion and fear among the sepoys that the British government was trying to convert them to Christianity. During the Mutiny one Shahzada Feroz shah called the bitterest enmity between the natives and the English ‘was the perceived intention of these wicked Christian Fakirs to spread Christianity by violence and to do away with the religion of

Hindus and Mussalmans’. India was brought under the rule of the Crown in 1858, and Queen Victoria promised non-interference in religious matters.

II

After assessing various dimensions of missions and colonial state, it is evident that the imperial politics was essentially about power and material interest, that the evidence of Christian faith on the part of the British imperialists is almost treated as mere ideological or rhetorical justification. This is surely in the sense that the history of British rule in India was not directly determined by the religious beliefs of British imperialists. It will be argued here that a language of belief, which can only be described in terms of the category of religion, had a pervasive and neglected importance. Imperialism is a global phenomenon but there is difference between the other imperialism and the Raj, which had a different claim with a vision of providential order. Discussion of religion and politics often treats these two categories as one, which might compound or mix with others. For some, Christianity was a group response and for some who were politically important, it provided a justification for the imperial mission. The respectably anthropological religions of the east have been given a very different kind of attention.

At this point the religious indifference and religious doubt that swept 19th century England was also important. Rationalism, and the Age of Reason were characterized, at any rate by neglect of things belonging to the next, and a devotion to the things of this world: the Industrial, Social, Scientific and Romantic revolutions were all, in one-way or another, the outcome of this concentration. Brisk trade and commerce, mining and

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74 Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, *British Christians*, p.4-5.
manufacture, illumination of science, the political thought and the philosophies of Ox-
bridge, all totted up 19th century Britain with repercussions of a grim future for British
Protestantism which was toppled by a crisis of faith. Although the myth of the conflict of
science and religion was by now well established, it should also be noted that plenty of
individuals continued to have Christian faith and to participate in the sciences. A good
example was two diverse characters of ICS men who were contrasted in the Clive
There is, in fact, an ideological and institutional parallel between these two ICS men, one
is F.L. Brayne, an evangelical spiritualist and another is Malcolm Darling, an atheistic
humanist. Brayne’s famous uplift scheme in Gurgaon was run by him on evangelical
model and Darling’s particular pre-occupation was with co-operative societies, which
represented Victorian morality and intellectual humanism. Both were devout servants
showing the Indian people the commitment of British government and its blessings of
civilization. Each saw the Raj as the instrument of a kind of liberation or salvation and
were coerced imperialists.

This is the true picture of India that we even witness in one great colossal writing
of the colonial era. Sydney Owenson’s early-nineteenth-century historical novel ‘The
Missionary: An Indian Tale’76 is of particular interest here since it highlights the
themes of colonialism, domination, and forced modernization, which began emerge in
the genre as a whole. The Missionary novel promoted the civilizing mission more
wholeheartedly and called for the establishment of missions in India as part of a broad
project of anglicization that promotes an imperial bond with its subjects. The

76 Ibid, p.p. 130-38
distinguished ‘Times’ correspondent Valentine Chirol asserts how a fabric of bond woven of chords of religion between indigenous elites and the colonial state that ‘the obstacles to the raising up of loyal and honourable citizens for the welfare of the state cannot be overcome unless a moral and religious element be somehow woven into ordinary education’. The elite alumni of the Madras Christian College was a fitting example of this scheme as envisaged by the Free Church missionaries.

III

Christianity in Civil Society and its Homogenous Identity among Ruling Classes:

Christian socialists like Sydney Web and Bernard Shaw of Fabian Society are seen as pro-imperialists. In particular, the members of the Fabian Society, headed by Sidney and Beatrice Webb were very much involved in writing policy documents for both Labour and Liberal Parties. Webb digested Montford dyarchy, whereas the stylish radical Bernard Shaw, while hostile to profit seeking, accepted the right of higher civilized country (England) to take over backward states (India). The evangelical bureaucrats of the colonial regime were archetype artifacts of colonial antiquity that represented religion in every administrative sector. Lionel Curtis, a reputed political scientist and a constitutional expert of the colonial government in India, who operated the social and ideological networks during world wars and the real brain behind the Morley’s Act, was endowed in christological premises and was a pro-missionary and an imperialist policy maker. Sir Hertzel, who was secretary to the political department at the India office between 1909 and 1917, was also a leading layman for the missionary movement.

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77 Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, *British Christians*, p.14
in general and was a treasurer of the Oxford mission, in spite of his contribution to Indian constitutional history, and was regarded as right hand to Morley. Andrew Hume, an ICS man was an embodiment of Tory imperialism. He, as a result of evangelical extremism, voiced against the Indian Act of 1935, which could appeal to a religious justification. Lord Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, as his biographers refer, was an intense Christian with an extreme personal conviction who served the empire in his own evangelical persuasion. He used his authority for supporting missions. Lord Meston, ICS, Coupland and some British officials in one form or other were all Christian imperialists78. Francis G. Hutchins observes ‘In the process a subtle and effective blend of utilitarian political theory and evangelical religion emerged, increasingly preoccupied with the problem of order and authority, and now interested in Indian principles of government and the Indian religions only in terms of their compatibility with British purposes and as a benign supplement to the exercise of force.’79 Thus, behind the utilitarian preoccupation of the Raj with its public operating systems of law and administration, there were hid private evangelical perceptions for the well being of empire.

The dominance of religion in the state system seems to have been quite apparent throughout the history of England. India became a testing ground to the missionary enterprise since 1813. But the six decades following the 1870s, which were marked by high imperialism on the one hand and rise of nationalism on the other, had witnessed development of a complex type of the politics of religion. Nationalist scholars think that to fight Congress nationalist agitation, the colonial government tried to set up the Muslim community as a counterweight against the Congress demands. The creation of

78 Ibid, p.p.27-57
79 Ibid, p. 61
‘representation’ for the Muslims in public offices and services, encouraging the Muslims to raise Muslim communal problems, creation of separate electorate under the Reforms Act of 1909 and, finally, Communal Award in 1933 were all salutary measures for the separatist Muslim community and other depressed classes, but for the nationalist Congress these were clear indications of 'divide and rule'. Religion became a top subject of politics in the three decades following the India Act of 1919, and no wonder that the country was divided on communal lines when independence was achieved from Britain in 1947 through an unprecedented blood bath.

iii. INTELLECTUAL ROOTS OF STATE ACTION:

Humanism of the Renaissance promoted artistic styles and metaphysical speculations on antiquity and the classical Greco-Roman heritage-metaphysical, cultural, aesthetic, socio-political and legal aspects. Accordingly, Plato was the representing philosopher of the great metaphysical questions, and of the religious spirit. Aristotle was representing what has come to be called the ‘scientific method and modernity’, the careful study of observed data, and the commonsensical drawing of conclusions. This interest in cultural revival, interest in the occult, magic, astrology and science and mathematics underscored religious faith. ‘The new man of the Renaissance, liberated
from his prison of the Middle Ages, flexed his muscles, and tried them on the Traditions… Through these theories Renaissance posed a threat to Christian faith.

What Christians generally call evangelical pietism is an identified form of Platonism or Neo-Platonism. The Evangelical Platonic view is that there are certain things all believers can observe as so called spiritual, as going to church, speaking in tongues, reading the Bible etc. There are also certain things in the material realm for the believers to completely give up. The 19th century Evangelicalism as hyper spirituality was evolved out of this Platonic view of Christianity. As a parallel development, the triumph of Aristotle i.e. scientific and rational methodology developed a new spirit of criticism in theology as well as in secular knowledge systems e.g. medicine, philosophy and the sciences, which culminated during the Age of Reason or Enlightenment.

The scientific revolution started by Descartes, Sir Francis Bacon, Galileo and Kepler or the burgeoning secular political outlook of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke were carried forward by Sir Isaac Newton who established the autonomy of reason, which dominated all philosophy in the 18th century. Sir Isaac Newton, and his followers, had propounded natural philosophy concerning the work of God. The belief in a comprehensible world, under an orderly Christian God, provided much of the impetus for philosophical inquiry. On the one hand, religious philosophy focused on the importance of piety, and the majesty and mystery of God's ultimate nature; on the other hand, ideas such as Deism (natural religion) stressed that the world was accessible to the faculty of human reason, and that the "laws" which governed its behavior were understandable. The notion of a mechanical god and a mechanical universe governed by physical laws, or

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81 Ibid., p. 222. Therefore, Metaphysical religious beliefs have more in common with Plato than with Aristotle. During the crisis of the Renaissance and Reformation, Aristotle or the scientific method had won.
natural laws became prevalent\(^{82}\). These were parallel to divine laws and was understood as Deism. Natural laws and natural rights gained momentum out of these principles of natural philosophy\(^{83}\).

In the secular realm of political thought Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan*) and John Locke (*Two Treatises on Government*) gave a secular twist to their interpretation of natural laws, by adding natural rights to it. Both Hobbes and Locke set aside the divine right of kings and all other questions of divine attributions to state-hood: instead they understood that the requirement of governance and beings came from human intervention\(^{84}\). The conception of law as a relationship between individuals, rather than families, came to the fore, and with it the increasing focus on individual liberty as a fundamental right of man, given by ‘Nature and Nature's God,’ which was to be protected by the state\(^{85}\).

Based on these new ideas of the fundamental rights of man, other revolutions followed. Following the English civil war and the Glorious Revolution, both the Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism suffered profoundly.\(^{86}\) Deism held that although God had created the world, man was in control of the material world, and therefore he was central to his universe. Rationalism set aside Revelation and energised itself on Reason\(^{87}\).

\(^{83}\) K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, Eyre Sopolliswood Ltd, London, 1955, p.1004. Deism held to what was called natural religion. This was said to be universal, discernible by all men everywhere through their reason, quite apart from special revelation. It left no room for miracle, the incarnation and trinity; it is said that men were being enlightened by the use of their reason and were moving away from superstition.
\(^{84}\) Keith Thomas, *Great Political Thinkers*, OUP, 1992, p.p.154-227
\(^{87}\) K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, Eyre Sopolliswood Ltd, London, 1955, p.1004. Deism held to what was called natural religion. This was said to be universal, discernible by all men everywhere through
Many Roman Catholics and Protestants were convinced that Reason-Religion thus marked a stage in human reason: the human universe thus clearly bifurcated in two - the secular world that was material reality and determined the human condition, and the spiritual world, that shrank back into individualized private lives. The new knowledge had made Christianity intellectually untenable. The Romantic, Industrial, Social, and Scientific revolutions were all, in one-way or another, the outcome of this concentration.88

The moral philosophy of Kant places religion within a rational context. According to him, the rational individual is instinctively accepting absolute morality. Starting with the rational individual, he ultimately pointed to a rational society observing absolute moral laws with full commitment, making the society virtuous. In Kantian view, such society serves the basis for moral laws, which are not enforced by secular institutions and where the actions of institutional religions are also unnecessary. Kant envisaged Religion within the boundaries of mere Reason. Thus, Kant rationalized the quality of virtue from a secular world view.89 Immanuel Kant fragmented rationalist science and morality as different schools and knowledge was separated from faith, and science, arts from ethics.90
Kantian method of reasoning was popular by his ‘antinomies’, formed basis for Hegel’s dialectical method or abstract theology, where Hegel figures God as Absolute Spirit, Reason, or Universal Idea. The dialectical method of Hegel served as the basis for Marx's dialectical materialism for which religion was “the cry of the appeased creature, the opium of the people”⁹¹. Against this march of Reason certain genres of writing Romantic poetry and novels, raised the issues of vanishing faith-based morality and a simple life. The Romantics criticized increasing dehumanization progress and industrialization⁹².

But as the rule of the East India Company expanded, and battles became more hard fought and the resistance to British occupation in India grew, the ideology of European racial superiority became almost essential in justifying British presence in India - not only to assuage British conscience, but also to convince the Indian people that the British were not mere colonial conquerors but a superior race on a noble civilizational mission. It was of course, generally true that imperialism rested on racist assumptions, the basis for which was Darwin’s ‘Origin of the Species’. With his theory of evolution through natural selection and the survival of the fittest, Darwin provided a rationale for those who believed that the existence of the Empire proved that the British were selected by Nature to rule⁹³. Agnosticism, another philosophical position invented by T.H.

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⁹² Sir Walter Scott’s works had awakened in thousands of minds a sympathetic interest in what was medieval and antiquarian. Coleridge and other Lake poets were exercising an influence on thoughtful minds. These Romantic writers tended to expose the ideological narrowness of Enlightenment period and to say that society could not progress devoid of religious morality. Eugene Stock, Utilitarians., p.p. 284-286. Robert Southey of the Lake poets writes ‘there is no other means whereby nations can be reformed, than by that (religion) which alone individuals can be regenerated’. David Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, Croom Helm, London, 1979, p.60. The other two Lake Poets and close friends, Wordsworth and Coleridge left indelible imprint on the contemporary English minds. Romanticism was rising up against utilitarianism. Himmelfarb, Victorian Minds, Harper & Row, New York, 1968, p.118.
⁹³ There was a direct link between evolutionary theory and militarism; the notion that only the strong should survive had laid the foundations for the colonial wars in history, preaching that man has a brutal ancestry on one hand and claiming that those deeds were means to civilization on the other. Social
Huxley\textsuperscript{94} was prevalent during 19\textsuperscript{th} century, mainly because the scientific methods contradicted the biblical position over the use of historical criticism in the interpretation of the Bible. Many of the philosophers such as Auguste Comte, William James, Herbert Spencer, Francis Galton etc., were famous agnostics. Therefore, Thomas Henry Huxley repudiated the validity of the Christian faith in the scriptures in reference to Darwin’s ‘The Origin of Species’\textsuperscript{95}.

The European Enlightenment, the cumulative intellectual origin of the modern west, placed the Europeans at the highest and most developed stage of humankind. It pictured a just and universal postcolonial world of free and independent states under international law, bound together by free trade, and governed informally by a league of the advanced states, that is nonetheless the particular historical product of European colonial imperialism. Europe as a 'single civilization' - Christian, 'white' and 'civilized' - was projected onto the non-Europeans; the world (except North Asia) was incorporated into European networks of transnational capitalism and ideology. A winning of the

Darwinists tended to spread racism, which led to the justification of aggressive, violent imperialism. Darwin’s cousin Francis Galton popularized his ideas on racial qualities through his Eugenics that eventually influenced euthanasia practiced by the Nazis. Europeans were beginning to form the new science of Anthropology to prove racial stratification.

\textsuperscript{94} Thomas H Huxley, \textit{the Darwinian Scientist}, invented a new category of doubters when he coined the word in 1869 from the Greek ‘agnostos’ referring his own conviction that knowledge is impossible on many matters covered by religious dogmas. Huxley popularized the term ‘agnosticism’ at a meeting of the Metaphysical Society in 1876. This is a skeptical position of not professing to know sure if any God definitely do or do not exist. Contrary to common assumptions agnosticism is compatible with both atheism and theism and a belief in disbelief clashed with Christian Faith. Herbert F. Tucker, ed., \textit{A companion to Victorian Literature and Culture}, Blackwell, Malden, 1999, p.p.27-28.

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, Vol XLI, No 37, Sept. 2006, p.p.3949-50. The racial discrimination was in the forefront at the wake of 1857 revolt. The Victorians categorized Indians similar to Negroes. Ignorance and brutality appear where the Blacks with receding forehead and projecting jaws are present. In contrast, the fullness of intelligence and morality appear, where the Anglo-Saxons with broad forehead and upright jaws are present. This is one possible meaning implied intentionally in the usage of the word ‘niggers’ by the foreigners, emphasizing their racial superiority. This vocabulary was constantly used by the state administrators, white civilians and even by the missionaries to address Indians.
scientific and the romantic, this was true with British imperialistic drive and also impacted the hegemonic process in India96.

Along with this emergence of a superior western identity of scientific Reason and rationality, a parallel key theme that the Romantics took forward was in the arts and political philosophy. At the same time, linguistic and cultural nationality, colored with pre-genetic concepts of race, were employed for two rhetorical claims consistently associated with romantic nationalism to this day: claims of primacy and claims of superiority. The polemics of racial superiority became inexorably intertwined with romantic nationalism and was embodied in British colonial project. Thus, the ideology of European racial superiority became almost essential in justifying British presence in India - not only to assuage British conscience, but also to convince the Indian people that the British were not mere colonial conquerors but a superior race on a noble civilizational mission97. Mark Twain sarcastically commented that ‘Hanuman is stronger than Samson’98.

96 Arnold Toyanbee, *A Study of History: Introduction*, vol. viii, OUP, London, I ed., 1934, II ed.1962, p.211. Where Toyanbee writes that it was eventually the attitude of English colonial government, instituted by English Protestants and informed with their ideas should become paramount over the whole of the continental India. Thus the race feeling engendered by the English Protestant version of our western culture become the determining factor in the development of race feeling in our western society as a whole.

97 Graham Wallas was a political theorist and psychologist said in 1892, ‘the real fact is, that these men…(Indians) are a different species of animals to ourselves-their physical and mental constitution are extraordinarily different…their general level of character does not show as much reason as ordinary European children and is much more full of spite and meanness’. His Fabian connections as a Christian socialist could not remove his imperial impression rather provoked to characterize Indians as savages. Therefore, Kingsley and Wallas, the Christian socialists were under opinion that India proved, as always had been colonized and a subject nation and the civilizing and christianizing schemes of foreign invaders was a historical necessity. Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, CUP, 1986, p.27.

98 Mark Twain, *Following the Equator*, Vol. 1, New York, 1897 p. 16. (Reprint, Dover, 1989). Following the Equator is not the typical Mark Twain’s story. He chose to circle the Globe to pay off his debts by lecturing and writing novels. Hence, this book is a travelogue written as he was traveling by boat through Hawaii, Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, India and South Africa. In each place he recorded his observations and interpretations of those countries’ customs, traditions and history.
I

Educational Institutions, Christianity And Imperialism

Socialized reformed institutions such as the public schools in England were all together racist centers. The public school system during Victorian period was pioneered by the famous Rugby school Headmaster Thomas Arnold in a way to contribute to British middle class Christianity for the foundation and development of world civilization. Particularly Arnold’s contribution was his social emphasis on Christian faith in active and practical terms, where the young boys would cultivate habits of industry and get disciplined to rigorous responsibilities and enduring public vacations to be entrusted in their adolescence. The East India Company College at Haileybury was a blueprint of this Arnoldian revolution of muscular Christianity and was familiar with the teaching of this kind. This institutional link with its traditions enriched Indian education and its photo types in Indian service accounted for imperial nurseries with rhetoric of Christian service. ‘Tom Brown’s School Days’, a mid Victorian novel written by Thomas Hughes personified this tradition. Tom Brown became a symbol of the muscular Christian and the argument about empire to be civilized and Christianized by such English youth, assumed an increasingly popular dimension. Boys’ books and magazines, for example, focused on the adventure of empire and the courage and sense of duty of empire builders,

100 *Tom Brown’s School Days*, a mid Victorian novel written by Thomas Hughes personified this tradition. Tom Brown became a symbol of the muscular Christian, physically strong, able to protect the weak, ready to fight for a good cause and accountable to God. Missionary vocation was considered as an integral part of this masculine culture. This kind of 19th century literature was an appeal for male missionaries to take up overseas missions. Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White man’s God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field*, University of British Columbia Press, Canada, 2003, p.p.8-10.
and textbooks often taught the same lessons. So, also, did the popular press. In consequence the language of imperialism changed.

Education had become religion's primary instrument for christianization and expansion, and its growing importance in the nineteenth century only enhanced its status while the evangelicals reached out to the lower classes in Sunday Schools and missionary schools.\textsuperscript{101} Several of Arnold’s former pupils became in turn headmasters and moulded other public schools in the Arnold image. They now conformed with the evangelicals moral character of 19th century Britain. Victorian ideal of manliness, the steadfast pursuit of high ideals remained a central feature at home and among administrators of the Empire. The public schools with their emphasis on Character, Manliness, and Sports, embodied the essence of the imperial ethic. Most of them boys, the future guardian administrators of the Empire were taught the ideals of dedication in imperial service.\textsuperscript{102}

II

Press-Campaign of Church Fundamentalists

The Church press in Britain was also busy in publishing the imperial destiny of the empire. Particularly ‘the Church times’, ‘the Guardian’ etc., were editing colonial trajectories with questions like, ‘why had God made a present of India to the British nation? Any other country might possibly have exploited it, drawn up on its raw material, and returned their manufactured goods. But ‘God whisper came to us’. What was God’s purpose? The large vision of empire, they emphasized that the divine providence destined

\textsuperscript{101} As a consequence, the scripture stories were necessarily taught in missionary schools and colleges in India. Gradually public protest mounted up for the prohibition of religious teaching. C.R. Williams, \textit{Letters written during a trip to South India and Ceylon 1876-77}, London, 1877, p.115; A Telugu Journal, \textit{Purushartha Pradayani}, Vol. V, No.7, July 1876.

\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Tom Brown’s School Days}. 
Britain to rule India to Christianize it. An increasing tendency to boastfulness about the empire among the British community was prevalent with providential significance. Nevertheless they instructed the East in western methods. The Methodist church press went further by instituting Empire Day as 24th May with the spiritual birthday of John Wesley on 24th May 1738\textsuperscript{103}. The literature on the Raj, which shared this providential vision of imperialism, was quite substantial. Most featured discourse on this providentialism was British-Israelite movement under thought with an impulse of imperial religiosity among Britons from 1871 onwards and was in front headings around 1880. The theory was that the descent of the English was harnessed to the lost ten tribes of Israel and employed eccentric proofs as support from the scriptures. Accordingly it was assumed that the British were chosen people and that the empire was the instrument of God’s purpose. British-Israelite Great Britain is a great nation and divinely protected; it has inherited the land from the river of Egypt unto the great river…the empire fulfilling a mission of blessing to all the nations of the earth’. Andrew Hume, ICS, a Sub-Divisional officer at Roorke had an organic link of British-Israelite decent\textsuperscript{104}. Therefore it was universalized to include the entire British community with an imperial network. It is said it was with this sense of providentialism that Hume’s evangelical ICS colleague; F.L. Brayne worked for rural uplift. They zealously identified themselves as agents of imperial providence and real men of church and state\textsuperscript{105}.

Michael Mann observed that the world salvation religions viz., Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism spread over the globe more widely than any other

\textsuperscript{103} Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, \textit{British Christians}., p.154-155
\textsuperscript{105} \textit{Ibid}, p.p. 135-142. Implied that reforming India by Indians with or without empire was impossibility. Reports on Native News Papers, 1908
spheres of power. Along with it the secular ideologies like socialism and liberalism spread extensively. Out of the way that the religious institutions play the material roles: an economic role of production distribution, trade, a political and military role, sometimes a long distance economic and political regulation. This religiously centered culture or movement conquers other regions and even vast territories of the world and always is assisted by sacred authority that cuts across the secularities of economic, military and political power organizations through its imperial devices\textsuperscript{106}. Like wise, the British idea of themselves as imperial people charged with the governance of other vast lands by the notion of divine ordinance, justified that God had ordained English with responsibility to inhabit and reform the uncivilized nations. British patriotism, a shared Protestantism, expanded power across the oceans from Ireland to India and America to Africa under the influence of Enlightenment\textsuperscript{107}, described the orient ‘other’ as savage ‘backward’ civilizations. This theory had as its outcome the creation of an array of polarities that shaped much of the ideology of the Raj.

**iv. IDEOLOGICAL COMPLEXITIES:**

This chapter has analyzed each ideological complexity, as it attempted to transcend the totalizing dimensions of the Empire. Power, building the Empire concurrently at two clearly distinguishable levels, creates a realm of affairs where, Gramsci observes, ‘the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as ‘domination’ and as ‘intellectual and moral leadership’\textsuperscript{108}. The general approach to this kind of hegemonic activity on way to imperial power counts not only the material force

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\textsuperscript{108} Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, OUP, New Delhi, 1989, p.1
but delves always in tactical maneuver or an ideology of masking the true source of
domination. The imperial hegemony in India demonstrated to posterity the efficacy of the
power/knowledge nexus in furthering the interests of cultural imperialism. The early
ideologists or experts on oriental philosophy, language and culture presented this face of
colonial state. It apparently contradicted the Utilitarian and Evangelical positions. Thus,
Warren Hastings, who was Governor General from 1773 to 1784, did not share the
Evangelical and Utilitarian viewpoint that promoted a ‘glorious vision of English
education as the grand medium of transmitting the civilization and culture of Europe to a
decadent Asiatic Society like India.’ Hastings helped establishing the Calcutta
Madrassah in 1781. In 1792, an Orientalist scholar, Jonathan Duncan, founded the
Sanskrit College of Benares.

However, the Anglicist phase was started by Governor General Charles
Cornwallis (1786-93), an aggressive Anglicist, who professionalized, bureaucratized, and
Europeanized the company's administration and most famously introduced the Permanent
Settlement. The beginning of the Civil Service and the 'civil servants' to distinguish them
from soldiers in the company's military service and from the commercial sector took
place during his regime. Anglicism, in due course came into conflict with the trends of
orientalists promoting the oriental languages and literature. Orientalists were often

109 Kalyan Chatterjee, English Education in India: Issues and Opinions, Macmillan, New Delhi, 1976, p.2
110 P. L. Rawat, History of Indian Education, (Agra: Ram Prasad) p.128; Gerald Studdert-Kennedy, op-
cit., p. 58
111 L.P. Sharma, History of Modern India, Delhi, II Ed. 1996, p.p. 183-184
criticized by their contemporaries like James Mill, in his ‘History of British India’, for holding a romanticized view of non-European societies.\textsuperscript{112}

James Mill found little good in Orientalism. He represented the radical English intellectuals who believed in the secular, political realm, while Macaulay’s Anglicist stance in the parliament came from a private bias towards Evangelicals\textsuperscript{113}. His contemporaries like the missionary, Alexander Duff, came over India in 1829, and overemphasized the role of the English language in education to bring the elite into the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. The traditional people of India were expected in a short time, to be remoulded as God-fearing Christians, who could speak English, and adopt English manners through Western Christian Philosophies. Thus they would actively support the colonial Government in its expansionist and commercial enterprise.

The 19\textsuperscript{th} century evangelicalism rationalized and justified worldly success, and evangelicals made commerce and banking their major careers\textsuperscript{114}. Therefore, the connection between overseas missions and commerce began in early 19\textsuperscript{th} century massively. The missionaries’ meager salaries and growing expenses made them dependent on commercial activities. They involved in trade taking the local commodities in exchange for medicines and Biblical literature to meet their expenses. Some of them even felt a need for missionary vessels for all purposes. William Carey, the father of Modern Protestant missions in India, touched a superficial connection between evangelism and commercial activity. The mercantile ships of the Europeans enroute the

\textsuperscript{112} A group of orientalists responding to James Mill’s 1824 dispatch arguing that their approach was to direct the learners to truth and to the acceptance of their rulers culture against the errors in their own religion. Gauri Viswanathan, \textit{Masks of Conquest}, p.p. 27-38 & 102-03.


cape of Good Hope, which linked by Carey to those trading ships of Tarshish of the prophecy of Prophet Isaiah of the Biblical times\textsuperscript{115}, had impressed Carey with the dictum that commerce might lend to missionary enterprise and the prophecy of Isaiah, Carey believed to have made real with the British Empire, commerce and Christianity. In the same tune, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, the son of Wilberforce argued, drawing examples from the early history of the Christian church, ‘the Providence of God…has ordained that when Christianity is placed in any great centre, it should be borne by the natural power of commerce itself…commerce…is intended to carry, even to all the world, the blessed message of salvation’\textsuperscript{116}. These sentiments on providential theology influenced both the commercial and consumer societies and interpreted for the success of Britain’s missionary enterprise. Missionaries encouraged the converts in Christian colonies by the Protestant work ethic as morally uplifting, character building and for their own sustenance. They often took indigenous children into schools, not so much because they wanted them educated, but to allow them to acquire the discipline necessary to become part of the modern capitalistic world.

The Charter act of 1813 furthered the missionary commercial enterprise for free trade. Harbingers of the enterprise, the Evangelicals were called to seriousness under the strongest ideological influence ‘the Evangelicalism’. The term had been applied to the Low Church wing of Anglicanism, which stressed biblical preaching and adopted to hold the deity of Lord Jesus Christ, as opposed to sacramentalism and belief in the authority of

\textsuperscript{115} William Carey, \textit{An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to use means for the Conversion of the Heathens}, Leicester, 1792, p.68

\textsuperscript{116} Andrew Porter, \textit{Religion Versus Empire}, p.96. Very distinctive to this, the Brethren missionaries taught that - for missionaries of the Gospel, to receive a salary or even to derive an income from specific sources were abomination to them. W.B. Neatby, \textit{A History of the Plymouth Brethren}, 2nd edn,London,1902,p.272.
Several evangelical administrators, and several laymen evangelicals as armed recruits came out to India to reap the harvest for God and government. What in fact happened was rather different as the Indians resisted in the form of 1857 revolt\textsuperscript{118} to reverse the Evangelical approach of cultural imperialism to mould the country to an alien way of life. First, the introduction of certain reforms within the Hindu folds through widespread socio-religious movements of 19\textsuperscript{th} century and second the rise of nationalism, arrested the onslaught of missionary activity. The radical views of a forward looking school’s ideologues claimed that reason played a key role in the European progress and laid the intellectual foundation for European superiority. Religion took a back seat. To the Indians, science and education had no religious frontiers: These were ‘secular’ and could be safely adopted.

However, while experiencing limited success in India, the Evangelicals did not confine their religious fervour to India alone, but their zeal extended to the entire world through overseas missions. The profound conviction that Jesus Christ alone could save the world was one potent reason leading the missionaries to dedicate their lives to those countries, which still dwelt in ‘spiritual darkness’. Therefore, Evangelicalism in its Utilitarian colour was the intense ideology of the missionaries of the 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries. The late 19\textsuperscript{th} century missionaries opposed any evacuation of the English from India, and strongly advocated colonization and annexation of native land, with a view that any withdrawal of the English from India would result in its degeneration\textsuperscript{119}. In India Evangelicals and the Utilitarians worked hand in hand for the promotion of ‘progress’,

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\textsuperscript{117} David Bebbington, \textit{Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1780s to the 1980s}, Baker Book House, 1992, p.4.
\textsuperscript{118} Ian Bradley, \textit{The Call to Seriousness.}, p.p.83-84.
\textsuperscript{119} Ian Bradley, \textit{The Call to Seriousness.}, p.87.
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which gave a useful pretext for schemes of territorial ambitions and aggrandizement. A
good example was the Aborigines protection society founded in 1837 with a seemingly
altruist interest but turned into a major pressure group campaigning for the extension and
colonization of the native lands in Australia. Therefore, as Washbrook observes, that the
role of Britain represented two faces of colonialism of the role of trustee and tutor to
native people’s moral and social uplift and to the development of British imperial idea of
annexation and colonization. Of course, Christianity, it seemed, went along with
territorial expansion, if not always publicly and openly, but always through subterranean
routes of private lines.

\[120\] Washbrook, D.A. Andrew Porter (ed), ‘India, 1818-1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism,’ in The
Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume III.