CONCLUSION

Why focus on Carey? The story of William Carey has been told and retold in numerous biographies, books and articles. Our purpose has been to fill a gap in the story, to recover Carey's invisible American links. This has been accomplished so far as is possible from the available sources. The mystery of Carey's American connections leading to his 1807 honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Brown University has been solved. There is no mystery! Strong connections existed between Serampore and America through London as well as by direct correspondence between Serampore and Christian groups in Boston, Philadelphia and New York with Captain Wickes as the chief conduit, as the documents scrutinized have shown. In the process of investigation, the continuing impact of Carey's accomplishments have been brought to light.

5.1. Carey's Place in India's History
Rare manuscripts have thrown light on a significant moment in India’s history. Aspects of history previously neglected and largely unknown are an important part of India’s heritage and must not be forgotten. In particular the critique of colonialism brought by the missionaries is important and should be highlighted. The ramifications for Indian nationalism were far-reaching both in terms of indigenous Indian Christianity and for the development of the movement for political independence. Carey’s contributions are well-known in Bengal, where his name is revered, but this is not so for India as a whole which, for the most part, knows nothing of Carey. Therefore telling the story is important. The Carey chronicle constitutes a significant moment in India’s national history.

Carey, although born in England in 1761, arrived in India in 1793, and died at Serampore in 1834. Together with Indian and European colleagues, Carey and the Serampore Mission produced a monumental yield of literature, correspondence and institutions pertaining to Indian culture, religion, education and social protest. The documents scrutinised have brought to light an important and largely unrecognized aspect of India’s history, namely the opposition of the missionaries to the structures of colonialism.
The missionaries arrived in India at a time of social, cultural and religious decay. The decline of the Mogul rule saw the ascendancy of the Europeans of which the British East India Company was one. The East India Company was not interested in social and cultural reform. Carey's egalitarian and humanitarian principles did not find friendly reception among the rapacious officers of the Company. The main objective of the colonial establishment was to enrich the Company investors. It was feared that the missionary presence would jeopardize the profit motive.

Antagonism of the East India Company toward the missionaries stemmed from their differing motives and objectives—the one capitalistic, the other humanitarian. The objective of the Company was entirely one of profit, the enrichment of the investors. The motive of the missionaries was humanitarian—the economic, intellectual, moral, political, social, and spiritual liberation and upliftment of the people of Bengal. The officers of the Company had reason to distrust these altruistic motives. Forces were set in motion leading ultimately to Independence and new India's birth as a modern democracy. Carey and Serampore were important catalysts in that process.

5.2. Critique of Colonialism
Carey's ideas and activities were viewed as a threat by the colonial establishment. A detailed study of the long and acrimonious correspondence against the activities of the Serampore missionaries by officers of the East India Company documented such a tension. It has been established that the example of the egalitarian communal experiment at Serampore, as well as Carey's efforts against the social evils of the day, constituted a critique of colonialism. The point is important. While Carey criticised colonialism, at the time he was seen as part of the colonial establishment, and no doubt is still so perceived today.¹ Serampore's involvement in social issues and opposition to the structures of colonialism were found to play a significant role in India's national heritage.

Through their multi-faceted activities, Carey and the Serampore mission contributed to a cultural renewal in Bengal which resulted in movements for social reform and political awakening throughout India. They certainly were not the sole makers of the movement toward modern Independent India, but they performed an essential catalytic function. Carey and the Baptist missionaries brought a critique of colonialism through the radical experiments and selfless service of the Serampore Mission and the literature they produced as much as through the creed

¹ For example, by Arun Shoune, Missionaries in India: Continuities, Changes, Dilemmas, New Delhi, ASA, 1994, p 111
which they professed and preached.

5.3. Distinct Contributions

The study revealed that the missionaries did not engage in the political system directly, but they did not hesitate to utilize the offices of their evangelical colleagues in positions of power to expose and combat evil. Social protest was one aspect. The Serampore missionaries tackled major social problems: female infanticide, voluntary drowning, widow-burning (Suttee), child sacrifice, jaganath worship at Puri, Ghat murders, the hook-swinging festival, leper burning, and slavery.

Impressive missionary contribution to culture and the economy has been documented. Their objective was the complete well-being of humankind. Charity would not remove poverty and suffering. Introduction of plans for the improvement of economic conditions such as a savings bank, a leper hospital, experiments in agriculture and horticulture, a steam engine and other scientific endeavours, a Bengali newspaper (the first of its kind), books, periodicals, and vernacular schools has been well-documented.

It has been found that the education of girls was a singular
Serampore contribution. The records show that the Serampore missionaries pioneered the introduction of modern education for girls in Bengal. The beginning of a social reform movement helped to overcome local conservatism. Beginning in 1821, female schools were organized in Serampore and eventually extended as far as Allahabad, Benares, Chitaganj, Dacca, and Jessore as well as to Calcutta. Hundreds of girls were enrolled. The emancipation of women through education was accompanied by other reform efforts such as the campaign against sati.

Contributions of the missionaries for the cause of education were many: formation of vernacular schools, production of vernacular textbooks and the establishment of the Serampore Mission Press. Textbooks printed (many of them written by the missionaries) included chemistry, geography, mathematics, medicine, science, philosophy and other subjects. Science and education, theology and Bible came together in one common concern for the good of humanity in its totality in the work of Carey and Serampore.

Carey came to India to translate the Bible. The present study substantiates that during his lifetime, Carey and his co-workers translated the Bible into 29 Indian languages. The Bible has been translated into more Indian languages than any other book, an ongoing project initiated by Carey. It began with Carey's Bengali New Testament.
first published in 1801 which he continued revising throughout his life. By 1832 the entire Bengali Bible was completed, his eighth (revised) edition of the New Testament and the fifth of the Old Testament. That is but part of an extensive literary contribution.

It has been found that by 1832, two years before his death, 212,000 volumes in 40 languages had been published by the Serampore Press, but his Bengali translations which spanned 32 years of work were Carey’s greatest literary accomplishments. Carey’s literary activity caught the attention of the Protestant world. Carey and his associates worked in a country with millions of people, and in thirty-four of its languages. The impact was far-reaching, especially after the disastrous fire in 1812 which destroyed precious manuscripts along with the press, but brought the work of Serampore to the attention of Protestant Christians worldwide.

A careful perusal of original documents has revealed Carey’s involvement in various movements of social protest and reform. Carey and his Serampore colleagues protested 1) against slavery, 2) against sati, 3) against infanticide, 4) against human sacrifice, 5) against exposure of the infirm, 6) against burning of lepers. They participated in movements for social reform, e.g. 1) for the emancipation of women, 2) for vernacular education, 3) for higher education, 4) for improvements in agriculture and
horticulture, 5) for projects to benefit the poor, 6) for scientific investigation, 7) for medical science. The missionary experiments in community living at Serampore, contributions to Bengali language and culture, promotion of Sanskritic studies, religious reforms—all grew out of a radical egalitarianism imbibed perhaps from the French Revolution and perceptively from the American Revolution and its antecedents. Undergirding it all were Carey's evangelical convictions and commitment anchored in the Bible which he came to translate.

It is interesting to note that Carey's colossal literary contribution went far beyond Bible translation to the publication of tracts, pamphlets, newspaper, and other periodicals, as well as translation of the *Ramayana* into English and into Bengali as well as the *Mahabharata* into Bengali. Both the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were published in Bengali by the Serampore Mission Press. Apart from Christian religious literature, a list of Bengali publications during 1800-1832 runs to 60 titles.

Carey apparently envisioned Serampore as a centre for learning various Indian and Asian languages. Grammars, dictionaries and other language aids in more than 50 languages were collected at Serampore where they still are preserved in the Carey Library.
5.4. American Connections

The riddle of Carey's American connections has been solved as summarized below. Carey's American connections are not generally known. Carey never visited America and had no known relationships there. Yet his work was known and appreciated in America. In 1807 Brown University in New England conferred upon Carey an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree. This was five years prior to the fire which destroyed the Mission Press with its precious manuscripts—and publicized the work of Carey. How did Brown University know about Carey?

Early in his career Carey's work as Bible Translator caught the attention of the Americans. The connection seems to have come as a result of the impediments placed by the British East India Company. Because the Company refused passage on British ships, new missionary recruits (John and Hannah Marshman and William Ward) coming to join Carey booked passage on an American ship, the Criterion.

Missionary travel via America made contact possible. Moreover the vessel was under the command of one Captain Wickes of Philadelphia, a pious Presbyterian (Protestant) Christian. Aboard the ship, Wickes took a keen interest in the work of the Mission and delivered the missionary passengers to Serampore where, under the Danish crown, they avoided
arrest and deportation by the British at Calcutta. Wickes was the link between Serampore and America. He not only transported the missionaries to India but also brought gifts (in cash and goods) from England and from America, and carried news back and forth. In Boston and Philadelphia local missionary societies were founded for support of the work at Serampore. Wickes was the catalyst. A considerable three-way correspondence developed between Serampore, England and America. These little-known relationships carried implications for indigenous Christianity as well as for India's Renaissance and eventual Independence.

Carey and Serampore were the beneficiaries of help from America. In the process they provided a missionary impulse for the American Church. Serampore received much, but gave back much more. Carey represents an important impulse in the development of American Christianity. The impact has continued down to the present time.

5.5. Sources of Radicalism

A careful study of the record revealed the strong opposition of Carey and the Serampore missionaries to colonial exploitation. The Carey story was not found to be a biography of the elite. Nor was Carey an Orientalist. His initiatives among the poor placed him rather among the predecessors
of today's subalternists.

What were the sources of Carey's radical ideas? Egalitarian and democratic ideas flowing from the American and French Revolutions are certain to have stimulated the mind and conscience of Carey while in England.

Although slavery was rarely mentioned in early missionary correspondence from Bengal, Carey's opposition to slavery has been established. While still in England, Carey and other social radicals had boycotted rum and sugar which were the products of slavery. The Serampore missionaries identified slavery as one of the widespread "dreadful practices" of Bengal to be opposed and eradicated.

Carey was a young man of 20 when the American War of Independence came to an end. Meanwhile the irregularities of the East India Company, and the trial of Warren Hastings, brought various social and ethical questions to the fore. This is the milieu in which Carey's social and missionary ideas were to emerge.

The French Revolution became a war against religion. Preceded by a series of crises, and growing ideas of democracy (imported from America) and humanism, leading to dethronement of the monarch and massacre. It
was at the peak of these events that Carey set out for India. Among the figures honoured at the inauguration of the new French Republic was William Wilberforce, destined to champion Carey's social reforms in England's Parliament.

The question is to what extent the currents producing the Revolution in France (which took place after Carey's departure for India) were influential in shaping the man. The connection is somewhat dim. The American sources are more readily identifiable as a probable fountainhead of Carey's revolutionary ideas which were to become influential in India.

The major radical force in the formation of Carey, however, was his evangelical faith derived from the Bible and the theology of Jonathan Edwards. It has been noted that New England's Evangelical Awakening had spread from America to England where a prayer movement--originated in America by Edwards--had a moderating impact upon the Baptists of England with whom Carey had joined. His evangelical experience and study of the Bible together with reading of Church history and the record of the missionary activities of John Eliot and David Brainerd among the Native Americans in New England were primary sources of Carey's missionary notions leading to the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society which brought Carey to India in 1793.
5.6. Carey's Continuing Impact

The present critical study revealed that Carey's influence has lasted far beyond the immediate activities of the missionaries. Carey's grammars and dictionaries laid the foundation of modern Bengali prose, "a language which was till then more spoken than written." Today Bengali is recognized as a major vehicle of India's cultural renaissance.

5.7. Indigenous Christianity

That indigenous Christianity received an impetus from Serampore through the literary and social contributions of Carey and his Indian associates has been amply documented. The object was an Indian Church, one truly indigenous, rooted in the soil of India, not a replica of the Church in Europe. From this ferment emerged Hinduistic reform movements as well as Hindu-Christian movements and several indigenous Christian initiatives.

5.8. India's Renaissance

The study has brought to light the conflict between the
humanitarianism of the missionaries and the exploitative profit motive of the colonialists. Translation of the Bible into Indian languages, and accompanying literary and publication activities, plus experiments in horticulture and agriculture as well as social problems addressed, contributed to a cultural renewal in Bengal which resulted in movements for social reform and political awakening throughout India. Carey and Serampore performed a catalytic function contributing to the making of modern Independent India.

The entire Bible was translated by Carey into Sanskrit. This is another significant contribution of Carey. At Serampore College Sanskrit was required, and English was permitted, but Bengali was prerequisite for all further study.

Through its literary, educational and scientific achievements Serampore provided instruments for the development of modern India.

5.9. Concluding Summary

The character of Carey was forged in a context of poverty and evangelical faith. His early life was inspired and shaped by the revolutionary age in which he grew up in England--an age of exploration,
of emerging revolutionary political ideas in France, industrialisation in England, and American Independence. His faith was moulded by his study of the Bible. His mind was stretched through reading borrowed books. His theology was enlivened by the Evangelical Awakening and the impact of Jonathan Edwards’ theology upon the Particular Baptists of England. The American connection became tangible in India in the person of Captain Wickes, fervent American Presbyterian believer and chief conduit of personnel, information, prayer and financial support between America, England and Serampore. With the coming of American missionaries, the bond became established and the mission extended. In India Carey’s translation of the Bible into Bengali was the beginning of a monumental literary achievement by the Serampore Mission which had important ramifications for indigenous Christianity. Despite hardships and controversies, the mission progressed in India with Serampore the springboard. Much more can be told of the life and career of William Carey. But that is beyond our present purpose.

The present study has initiated on-going discussion on Carey’s connections to America as well as possibilities for further research.

Carey’s American connections carried significant implications for the development of the Serampore Mission and indigenous Christianity. Such efforts contributed to India’s Renaissance. From humble beginnings,
the example of Serampore and the processes set in motion from Serampore fostered a social and cultural awakening which birthed the national independence movement leading to India's re-emergence as a modern democratic State.

It would be a gross simplification to conclude that Carey's American connections led to the birth of the national independence movement. Undoubtedly, Carey and the Serampore Mission contributed much to the cultural awakening of India. However, there were also many other agencies and factors that shaped the cultural awakening and the birth of Indian Nationalism. The Tamil culture received a tremendous impact from both the Catholic and Protestant missions. The role of the introduction of English education which exposed Indian intelligentia to Western ideals cannot be exaggerated. Carey and Serampore were but one strand in the movement leading to modern democratic India.