

From Krishna Pal to Lal Behari Dey: Indian Builders of the Church in India or Native Agency in Bengal 1800-1880

Eleanor Jackson

Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies, University of Derby

E.Jackson@derby.ac.uk

This title has a distinctly eighteenth century ring to it, being a composite title created from my original title and that which was assigned to it in the 1997 Edinburgh *North Atlantic Missiology Project* consultation programme. It encapsulates the change in attitude to 'native agents' since the paternalism of the era so famously described in V.S. Azariah's address to delegates to the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference.(1) On the other hand, the problem in using my title is that the names of Krishna Pal (1764-1822) and Lal Behari Dey (1824-1894) are relatively unknown, although this would not have been the case during the years when they were active in mission service, and missionary magazines were required reading on the Victorian Sabbath both in Britain and Europe.(2) Hence the descriptive clause, 'Indian Builders of the Indian churches.'

'Indian Builders of the Indian Churches' is also more appropriate in the jubilee year of the Church of South India, at a time of celebrations for fifty years of Indian independence, and it is within that conceptual framework that this paper is constructed.

In each clause a chronological span is suggested. For in the first, Krishna Pal was the first Indian Baptist convert, baptised 28 December 1800 and received into full membership of the Church in Serampore on the first Saturday in 1801, and Lal Behari Dey, active even in retirement from his professorship, died at a venerable age in 1894 after more than forty years as missionary and minister of the Free Church of Scotland Mission. However, the fact that they conveniently span the century between them is a secondary motif in the main design of this paper. Rather, it is the fact that in moving from the one to the other we traverse the spectrum presented by the Indian pastors and evangelists who did so much to build up the Indian Church. Krishna Pal was a poor carpenter earning about Rs 4/- per month and renting his land and hut, his earning capacity limited by his asthma and his ganga habit.(3) Additionally it would appear he had to support his wife, sister-in-law, four daughters and his adopted son (who died young). Ordained in 1804, he was posted to various mission stations in Bengal by the Serampore Baptists, dying in post in Sylhet. He was even briefly pastor of the Lal Bazar Baptist Church, Calcutta, in 1812, although his name does not appear on the church register of pastors. Lal Behari Dey was the son of a village moneylender who had migrated from Dacca(Dhakha) to Talpur, and then moved a further 60 miles to Calcutta so that his son could have a secondary education, for which he paid by stock-broking. When the father, an upright man who had a great influence over his son, died in 1837, three years after sending his son to the now popular General Assembly's Institution in

Calcutta, Lal Behari was left practically destitute as his father had no land. Aided by a cousin and later by scholarships, he struggled on, reading voraciously, graduating in 1844 about a year after his hard fought conversion. He taught at Duff College (as the college was called which Duff had to found when he lost all mission property in the 1843 Disruption). He was licensed as a preacher in 1851 and ordained in 1855; and after independent pastoral charges in the Free Church of Scotland mission, became a Professor of English Literature at the Government Colleges in first in Berhampore and then in Hooghly and married the first Parsee woman convert, who had been educated in Scotland. His literary output in Bengali and English was prodigious(4). Yet Krishna Pal's family also demonstrated 'upward social mobility', for his third daughter married a rascally Brahman steward, Bhyrub, who forged Carey's signature and was excommunicated, but their son became an outstanding student of Sanskrit(5). However, it is the people in between these poles, Pran-Krishna, Baptist evangelist and small tenant farmer in Jessore (active c 1813-1829), Radhanath Das, son of a village blacksmith, who died on the eve of his ordination by LMS missionaries as a result of heroically nursing smallpox victims in Bhowanipur in 1844, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, a Kulin Brahmin, theologian and canon of Calcutta Cathedral (1813-1886) and so many others of equally diverse backgrounds, participating in a variety of Protestant church structures and mission strategies, with mixed success from an historian's point of view, who together with them constitute the fullness of the oekumene of the household of God in nineteenth century Bengal. For this is not a study of a few exceptional, well-known Indian Christians, role models for later generations, such the heroes of Rajaiah Paul's important little book, They Kept the Faith (Lucknow, 1968)(7), but an attempt to analyse the full extent of the Indian commitment to the propagation of the Gospel.

As part of this analysis it is necessary to consider the socio-economic background of Indian church workers, not least because missionaries such as Carey, Marshman and Ward in the first decades, and Joseph Mullens in mid-century considered the inter-caste (more accurately sub-caste or jati) community a theological statement of the authenticity of the Gospel and the Church in Bengal.(8) Yet Ward at least knew of the wrangles in the Serampore Church(9), and it is a striking fact that as far as can be discerned from available biographies of church workers, none of the converts who became pastors or evangelists on a permanent basis were drawn from untouchable groups or unclean professions (I am excepting, for the purposes of the discussion at this point, people of mixed race, who like Europeans, would be automatically counted as untouchable.) Even among the most egalitarian, the Serampore Baptists, leaders came principally from the kayast or so -called writer jati, followed by Brahmans and respectable Sudra trades people, cultivators and artisans. They could not even be said to be drawn from relatively underprivileged groups, or those inflicted with severe economic deprivation, though there were individual victims of misfortune. The only possible exceptions are lay leaders from the fishing communities in the fens south of Calcutta (the Sunderbunds)(10) or the villages around Krishnagar where CMS missionaries such as Bomwetsch attempted rural training.(11)

Why this should be so is an interesting question. Is it a consequence of the fact that to take the difficult and dangerous decision to become a Christian required a certain degree of personal and financial independence, which those deemed untouchable by Hindus, and, at this time by many Muslims, did not have? The first Baptist missionaries had expected a positive response from the rural communities around Goamalty and Malda, where Carey had worked as an indigo planter, similar to that of rural workers in the English midlands and Wales.(12) Carey's letter describing

the very different communities John Fountain found is well-known.(13) It frequently happened in the succeeding decades that itinerating missionaries and Indian evangelists were told by those whom they met that they were too poor to be concerned about religion.(14) They were much in fear of the landowners, the zemindars and the magistrates(15) as the LMS missionaries in the Sunderbunds discovered. Converts in the area around Jessore were the first, but not the last Bengali Christians, to discover that 'untouchable' social groups whose services they needed, such as barbers and midwives, boycotted converts despite their own lowly status.(16) Only when the landowner was a practising Christian, as in the case of Ignatius Fernandez (1757- 1830) at Dinagapore, did estate workers and their families join in significant numbers.(17) In fact, with the exception of Christians in the Krishnagur area who turned to the Protestant missions in large numbers after the floods and famine 1838-9, there is little evidence of 'rice' Christians in Bengal partly as a consequence of the low level persecution and government suspicion of converts. Finally, many converts could read, their attention having been caught by tracts such as Pitumber Singh's The Sure Refuge (a verse composition written in Bengali in 1802) or wanted to learn, or were educated in Christian schools or colleges. With the exception of the day schools for girls started by Miss Cooke (1822) and her successors in Calcutta, schoolchildren in Bengal tended not to be the poorest of the poor because they would not be able to earn while studying. Girls were frequently forced to leave their studies for an early marriage.(18) Nevertheless it is strange that ministerial candidates were not, as far as one can discern, drawn from the ranks of the orphan boys in the increasing number of orphanages set up to care for the victims of famines and natural disasters such Berhampore (Micaiah Hill, LMS), Burdwan (Weitbrecht, CMS), Benares, (Leupolt, CMS), Secunderabad, (Hoernle, CMS.) even though a number of these boys were baptised and remained loyal to their new faith throughout their lives. An even higher proportion of destitute girl orphans converted, and were in due course married to Christian boy orphans and catechists with the aim of creating Christian homes which would in themselves inspire conversions.(19)

The psychological background and personal experience of converts is less diverse than their sociological background. One very significant feature of many converts' stories is the fact that like Krishna Pal, they had belonged to a bhakti movement, either one with a living guru, or one derived in some way from Chaitanya, the great fifteenth century charismatic poet of the love of God.(20) These groups are bound together by special traditions, devotion to one particular deity, and among themselves there is no observance of caste, although outwardly in society they may conform to the social norms. There is much research still to be done on these movements, although Dr George Kottuppallil of Shillong has made a significant start on the Kharta Bhojas, often mentioned in Serampore and LMS reports as a potential source of converts. They are still regarded as subversive, not least because caste is disregarded, and from what one could gather from talking to friends in Bengal in the 1980s, are still, as in Carey's time, drawing their main strength from rural middle class (middle income) women.(21) A significant number of converts, like Krishna Pal, had even been wandering religious mendicants and 'gurus' themselves.(22) There was a high attrition rate both among converts and among candidates for ministry, with missionaries being continually disappointed by confidence tricksters and those 'on the make' among converts, to the extent that Micaiah Hill even wrote to the LMS in 1845 begging them not to publish details of their 'successes' because by the time their reports had reached England, been published, and copies of the missionary magazine reached India, the convert would have lapsed.

Ill health and premature death were responsible for greater losses, however, especially among rural evangelists.(23)

Many converts, when speaking of their religious quest, mention the impact of recent bereavements which turned their mind towards questions of salvation, or at the very least had made them quieter and more introspective. The difficulty is to know whether this self-selected group was typical of their class and age, or whether this was a distinctive experience. Obviously there is no 'control group' with whom one can compare them, not least because of the time span involved, and the diversity of situations. A fairly consistent effect of conversion on individuals and families is a great release of tension and guilt and almost ecstatic joy.(24) The latter at least is reminiscent of bhakti experience. This question shows how dangerous generalisations are, and yet these generalisations are an indication of trends or patterns.

As one can see from the data in the supplementary appendix, there are certain consistent features. This data is by no means complete, having been painstakingly compiled over many years of reading letters and reports from Bengal. In Calcutta itself, the churches' baptismal registers and related documents are well preserved, and the archives of Bishop's College hold much valuable material from a wider area, as well as the Church of Scotland collection. Papers from Serampore College were either lost in the various disasters which hit the mission such as the printing press fire of 1812, the flood of 1822, the evacuation of the library to Chinsurah in 1941, or were repatriated at intervals. The Serampore collection of periodicals and Serampore publications from 1801 onwards is an invaluable source.

Not only is the surviving documentation fragmentary, but too often we only have the accounts of missionaries, and not the words of Indian Christians themselves. Surviving Baptist letters and journals in English compiled by Indian evangelists(25) are very formal and stereotyped, but one cannot help wondering if the Bengali originals were censored in translation, in the same way that European missionary dispatches were. Not only were references to imbibing alcohol deleted from LMS reports of itinerations in the 1840s, but Professor Daniel Potts, in his monumental work on William Ward(26), has shown how controversial journal reports critical of Indian Christians were also excised. My own work comparing published and unpublished sources, London published and Serampore published respectively, showed something more complicated at certain periods. Accounts critical of Indian society and religion were highlighted, showing how dark things were without the Gospel. Comments commending aspects of Hindu, Sikh or Muslim practices were often excised.(27) From this alone it must be clear how necessary it is to apply not only the usual academic historiographical analysis of sources, but also textual critical and sociological analysis developed by New Testament scholars. In this way it may be possible to recover the authentic Indian voices behind the reports and the layers of European presentation and 'spin'. Given the imbalance in the availability of Indian and European sources, there is always the temptation to emphasise European attitudes to Indian Christians rather than vice versa. One further source not available to New Testament scholars nor always to church historians is the testimony of great grandchildren. Family collective memory can be helpful, though it can also be misleading if not collaborated from other sources. I was privileged in Calcutta to number among my friends great grand children of the famous FSCM Brahman converts and Peter Carey, great grandson of William. There is a similar dearth of Indian secular material outside the campaigning groups of Bengali intelligentsia, poets and businessmen.

To return to the issue of translation, there is a further issue which requires attention. In the old Baptist Hymn Book (no 213) there is a hymn attributed to Krishna Pal.

O Thou my soul, forget no more
 The friend who all thy misery bore
 Let every idol be forgot
 But O my soul, forget him not.
 Jesus for thee a body takes,
 Thy guilt assumes, thy fetters breaks,
 Discharging all thy dreadful debt;
 And canst thou e'er such love forget ?

There is no question that this hymn does bear a certain similarity to sentiments expressed by Bengali Christians as recorded in the Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission, but the idiom is so un-Bengali and the whole hymn so overloaded with theology that one suspects that the translator, one Joshua Marshman, did rather more than simply translate the Bengali. I was informed by the older members of the Serampore congregation that Krishna Pal did write some quite good Bengali hymns which were in the old Bengali hymnbook, though they are considered too old fashioned for the new hymn book. (A trend familiar to lovers of Hymns Ancient and Modern!) More significantly, Krishna Pal was a bhajan singer, and maintained his practice of singing devotional songs all night long when he became a Christian(28). It is unfortunate one cannot compare Krishna Pal's work with that of a younger convert who was more independent of missionary influence. For the Serampore Mission did possess a gifted musician to compare with Vedanagayam Sastriar (1774- c 1850) or Narayan Vadam Tilak (1862-1919) in Tarachand Datta, a village schoolteacher who ran a house church after his baptism by Ward in the LMS chaplain's pond in Chinsurah in March 1813. Tarachand poured out books, tracts, hymns and a Life of Christ in Bengali verse, but only one sparkingly fresh treatise survives in Serampore, written in 1814. After Ward went to England in 1819 nothing more is recorded of him, but the Bengali lyrics were sung for some decades, it seems.(29)

The question is, has Marshman superimposed his theology on Krishna Pal's experience ?.(30) To turn to the hymn again, casting off idolatry was not only a sine qua non for Marshman and his friends, but very important to Krishna Pal. He commemorated the step in other hymns he wrote, and in fact made the crucial decision when he joined the Kharta Bhojas in about 1784. The idea of liberation from the debt of sin also seems to have been authentic, judging by the remarks he made when he first encountered John Thomas and William Ward in 1800. He suffered from asthma and bronchitis, and appears to have been given to fits of depression and bad-temper. Just as faith healing by a guru brought him into the Kharta Bhoja fold, so the treatment he received from John Thomas for his dislocated shoulder inclined him to listen to the Christian message, which he described as a 'mantra for his soul'.(31) Physical healing and balm for the soul seem to have followed one another in Krishna Pal's case.

Ward describes him as tall and thin, forty years old and with a weakly constitution. Since his baptism no 'worldliness' had been found in him. He reports him as saying that Jesus Christ came to save sinners and now he longs for the salvation of others and calls on others to witness to their experience of love.(32) From his previous association with a bhakti cult, his letters to his

sponsors(33) and conversation with the Serampore missionaries, it is evident that the emphasis on love and mercy is genuine and sincere:

Infinite truth and mercy shine
In him, and He Himself is thine.

However, the final lines of the hymn, if not Marshman, are pure Isaac Watts /Dodderidge:

Till life itself depart
His name shall cheer and warm my heart
And lisping this, from earth I'll rise
And join the chorus of the skies.

Either that or the influence of Ward's 'See how these Christians die!'(34) is found here. The pages of Ward's journal reveal agonising over another problem. The missionaries, of whatever denomination, and their allies, the Church of England and the Church of Scotland Evangelical chaplains were all possessed of what they called 'experimental religion'. This was defined as a deep personal faith based on their own continuing experience of God's mercy and forgiveness, was highly individualistic and was expressed as guilt for one's sinfulness before a righteous God, acceptance of forgiveness through Jesus Christ and the transformation of one's moral and spiritual life. They wished to impart this joy of salvation and tended to expect converts to experience the same feelings in the same sequence.(35) This partly accounts for their evangelistic failures, for deep convictions of sin and an Old Testament view of righteousness do not easily relate to Hindu experience (36), and for their negative view of Hinduism, which many converts shared.(37)

Nevertheless one does see flashes of originality in sincere expressions of faith from even the humblest converts such as when Krishna Pal's sister-in-law, the first Bengali woman Baptist, declared that she had made Christ her afroy. (An afroy is the hut built for a hermit when he retreats into the forest)(38). The theologians of this period, however, such as Krishna Mohun Banerjea (Banurji), Nehemiah Goreh SSJE(1825-95)(39) and Lal Behari Dey, all came from the elite 'twice born' jatis, which has led to criticism of their theology today by the protagonists of modern 'dalit' theology(40). However, for Christian apologetics in the nineteenth century to have any creditability it was essential that they engage the Sanskrit and Vedantic traditions while also appealing to the middle class graduates of the new western educational system.

Mention of Joymooni (Jeyamuni?), an active unpaid evangelist who threw aside the traditions of semi-seclusion of her jati, visited Chandernagore to attempt to persuade her sisters-in-law and tramped the roads around Serampore accosting Brahmans and telling them to repent, reminds one of how many converts were active to a greater or lesser degree in evangelism. Simply the change in a person's character and lifestyle could be a powerful testimony to their neighbours(41), but first generation Christians are also found actively attempting to convert their friends and relatives, drawing others into worship, going out preaching with missionaries and getting involved in literacy work, in the writing of pamphlets and in translation work. Lay Christians were obviously also the core of the so-called 'model' Christian villages missionaries tried to create. Sometimes these were formed, as in Tamilnadu, because of the need for places of

refuge and employment. Others grew up like colonies around Christian institutions as accommodation for Christian workers, somewhat in the manner in which towns grew up around mediaeval monasteries, but others were deliberate attempts at social engineering. To which category one should assign the settlement made by Isaac Wilson 1826-28 around his wife's orphanage at Agurpura with converts poached from Serampore/Jonnagur(42) is a difficult question but the general aim was that of the 'city set on a hill' - a beacon in the prevailing heathen darkness. So from the best evangelical and humanitarian intentions societies were created which often became an abiding source of scandal, and even more often were the beginning of dependency relationships which continued from generation to generation. It could almost be called a Cadbury's Bournville Village syndrome. Even where there was no 'Christian village' individual families were expected to uphold the Victorian perception of the ideal Christian family as the hub of the mission. This, then, is the social, economic, educational and religious background from which pastors and evangelists were drawn. From the very beginning of Protestant Missions in Bengal, there was no lack of conviction that Indian evangelists were essential to the task in hand.

Carey was fully aware of the importance of the Indian contribution even before he came to India. He wrote in The Enquiry, 'It might likewise be of importance, if God should bless their labours, for them to encourage any appearance of gifts amongst the people of their charge; if such should be raised up many advantages would be derived from their knowledge of the language, and the customs of their countrymen, and their change of conduct would give great weight to their ministrations'.(43) In July 1798 he reiterated this: 'I know that if God were to bless our labours, much more might probably be done by one of the converted natives than by many foreigners, on account of his being so intimately acquainted with their customs, proverbs and prejudices. This happiness we do not at present possess. Until the Spirit is poured from on high, which I hope will be ere long, the mission must be supplied from England.' This seems to imply that there will come a time when inspired Indians will conduct the missions without supplies from England.(44)

In a report to the Society in October 1803 the missionaries counted among their most important blessings the presence of five or six brethren with a desire to evangelise, who possibly had ministerial talents. In August 1806 Marshman told Ryland, 'We have availed ourselves of the help of the native brethren ever since we had one who dared to speak in the name of Christ, and their exertions have chiefly have been the immediate means by which our church has been increased. But we have lately been evolving a plan for rendering their labours more immediately useful, namely that of sending them out two by two in the same way as European brethren. It appeared also as a most desirable object among us to interest in this work, as much as possible, the whole native church among us. Indeed we had much in them of this nature to commend.' Consequently they held an extraordinary church meeting explaining the reasons why Indians had a duty to evangelise India even more than Europeans had. They got together a committee headed by Krishna Pal and Ram Rooten, a Hindi-speaking Brahman convert who had previously been a wandering ascetic, in order to organise systematic evangelism both on a full time and a part-time basis with the expenses paid by the church, and where necessary, the support of the families of the brethren absent on itineration.(45) This seems actually to have been the most significant of a number of initiatives taken by Indian Christians, principally Krishna Pal, and paid for by the Serampore Congregation. The impetus to evangelise seems to have subsequently ebbed away,

probably because most of those named as being committed to the scheme either became full time paid evangelists and were transferred to other stations as they opened after 1809, as in the case of Ram Rooten, Ram Prasad or Sebuk-Rama, or, as in the case of the third Bengali to be ordained, Pitumber Singh, they died.(46) However, as activity by converts and their families in Serampore itself declined, that by Serampore College students increased, two facts probably not unconnected with each other.

One of the clearest statements of the Serampore Mission's policy comes in a Review of the State of the Mission in 1817(47). Rejoicing that there has now been an increase in the number of missionaries from 5 to 14, and that there are now three Evangelical clergymen in post who have the work of God as much at heart as any missionary, they note the increase in local brethren with their superior knowledge of Bengali, accustomed to the constant fatigue of working in the Calcutta climate and generally more successful in explaining the Gospel.

European missionaries are essential to plant the Gospel, but then, as in the Book of Acts, local elders should be ordained. The European missionaries do not have miraculous gifts like the apostles, but with their superior knowledge of the Gospel, steadiness and energy they can supply what natives lack. However for the cost of bringing a European family from England, training them and maintaining them, one could maintain twenty natives. Twenty natives would be preferable because a great amount of ground could be covered in itinerations and so on, but one European at each station is currently indispensable (In practice there were usually two or three European families at each station for mutual support, and so that illness and death did not annihilate the work. The CMS adopted the same system at Burdwan, Krishnagur, Mirzapore(Bengal) and Benares, but then in the first decades had the problem of friction between German and British missionaries.)

Whereas all Protestant missions were agreed about the need for Indian co-workers, self-supporting congregations and indigenisation of the Gospel, there was considerable variation even between members of the same Society concerning the means and speed with which this could be achieved. There were also conflicting pressures from society, practical difficulties for missionaries attempting to move out of cantonment areas and suburbs into more 'Indian' areas, and missionaries were insufficiently sensitive to the issues, with undercurrents of racism in many disputes.(48) Part of Dr Copley's paper also provides a commentary on this point.

So what kind of training was appropriate ?

It was with the expressed aim of raising up evangelists, pastors and leaders born in India who would be the equals in education and learning of any Hindu pundit or guru that Serampore College was founded in 1818 to institutionalise an informal training class that had existed for several years. In report after report and letter after letter, the Serampore Missionaries argued the cost effectiveness, appropriateness, efficiency and theological rationale for this step to a sceptical and hostile BMS.(49) In 1827, after arguing these points in a Confidential Statement to the Baptist Missionary Society, Marshman attempted to explain that in Europe there was a consensus on morality and philosophy, the rules of debate and so on, but in India Christians had to start from scratch in any dialogue:

'Moreover these brethren will have to argue these questions with the most acute and subtle opponents and in proportion as Christianity may prevail in India, this warfare will wax hotter and hotter, since it cannot be supposed that the Hindu pundits who in acuteness of intellect in opposition to the truth were never exceeded by the Celsuses and Porphyres of the primitive ages, will not dispute every inch of the ground when their reputation and their support are so deeply involved in the contest. This struggle, too, between light and darkness, between truth and error in the plains of India will probably be most strenuous when the European brethren to whom they have been accustomed to resort when pressed with difficulties by their opponents have been laid in the grave, and when these Asiatic and native brethren will have to stand their ground against the most acute and learned opponents, deprived of all that adventitious weight at present added to the cause by the European name.' To permit them to go into that fight without preparation would be betraying the truth since they must rely on reason and learning, not miraculous powers such as the apostles had. Similarly the Reformation would have collapsed had not a second generation received appropriate college education. It was a great comfort to him in his declining years to know that John Mack, J.C.Marshman and William Swan, who had just joined the college, were able to raise up men of devotion and intellectual calibre from among the children of native Christians and Europeans.

Marshman had in fact identified an existing problem, inasmuch as they had no one of the calibre of Rammohun Roy when he engaged in dialogue with the Baptist missionaries in 1816. William Yates, the newly arrived linguist who continued Carey's work and made the definitive Bengali translation of New Testament, was too young, Deocar Schmid (CMS) too pedantic, William Adam(BMS) too impressionable and was easily 'converted', Alexander er Duff had not yet arrived, and Marshman himself wrote diatribes rather than dialogue. It was the General Assembly's Institution, created by Duff in 1830 response to the urban demand for premier English medium education, resourced far above and beyond anything the Serampore missionaries could manage and supported in the precarious opening terms by Rammohun himself, which fulfilled Marshman's criteria. This was because Carey insisted, for very sound reasons ahead of his age, on Bengali medium education, with science and Sanskrit featuring most prominently in the curriculum; because the BMS thought it too grandiose, with 60 students in a building designed for 600 (though 2,000 students today appreciate the space) and because from 1815 Serampore's harbour began to silt up, and trade declined so that there was not a sufficient population to support the expansion of the college, even if it had met the requirements of the emerging Indian middle classes.

Interestingly, Bishop's College, founded in 1818 too, in Shibpur, on the river banks below Calcutta, by Bishop Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, with much the same purpose, struggled also because the CMS was reluctant to support it, and tried in 1835 to start its own graduate training scheme under Johannes Haeberlin, originally of the Basel Mission, but failed.(50) Whatever Bishop Daniel Wilson's reservations about Professor Street, as a 'Puseyite' whom he would have rejected had he realised the significance of a reference given by one J.H. Newman, he did support the college, the more so after Street's inspiring death. He and his successors encouraged boys from all over India, from Burrna and from Sri Lanka to study there. They included children

of the Lutheran missionaries in Tranquebar.(51) Like Serampore and what is now known as Scottish Churches' College to this day, it did originally provide a general university style education to anyone who could pay for it. Unlike them, it did not affiliate itself to the University of Calcutta when this collegiate university was created in 1858, and although it nurtured the poet many Bengalis consider the most mellifluous and the best poet of the 19th century Bengal renaissance, Michael Madhusudan Seel, it became an all India theological college, moving from Shibpur to a central location in Calcutta in the 1880s. In William Kay, (staff member 1848-65), and in its Vice Principal K.M. Banerjea it had the Christian apologist Marshman envisaged, since in his 'Vedic Theology' Banerjea sought to counter the challenge of Swami Dayananda Saraswati and the Arya Samaj.(52) Nehemiah Goreh also wrote and published his A Mirror of the Hindu Philosophical Systems in Hindi while studying in Bishop's College 1857-58.

The LMS missionary John Campbell (b 1804, Bengal service 1833-46) has always been overshadowed by his high profile contemporary Alexander Duff. He was a graduate of the University of Aberdeen who was equally gifted in the classroom, but was also a fluent Bengal speaker, ably supported by his wife, and by his sister-in-law, Miss Smart, who ran a parallel institution for girls. He had to fight the LMS every inch of the way to establish the Bhowanipore Institution in 1837, and without the support of his colleagues, especially of Thomas Boaz, the formidable Scarborough born chaplain of the Union Chapel, Calcutta 1834-1860 and a ruthless fund-raiser, it would have been discontinued when he was discovered in flagrant during his wife's sick leave in Scotland, and he had to resign. Both the Bhowanipore Institution and Serampore College received most of their support from local sources or private benefactors in Europe and America with whom they were in direct contact. At Bhowanipore attempts were made to learn from the older institutions. The theological class was based in the college but was conducted in Bengali as far as possible with students doing placements with itinerating missionaries or from the 1850s in the growing self-supporting Bengali congregations. The students were by no means drawn from the higher castes alone, but from correspondence surrounding the appointment of William Blake to the staff in 1860, despite their opposition on the grounds of his mixed race, (53) it would seem there were no 'Anglo- Indian' students, unlike Serampore and Bishop's College. Ordinands served a long apprenticeship, the first long serving evangelists being ordained by LMS missionaries in 1861. This became increasingly the pattern in other denominations, with the result that by the turn of the century in some missions there were fourteen grades of catechist/evangelist before a person was a fully ordained minister. It is very reminiscent of the system in the Indian Railways, and it is hardly surprising that more gifted and ambitious second generation converts preferred to work in the Y.M.C.A or secular professions. Thus the professional trained evangelist and clergy were created.

This was a far cry from the Serampore system with which this discussion commenced. The so-called 'younger brethren' who left Serampore and formed the Lower Circular Road in Calcutta mission(54) argued that because William Carey was pre- occupied with translations, Ward with the Serampore press and Marshman with his schools and fund-raising, all the missionary work for the last 20 years had devolved on the native brethren, and the Serampore missionaries criticised any other methods. 'Hence their frequent comparison of native and European agency in disseminating the Gospel and their marked preference for the former and disparagement of the latter..... native agents have been so eulogised for their great adaptation to the work, especially for the very low expense at which their labour may be obtained that to send brethren from

Christendom, except one now and then for the purpose of support must be viewed as an absurd exhaustion of funds and an unnecessary, if not wanton, sacrifice of life.' This, the Calcutta Brethren insisted, deterred people from volunteering as missionaries while the native brethren were totally inadequate to the task of taking charge of a mission station. Significantly, the Calcutta Brethren kept their catechists with them all the time and insisted that they would continue to do so until a better class of native evangelist emerged. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that the Calcutta Brethren did not consider the 'natives' their equals and resented being displaced by them, at least in Carey, Marshman and Ward's affections.(55) Their other criticism, which others shared, was that converts were sent out to preach too soon after their conversion, and there was some ground for this. Relatively few converts were like Krishna Prasad and Sebuk-Rama who wanted to stand up and tell the world about their experiences immediately, especially knowing the hostile reception they would be given. In fact in the 1840s and 1850s Joseph Mullens and Edward Storrow of the Bhowanipore Institution had to explain repeatedly that high caste converts should not automatically be seen as future pastors and evangelists: they did not believe in admitting them to Church membership the day they were baptised. It would take time to educate them and discover whether they had a vocation. Those responsible for evangelism programmes for trainees from Bishop's College report great dissatisfaction with the calibre of native and 'country born' evangelists.(56)

There is no question that the responsibility Serampore placed on its convert evangelists was very great, especially in view of the lack of any precedent in North India and Burma, and the lack of church 'infrastructure' to support the men and their families. Obsessed with an eschatological imperative to preach the Gospel to every people and tribe in India before the end of the world, they tried to man all the main centres of trade and population between Delhi (for forays into the Punjab) and Puri on the Bay of Bengal; Moulmain, Chittagong, Dhaka, Cox's Bazar and Rangoon in the sea deltas, Cherriapungi and Assam in the hills. There was even an outpost in Colombo, Sri Lanka long after the change in the East India Company's charter in 1813 made it unnecessary for James Chater to remain there. Each station had a band of 'native evangelists' paid from Serampore and directed by one of their trained missionaries, whether European, 'country born' or Indian. Often very lonely and poverty stricken, it is not surprising some lapsed into drink or adultery. The problem, as both the Baptists and the LMS found, was that when unsatisfactory employees were dismissed, they were in danger of starvation because they had been ostracised by their communities and could not find alternative employment. Consequently, since this would not reflect well on the Christian community, they had to be found alternative employment, in the printing presses or the schools, respectively. However, after about 1860 the demand for clerks to run the empire's infrastructure became so great that it would seem that this ceased to be a problem. It seems also that the LMS theological students whose health cracked under the punishing schedule of lectures and practical work could also be found clerical positions.(57)

One reason for the fluid situation with regard to training was because the patterns which missionaries brought with them were so varied, and it was not clear what was practical, desirable or necessary in India. Interestingly, all the major institutions were founded on an ecumenical basis. It was intended that young men should be accepted from any denomination, and other religious bodies were invited to contribute. Alexander Duff was particularly disappointed that no other church body apart from the Church of Scotland was, in the end, prepared to co-sponsor the

college. By default it became The General Assembly's Institution. The question was further complicated by the great controversy Duff provoked, with his alleged preference for evangelism through teaching rather than preaching(58) and urban work rather than work in the moffusil, which the Serampore missionaries had attempted. A huge debate about missionary strategy opened up - but it would require another paper to do justice to it, and one is simply concerned with Indian evangelists. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the question of appropriate training for pastors and evangelists took place against this backdrop, with constant demands for more cost-effective mission from home boards, and pleas from serving missionaries for long-term planning, once it was clear that the Day of Judgement would be delayed.

Similarly, training for missionaries became more formalised and more confessionally based as the century wore on. CMS candidates were sent to the CMS college at Islington, even if born in India, and if German they had studied in the Basel Mission or a specialised institute in Berlin or a university. Increasingly university graduates were recruited, especially from Trinity College, Dublin. Scottish candidates had a very similar university education to their contemporaries at home. LMS missionaries came from a variety of free church colleges if they had not been able to enrol in a Scottish university. Women had usually been educated privately until teacher training colleges and medical colleges were created for them at the end of our period. So it is not surprising that there was conflict over appropriate training and even suggestions that 'Indian missionaries' should study in Britain.(59) One cannot help wondering if some of the animosity towards the FCSM high caste converts was not inspired subconsciously by jealousy of their higher social standing and academic attainments.

Training cannot be separated from actual ministry. One can identify five broad categories of evangelistic worker:

First, there were a number of illiterate or semi-literate 'bible women' types. Often elderly, they had considerable skills as musicians or story-tellers and simply by sitting under a Banyan tree and talking could have great influence, as in the case of a converted victim of hook-swinging from the weaver jati, Rughoonat'h (Rughoo). He sang hymns incessantly, became a kind and loving husband, and quietly commanded the Gospel (baptised December 1805, died March 1808)(60).

Vrindhavun of Diga, companion-counsellor of William Moore, is the supreme example of this, but one should not forget the women employed as bible women to visit zenanas, whose formal education was often minimal.

Secondly, a class whose contribution is frequently under-estimated because the effect was so uneven, are the settled professionals. These range from the small-holders such as Prankrishna of Jessore who built up a substantial Baptist church there, to schoolteachers such as Tarachand Datta, already mentioned, and his brother Mut'hora. They were generally superintended by a missionary, and the advantage was that, as in the case of John Smith of Barisal(Indian mother, son of William Smith, much loved BMS missionary in Benares, not to be confused with the slightly younger CMS missionary of the same name) they were financially self sufficient. Lal Behari Dey also falls into this category because, when he resigned from the Free Church of Scotland Mission owing to his wife's insistence that after the deaths of three of their children

they leave their insanitary FCSM house, and his own need for an academic post, denied to him by certain FSCM missionaries, he maintained his connection, and always conducted services on Sundays wherever he was.(61) Baptists in particular exploited this category because in Baptist church order, only four baptised members are needed to form a congregation and elect a pastor. Congregations should pay their own pastor if necessary. This system works well in a primary mission situation. The problems arise when the congregation grows so much that more time is required for pastoral care than the pastor can give, when he wants to devote more time to evangelism, as in the next category, and when he loses his secular post, or is transferred.

The third category is the ordained missionary with independent charge, itinerating around his parish as required. Here the supreme example of an Indian with such responsibility is Willay'at Ali, who led the Baptist congregation in Delhi after the death of J.T. Thompson until his martyrdom II May 1857(62) A similar figure was Revd Gopinath Nundi (1809-1861) who was converted after a lecture by Duff in 1832, and first worked for Daniel Corrie as head of a school for orphans in Futtehpur, UP, before being licensed by the American Presbyterians in Allahabad to Furrukkabad in December 1843. In 1853 he moved back to Futtehpur. Captured and tortured in May 1857 for three days, he was miraculously rescued by Major Brazier's Sikhs but died during surgery for his unhealed wounds.(63) Abdul Masih, ordained by Deocar Schmid and German Lutheran CMS missionaries in Calcutta in 1820, and by Bishop Heber to Agra in 1824, did itinerate towards Delhi before illness, a hernia and corpulence overcame him, as did his junior colleague, Revd Anundo Masih, who was theoretically supervised by Revd Henry Fisher, chaplain in Delhi and CMS missionary, Revd Richards of Meerut, but was eventually dismissed because of his alcoholism.(64)

It was in relation to this category that the CMS in North India worked out its policy with regard to ordination in 1848. Firstly, missionaries should only recommend someone for ordination if a native congregation exists. The pastor is ordained for that congregation, is responsible for it, and they for him. The work of evangelising the heathen should be left to missionaries and native catechists. The catechist is responsible for enquirers. Their work would be chiefly pastoral.

Secondly, all should be aware of the dangers of creating Indian Church of England clergymen, who would be seen as well-paid agents of a foreign power, and being 'paid to believe', would lose influence with their social circle. Thirdly, there should be a national salary scale, with salaries drawn from a local fund. They would be CMS employees, not a particular missionary's. Finally, their motives and character, having been tested by long service, would not be financial. Those of sufficient calibre could rise to be national missionaries such as John Devasahayam (Kadachapuram, 1833-64) or Samuel Crowther.(65) These principles were broadly followed until 1880, with the consequences Dr Copley has illustrated, an increasing dichotomy between missionary and Indian pastor and congregation, between church and mission which has only been redressed in this century, on the one hand by ecumenical study on the nature of mission and the church(66), and on the other by the formation of the Y.M.C.A./Y.W.C.A and its evangelistic work, the development of Indian missionary societies and the co-operation of Indians and Europeans in ashram movements and religious orders, such as the Church of South India sisterhood, the Delhi brotherhood and the Oxford Mission to Calcutta.(67)

Despite CMS policy, the third category overlaps with a fourth category, the travelling evangelist, though missionaries tended to take over this role with their cold weather itineration which virtually all LMS missionaries for example, were expected to undertake. The image of John Wesley exercised a powerful influence, not just in the writing of journals, but in the distances covered. By 1850s there had been a number of ecumenical partnerships, but even earlier there are examples of all the missionaries and native brethren in a particular area travelling to melas, the great pilgrim festival gatherings at sacred sites such as Hardwar, Allahabad and Puri to work together to preach the Gospel.

This leads on to the final category concerning which it is difficult to write much, except in the context of relationships between missionaries and Indians, the assistant to the missionary, which practically all those mentioned in the above pages were at some point in their careers.

There is no space to discuss the missionary myth, but it is a recurrent motif from 1793, when Carey landed and found John Thomas's claims about the number of potential converts greatly exaggerated, and Ram Basu his future pundit unconverted. The 'younger brethren' who arrived 1812-19 thought they would find an idyllic community, and were sadly disillusioned. Reading through decades of CMS correspondence it seems the process continued. It still continues with unrealistic expectations of the Church of North India and the Church of South India. Disillusion then soured relationships, while increasingly after 1860 experienced Indian pastors and evangelists resented fresh young Englishmen with inadequate grasp of the language and perhaps overmindful of the sacrifices they had made to come out to India telling them what to do, and disappearing to the hills or back home when the going got tough.(68)

It is easy to exaggerate, as one suspects the depressed missionary often did, the unsatisfactoriness of Indian pastors and congregations, forgetting that the chief obstacle to the spread of the Gospel in India was always the conduct of Europeans in India, and what was perceived as their immorality and love of money.(69) Dr Copley has alluded to the friction over salaries in the Free Church of Scotland. This was a problem in the LMS and the CMS at the same time, but was settled, from the missionary point of view, by the adoption of a common policy and scale at one of the meetings of the Calcutta Missionary Conference.(70) The rules of comity were also designed, as far as possible, to prevent catechists trading off one mission against another in negotiations for higher wages. Excepting the FSCM missionaries, Europeans were chronically underpaid(71), but since the salary of a single European was at least two and a half times that of the best paid Indian, resentment arose.(Rs225p.m/ Rs90(FSCM) Rs40 senior CMS/LMS catechist/probationer.) However, the real crisis was the refusal of Duff and his colleagues to allow Lal Behari and his colleagues to join mission councils. Consequently they were members of the Presbytery and of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, but had no say in the affairs of the mission. It was this kind of powerlessness which led to attempts to form an Indian National Church, as mentioned by Dr Copley. The persistent consequences are discussed in Michael Hollis's well-known book, *Paternalism and the Church*. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that sixteen Indian evangelists died for their faith in the Indian Mutiny because, unlike missionaries, they were not killed for communal reasons, but, so far as can be ascertained, were given a chance to recant.(71) Unknown numbers of ordinary Indian Christians also died, except where they could be protected in the forts of Agra, Lucknow, Benares and Allahabad. They

proved they were not hirelings (Jn 10v12) but except for the Greenway family of Kanpur, mixed race Baptist workers, I have not found any commemorated on the 1857 memorials.

As can be seen from the volume of footnotes, the evidence of Indian involvement in the building of the church in India discussed above is only the tip of the iceberg, One could also discuss at length the financial contribution, or lack of it, the question of maintaining Indian identity in church and home and Indian culture, and the involvement of Indian Christians in social reform such as the ending of child marriages or temperance campaigns, and the rise of patriotism. However, that would unduly prolong this piece, so I will conclude with the Jackson equation for success in mission, speaking in historical and sociological rather than theological terms. Briefly, the quantifiable rate at which a mission takes root and spreads, and the quality of and ability of converts depends on the speed with which Indians of upright character, sincerity and ability, and good health can be engaged in evangelism. Add to this the spontaneous evangelism factor and the Tertullian factor and multiply by the indigenisation of church polity. If one starts with the last line first, Christianity spreads more quickly when church structures can be accommodated more closely to natural sociological structures, such as family, clan, tribe, jati and so on, and if power and authority are devolved to the grassroots. The Presbyterian/congregational system has worked very well in India because of the system of independent local congregations electing members for a church council and then to regional councils. It has obvious similarities to the village panchayat or the infonnal jati council of elders. However, as has been said, the more flexible Baptist system of creating churches wherever there were four Christians gathering for worship initially worked even better. There was no need for a hierarchy, expensive buildings or time consuming administration, and sufficient funding could often be found locally. Power lies with the local congregation and they referred problems to the Bible, not to canon law or the bishop. The Serampore Controversy was also about whether they had to refer issues to the home board, and controlling property locally. The danger was that Christianity would become another bhakti movement.

The Tertullian factor is the phrase he made immortal, 'Behold how these Christians love one another.' which was the sarcastic comment of observers of the third century church. A real fellowship of love and people full of love will draw others to them. Analysing the membership of Bengal rural churches, one finds a totally disproportionate number of widows. It seems that either they had no-one to care for them, or they were lonely, and were entering the third stage of life when Hindus expect to concentrate on religion. There were various schemes in the Baptist churches whereby they could earn a little money spinning or weaving or cleaning rice and efforts were made to teach them to read. Of course a widow had no husband to forbid her to convert.

Secondly the uncompromising stand over caste in Bengal deterred many inquirers, but strengthened the fellowship of those who did convert. Indians could see how the early Baptists ate, slept and travelled together with the Indian evangelists, nursed them when ill, and were not ashamed to act as pall bearers.(72) One would still like to know, though, why, when Revd Tarachand Banerjea, a Scottish convert, married a Miss Griffiths in 1860, the marriage had to take place in the Baptist church, Entally, and not St Andrew's Church or Duff Church, Cornwallis Square.(73) One of the principal reasons why the LMS missions in South Calcutta and Berhampore collapsed was the quarrelsomeness of the Christians among themselves, and the

un-Christian spirit of the CMS mission to the Kharta Bhojas curtailed the development of a base there.

Spontaneous evangelism is a rather like spontaneous combustion. It has been observed academically among black churches in Africa and the Caribbean. It is rarer in India, but is the principal means whereby the mass movements sprang up. Dr Copley has mentioned one instance. In Bengal there were groups found worshipping together in villages because one person had received a tract or a New Testament and decided the contents were true. Sometimes the movement was restricted to a single family, as in the case of the important Baptist convert and minister, Pitumber Singh, whose holy death inspired his Hindu relatives who were found worshipping together using his New Testament fifty years after his death.(74)

The Baptists had the advantage of being first in the field, but also the handicap of having to do the initial translation work, write the first grammars and had to work without precedents, in the teeth of hostility from all sides. But they were fortunate in the calibre of some of first workers. They and other educated missionaries provoked and encouraged the 'Bengal Renaissance' and social reform to a considerable degree, which in turn nurtured the later educated converts, like Lal Behari. In short, the church was more Indian than is usually acknowledged, and more dependent for success on Indian hard work and creativity than is generally appreciated.

Dr E.M. Jackson

University of Derby

ENDNOTES

1. Through all the ages to the Indian Church will rise up in gratitude to attest the heroism and self-denying labours of the missionary body. You have given your goods to feed the poor; you have given your bodies to be burned; we also ask for love. Give us friends.' Mott, J (ed) World Missionary Conference 1910 Vol. IX Addresses and Other Records. Edinburgh 1910. p 306f
2. By the 1880s there were also board games and card games featuring missionary work. Fund-raising sermons such as Henry Martyn's sermon on behalf of the Bible Society preached in Calcutta November 1811 and sermons preached on the anniversaries of the missionary societies were also circulated. See accounts of Krishna Pal in the Baptist Annual Register ed. by Revd John Rippon (copies for 1788-1805 in Birmingham University Library) and in Morris, I The Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society bound as Vol. II , Clipstone 1806, numbered as vol. VII-XII Serampore. 1801-1804. etc.
3. The wages of a journeyman carpenter were Rs 7/-. Petumber Singh and Krishna Pal were both paid Rs 12/- when they were first employed by the Serampore brethren as evangelists. Periodical Accounts vol. XIII Marshman's Journal Jan - Dec 1803. p 405. entry for 6.5.1803.
4. The principal published sources for the life of Lal Behari Dey are G. Macpherson, A Life of Lal Behari Dey. Edinburgh 1900, Mrs B Dey, Reminiscences. second edition, Calcutta. 1919. Rajaiah Paul They kept the Faith. Lucknow, 1968. Lal Behari's output is

astonishing. Most popular were Govinda Samanta,(1871), a novel set in rural Bengal, and Folk Tales of Bengal but he wrote a successful play, The Meghnad Badha or the Death of the Prince of Lanka. A Tragedy in Five Acts. which has gods and goddesses floating around and the hero is murdered while worshipping Agni. He also edited a literary magazine and produced papers on Christian ministry for ecumenical missionary conferences.

5. Panchoo b 1814 was the first Indian student admitted to Serampore College and is described by Revd Buckingham as a 'very interesting' youth of whom he had high hopes. June 1831. Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission. New Series Vol. XVIII. no 73. His progress is also mentioned in the Abstract of the Report for 1827 of Serampore College. His classmates in 1827 were Indian born Europeans, a son of a 'Portuguese' Baptist missionary and two Singhalese Baptists.
6. See the excellent biography and selection of his writings by T.V. Philip: Krishna Mohun Banerjea: Christian Apologist CISRS, Confessing the Church in India Series no 15, 1982. Kulin Brahmans stood highest on the social scale in Bengal, and were notorious for a system of polygamy whereby one man had scores of brides he rarely visited who were maintained by their parents. Kulinism is now illegal. Krishna Mohun however, came from a close-knit family and had received a thorough grounding in Sanskrit learning from his maternal grandfather. His biographer lists 44 publications from sermons to solid academic works on the history and culture of India. He was baptised in 1832 and ordained in 1838 to Christchurch, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta, where he ran schools and an orphanage before becoming professor and assistant principal of Bishop's College. From 1870 he was President of the Bengal Christian Association, a movement dedicated to creating an Indian Church financed by Indians. See Boyd, R. Indian Christian Theology, Madras, 1969. pp 280-284.
7. Following the establishment of western colleges of higher education in and around Calcutta there were a number of high profile conversions of Bengali Brahman teenagers, many of whom subsequently became ministers and evangelists, initially in the Anglican churches because the Church of Scotland's General Assembly did not grant the presbytery in Bengal authority to conduct ordinations until 1838, and the LMS missionaries, after bad experiences with one or two inadequate individuals (from an intellectual point of view, not a moral or spiritual one) were reluctant to go down that path. Duff intended his graduates to spread his education system across India. In fact his converts provided leadership in missions across North India in parallel fashion, as not all could be employed in Bengal. See John C.B. Webster, Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India. Delhi 1976.
8. eg re Krishna Pal's daughter's marriage to Krishna Prasad, a Brahman convert. Of the wedding feast Ward wrote ' I fancy most of us ate heartily. It was the first instance of our eating at the home of native brethren. All sat with great cheerfulness. The neighbours were amazed. It was a singular sight in the land of the clean and the unclean..... a Brahman married to a Soodar in a Christian way, Englishmen eating with the married couple at the same table in the same house. If Hindu chronicles are true this has not happened in Bengal for millions of years.' Periodical Accounts vol. XII. Ward's Journal p 292. Compare this with the Report on Serampore in 'Review of the Mission. December 1817. Also printed in the Periodical Accounts vol. 33. pp 294-332 . 'Although the great body of natives within this circle (of about 200 Christians living in and around

Serampore- EMJ) are as yet neither freed from the chain of caste nor the fetters of superstition which can hardly be expected in any one spot, until there be a general diffusion of light throughout the country, that were the European brethren by any adverse providence to be wholly removed, we cannot but think the Lord would plant the Gospel here through the gifts he has raised up in the country itself. Could we but see the rest of Bengal like this little spot, our hearts would rejoice exceedingly, but this is not to be expected until the Lord pours out his Spirit.' See Mullens, J in Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant held at Calcutta, September 4-7, 1855. For a comprehensive discussion of the subject see Forrester, Duncan: Caste and Christianity. London. 1980.

9. Vividly portrayed in the unpublished sections of William Ward's Journal, whereas in the published Periodical Accounts from about 1804 onwards it is merely noted that particular individuals, usually , have been suspended from membership for quarrelsomeness. A good example is a dispute between Gokol and Unno (his wife) and Krishna, apparently based in personal jealousy. 'God, we trust will bring good out of this evil. It has furnished us with an opportunity of laying before our Hindu brethren and sisters the necessity of universal holiness..... we are determined not to retain in the church any who are not willing to depart from iniquity.' 3 January 1802. Periodical Accounts p 238f. The corresponding entry in Ward's Journal is much bleaker and shows the quarrel went on for months. Quarrelsomeness, drunkenness and general laxity were also reported in the journal extracts of Leechman and Buckingham concerning the Jonnagar community. 1828-31 Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission New Series.(Serampore Ref. X1052, X1053).
10. G.A Gogerly,(1794-1877) in a singularly biased and inaccurate autobiographical account of the EMS in Bengal, The Pioneers, London 1871, nevertheless reflects material in the LMS archives(now available on IDC microfiche) as he describes itinerations travelling Indian style among these villages. See also Mullens, J. Brief Memorials of the Revd Alphonse Francois Lacroix . London 1862. In recent years, however, there have been a succession of promising Church of North India ordinands at Bishop's College, Calcutta, drawn from these villages.
11. Bomwetsch complained vehemently that a trainee evangelist from the Bhowanipore Institution, Tarachand Banerji was useless. He needed a labourer, not a gentleman. (Letter. 6.3.1855. Three weeks later Banerji begged to be allowed to itinerate with him) CMS archives, University of Birmingham. North India collection. C I/1 050/33 & 35. Bomwetsch's reports on Krishnagur 1850-55. He used 'sandwich course' principles with a class of 24 boys, teaching entirely in Bengali so that the boys would be of service immediately and would not be alienated from their people by English education. When he began in 1850 it was still thought impossible to teach divinity or science in Bengali, yet he wrote textbooks and proved it could be done. To his gratification, the boys outperformed a class of Brahman lads at a nearby Hindu school. In 1863 C.H. Blumhardt, as the sole survivor of the 1838 Krishnagur missionaries, was writing that of the 4,000 converts, very few sought the truth. They sought temporal help. They were a very low set of people, illiterate and uninstructed. The majority too old and dull to learn. A native ministry was needed but he could not find any suitable candidates. There were good teachers in Santipore, but none were suitable for ordination.

12. The rapid expansion of Baptist churches in these areas is chronicled in John Rippon's Baptist Annual Register, the accounts juxtaposed with Carey's reports from Bengal. It is estimated that there was a quadrupling of Baptist membership in England and Wales 1780-1804 despite the growing momentum of Methodism.
13. Carey reported that John Fountain, who joined him in 1796, expected European style farmers, and hospitality, not one or two cows, three to four bullocks and pigeons at farmsteads, no sheep and no hospitality. Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society. vol. I p 329 Clipstone. 1800.
14. 3 Feb 1794. Carey comments that the natives are so poor they have to labour from sunrise to sunset and have little time for listening to the Gospel. Extracts from Mr Carey 's Journal. - Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society. Vol. I pub Clipstone 1800. He then wrote that people were always saying > Sir, we hear what you say, but nothing stays in our minds. We are poor, ignorant people. How can we possibly understand ? ' This was only said to excuse indolence in not examining the differences between their superstitions and the Gospel. Ibid. Letter dated 22 November 1796. cp. Bomwetsch's letter to the CMS in support of Revd James Long who, he says, is much misunderstood by his colleagues, though no-one understands the economic situation better than he.' No man is clearer than Mr Long that, independent of who the oppressors be, a peasantry kept in serfdom worse almost than actual slavery can never be the object of mission opportunity. Our missionary calling therefore must, until they be liberated, always be in close connection with the social condition of the peasantry. 'Ibid Bomwetsch. CMS archives University of Birmingham.
15. Land was usually held jointly and by custom by Muslims and by caste Hindus. Titles were continually in dispute but tenant farmers (ryots) were ruthlessly exploited either by the share-cropping system imposed by the traditional landowners or the colonial planters after a pattern originally developed in the Ottoman Empire. The term zemindar(Pers.) is generally defined as a landowner responsible for paying taxes to the government, but it came to denote a system of hereditary tax farming. Zemindars had their own militias to enforce payment of exorbitant land taxes, bearable in times of plenty, but impossible some years. A convert not only faced eviction from his smallholding, but mysteriously increased tax demands. Zemindars were effectively powerful feudal lords. See Percival Spear, History of India vol. II Penguin Books. 1981 p 96f The Zemindari class also supplied local magistrates who often turned a blind eye to petty persecution.
16. The persecution went on for years. Circular Letters from the Serampore Mission July 1818 p 59. Midwives(dais) are the wives of barbers. Because in villages the same people serve rich and poor, the wealthy in a village could enforce this boycott on other clients.
17. Fernandez was an indigo planter who left his estates to Serampore on his death. He was ordained 17 Jan 1804 and by 1815 had 50 full s of the church he had built up by evangelising the villages in the evenings, but when Buckingham took over in 1830 he found practically all the members were lone women or dependant on the estate. Decline in Bengali membership continued but tribals who overheard the message revived the church later in the century. In June 1839 Micaiah Hill sent the LMS a statement on this problem and the various ways missions are trying to meet it by providing training and industries so that converts can earn a living. LMS archives Bengal IDC Fiche 711.

18. Laird, M.A: 'Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837 Oxford, 1972. Robert May first discovered this when he attempted to set up a system of primary education around Chinsurah 1814-19.
19. The disastrous floods of the 1838 monsoon were followed by famine, with thousands of children being abandoned. Missionary wives such as Mrs Mary Hill, and Mrs Weitbrecht (nee Martha Edwards) who, unusually, continued the work after her husband's death, gathered in orphans and arranged sponsorship for them. However, education was basic. Micaiah Hill pioneered 'industrial' training to give the orphans skills such as printing and weaving, but the aim was not to raise them above their station in life, so that they could re-integrate. See the LMS correspondence with Micaiah and Mary Hill 1832-47, Weitbrecht, Martha, A Memoir of the Revd John James Weitbrecht Compiled from his Journal and Letters . London 1957; Leupolt, Charles Benjamin. Recollections of an Indian missionary. London 1843, Further Recollections of an Indian Missionary. London 1884. was in charge of the orphanage at Sagra. The descendants of the Secunderabad orphanage form a weavers' colony today. One of their number was the original Mowgli who never learnt to speak, and died of TB in the orphanage aged 32. Gibb, M.E. A History of the Anglican Church in India 1600 -1970 ISPCK 1972.
20. Chaitanya (1486-1533) is considered the most significant figure in a movement which has its origins in the eleventh or twelfth century with the composition of poems emphasising Krishna the lover, and Radha his beloved, whose anguish at being left, and ecstasy when the god returns represents the devotee' spiritual experience. Chaitanya became a bhakta after encountering a South Indian ascetic in Gaya in 1508 and his followers adopted the South Indian vedantic philosophy of Madhva. A wandering troubadour of Krishna, he is associated with the great pilgrimage centre at Puri, Orissa.
21. The Kharta(Kurta) Bhojas were followers of Ram Dulal, whom they treated as a divine incarnation. The Serampore missionaries visited his centres a number of times, hoping to convert the then guru and his ashramites but were repelled by the Hindu veneration of a guru, and the guru's inability to see anything sinful in his 'pride', which for his followers was an indication of his divinity. Yet the kind of close fellowship transcending social barriers with a common meal and charismatic singing prefigured the Christian church. Kottupallil, George, The Kartabhoja Movement of the 19th Century and Christianity. Paper delivered in Serampore College, 1 January 1986. Is it a co-incidence that Krishna Pal's second name is that of the sant lineage of Ram Dulal ?
22. eg Vrindavuna baptised 4 April 1807 by John Chamberlain at Cutwa when he was already 60 and had wandered for years. He was illiterate, but from 1812-16 he kept the mission in Diga going, supporting William Moore in his misfortunes and setting an example in piety. From 1816 until his death in 1821 he worked in Monghyr.
23. Nevertheless it is astonishing that in Mullens' biography of Lacroix, *ibid.*(10), p 247 Mullens should write that it was perhaps better that Radhanath Das (1815-44) had died young before he could go astray like so many educated like him(i.e. for the ministry-EMJ) and so promising had gone astray or been corrupted by money. See Micaiah Hill to LMS Secretary Tidman 11 Aug 1845 re the apostate catechist 'Elgin Brooke' bringing lawsuit against the Berhampur mission. LMS Archives, Bengal IDC Fiche 761. Fraudulent converts Fiche 781 Losses to R.C. missions: Minutes of Meeting of LMS Calcutta missionaries 17 February 1845. LMS archives Bengal IDC Fiche 758. *Ibid* Fiche

- 758 with case of a notorious fraudulent convert, Tarachas Basu. October 1851, Fiche 654 re Ram Huree's defection. 11 Jan 1831. Death rate: Annual Report 1843. Fiche 748.
24. 'Mrs Marshman says she has lately had some pleasant conversation with the native sisters. One of them told her that some of her neighbours had recently said to her: 'Why, how is it that since you are become a feringhee you do not eat so well, or dress so well?' Her answer was: 'Never mind that. True I have a little of the sorrows of the world but I have the love of Christ in my heart, and that makes me happy. At the day of my death my sorrows will end. Do you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ as I have done, and you will be as happy as I.' 26.8.1807. Periodical Accounts relative to the BMS vol. III. 1806-1808. p 308(Serampore cata. no. BR33).
 25. These are serialised in the Periodical Accounts The influence of John Wesley's journals is very evident. Similar CMS journals were published in the Christian Intelligencer. William Bowley's journals 1815-43 are available in the original English in the CMS archives, Birmingham, but tell one more about evangelism in cantonment areas , the difficulties of 'camp followers' and the growth of 'Anglo-Indian' society from the perspective of a uniquely dedicated person.
 26. One is greatly indebted to Professor Potts for not only transcribing Ward's difficult handwriting, but making the journal of about 1,000 pages available. Sadly he was unable to find a publisher for his excellent biography of William Ward, completed in 1985.
 27. eg the entry in Ward's journal 22. 1. 1803 as per The Periodical Accounts Vol. II p356 record that when Krishna Prasad was baptised he gave Ward his poitou(sacred thread), for him 'a more precious relic than anything Rome can boast', but in the original journal he then records(Potts' typescript, p277) that he gave him a rupee to buy another one. An entry dated 19.2.1803 records a remark of Krishna Pal that just as Hindus hold a sacrifice before they enter a new house, so before God can enter our hearts Christ's sacrifice is necessary to purify it.(Potts' typescript p 288) Presumably because the comparison with a Hindu sacrifice contained no condemnation of it, the remark is omitted altogether from the journal extract in the Periodical Accounts.
 28. Ward to Morris, 24. 3. 1801. Periodical Accounts vols. VII-XII 1801- April 1804 pub Clipstone as Vol. ii 1804 Now these songs are hymns of salvation, according to Ward.
 29. Periodical Accounts Vol. V, Kettering, ed. J.G. Fuller, p 627f; Review of the Mission 1815. p5 in Monthly Circular Letters Relative to Missions in India. Vol. viii. pub Serampore, 1815.
 30. It should also be acknowledged that Marshman did the same with William Carey JR, who was denied baptism for some months because Marshman felt that Carey was not sufficiently aware of his situation as a miserable sinner in danger of eternal damnation without redemption in Christ. The hymn should be compared with Krishna Pal's description of his conversion, sent in a letter of J Skinner and published in the Annual Report 1823 after his death from cholera in 1822.
 31. Periodical Accounts Vols. VII-XII pub by J.W. Morris, Clipstone 1804 p 172.
 32. Ibid. p 171. letter of Ward to Morris 24 Mar. 1801.
 33. (33) e.g. Krishna Pal's letter to the BMS 12 Oct 1802 Periodical Accounts Vol. XI . p309 Bound as Vol. II Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society Clipstone 1804.
 34. Ward often argued that the pious and tranquil deaths of converts had a powerful influence on observers. See his Brief Memoirs of Four Christian Hindus, lately Deceased.

Serampore 1816. Another example of a 'holy death' is that of Jugudumba, mother of Neloo, a Bengali evangelist from the kayast jati, who died aged 53 in 1821, exhorting all not to weep for her, but to turn to the Lord. Periodical Accounts, New Series. Jan-March 1822. vol. X p 2-4 bound together as Serampore Mission Accounts, Serampore. 1820-22. Serampore archives.

35. eg. Sebuk Ram to Revd George Barclay, quoted in a circular letter dated March 1815, on the way he was lost in sin from childhood, and gave his body to the devil, preparing a place in hell for himself. At Khooroot marketplace, Ramkrishnapoora, he met Juganootha, who had been reading a New Testament given him by Ward and Krishna Pal Together with his friends they read it and decided they had committed the blackest crimes, and that the Lord Jesus Christ would save them. They cried out 'Oh Lord, where art Thou?', > Oh Saviour, save us'. 'Then.. we saw through our tears the light which the Holy Spirit has shed in our hearts.' They were then full of joy and the Holy Spirit. Periodical Accounts London 1817 Vol. VI p9.
36. It is quite common, even today, to hear Christian theologians declaring that there is no such thing as Hindu ethics, and implying thereby a moral deficiency in Hindus. This is because Hindus do not have a religion but follow dharma, the eternal moral law which upholds the universe. Each individual also has his or her dharma, similar to the Lutheran concept of vocation. In Carey's time this meant fulfilling one's duties as a member of one's family, clan and caste, and following that family's traditional profession. Failure to do so means an accumulation of bad karma which results in rebirth in a lower form of existence. Lal Behari Dey's father was prepared to risk his being converted at a Christian college, because if it happened it would merely be the working out of bad karma, and nothing could prevent that. Sin would be to infringe the laws of purity or to offend social mores. Hence the murder of a Brahman was more reprehensible than the murder of a harijan. Old Testament type concepts of righteousness do govern the ideals of kingship and the ideal state, but clearly these had no relevance for a people under colonial rule. However, those involved in bhakti often experience a feeling of utter unworthiness or inadequacy before the overwhelming grace of God which could have been an Anknuepfungspunkt, and indeed became so in the poetry of N.V Tilak and later Indian Christian theology.
37. Krishna Prasad (1786-1806) declared that Hindu gods and heroes could not remove his sin. Memoir of Krishna Prasad Periodical Accounts Vol. III Dunstable 1806 p362 His attacks on idolatry. Monthly Circular Letters. Vol. I Serampore. 1 July 1808.
38. Testimony meeting prior to baptism. 22 Dec 1800. Periodical Accounts. Vol. VIII Sept 1800-Feb 1801 p 122. Joymooni was baptised together with Ignatius Fernandez and William Carey JR on 18 Jan 1801 and was received into the church on 27 January 1801.
39. There is a fascinating discussion of Goreh's writings challenging Christianity before his conversion in Young, Richard Fox. Resistant Hinduism. Sanskrit Sources on Anti-Christian Apologetics on Early Hinduism. Sanskrit Sources on Anti-Christian Apologetics on Early Nineteenth Century India. Vienna 1981. It shows the measure of his formidable intellect. See also Boyd, Robin. An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology. Madras 1969 p 40 of Paradkar, A.M The Theology of Nehemiah Goreh Madras 1969. His birth name was Nilakantha Sastri Goreh, and he was a Marathi-speaking Chitpavan Brahman educated and resident in Benares when he met the CMS missionary, William Smith. He was baptised in 1848, acted as tutor to Maharaja Dhulip Singh when

- he came to Britain in 1853, returned and in 1857 met William Kay of Bishop's College. His wife having died in 1849, he joined the novitiate of the Society of St John the Evangelist in 1874 and though never professed, remained with the order until his death.
40. eg Azariah, M. Mission In Christ's Way in India Today. Madras 1989 p 89; James Massey in Sugirtharajah, R.S. and Hargreaves, Cecil. Readings in Indian Christian Theology London 1993 p 153.
 41. In an Abridgement of a Letter by the Serampore Brethren to 'The Churches of Christ which have been raised up among the heathen in India' 31 January 1820, they write that it is impossible at the beginning of another year not to hold the concern for them which Paul held for the Philippians. 'though unspeakably below him in labours and zeal we trust we feel something of that concern that they hold for the word of life'.... they hope they will be a source of joy in the Day of the Lord Jesus Christ to them... that they will not have run in vain and so on. The chief object of their letter, they say, is to show how one can hold forth the Word of Life and advance in so doing. 1)' If you hold forth the word of life, your walk and conversation must agree therewith.' 2)'The Hindus themselves amidst very much that is positively evil, have precepts in their books which a Christian would not be dishonoured by observing, but these are all to them a dead letter, they love not righteousness and hence the good their own sastras contain is never exemplified in their own conduct. If it be the same with you, how can you hold forth the Word of Life ... ? Nothing has ever proved so great a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel in India as the ungodly life and conduct of those who have borne the Christian name.' They continue by saying that all Christians have a duty to make known the word of life to others. It is not necessary to have splendid missionary gifts for that. 'Very simple testimony that you have been with Jesus Christ is enough..... By repeating simple testimony you will become convinced of it yourselves.
 42. Finally they urge them to contribute prayer and money for the support of the native brethren who have gone forth. Such contributions, like those of the widow's mite, would not be despised, and would bring them great joy. Periodical Accounts relative to the B.M.S. comprising the Annual Reports. Vol. vii pub. 1824. Although the existence of this letter suggests that things were not as they should be, nevertheless, there were families such as that of Sebuk-Ram whose conduct was exemplary. He and his family were baptised 1806-7. He began itinerating with Krishna Pal in 1808(Puri)was ordained August 1808, made a deacon in Calcutta April 1812, converted five 'Portuguese' baptised by Carey in September 1812, built up a congregation of 70 in Calcutta Jail and in October 1814 was presented with Rs 15, a watch and clothes for himself and his wife by admiring friends. Journal reproduced in The Periodical Accounts. Vol. IV. London 1811, p27; Periodical Accounts Vol. V Kettering. 1813 p339.
 43. Letters of John Mack written to the Calcutta Auxiliary Committee of the CMS to protest about such proselytising and poaching September 1826 and forwarded to the CMS committee in London(received July 1827) Wilson was able to secure the services of Ram Rooten and Roop simply by offering higher salaries. Mack was upset that the brethren did not approach him first about their financial difficulties.
 44. (Carey, W. An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens. Leicester, 1792 p 76 a(44) Morris, J(ed.) Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society. Vol. I Clipstone. 1800 p. 437.

45. Morris, J(ed.)-Periodical Accounts Relative to the Baptist Missionary Society Vol. III
Clipstone 1806 p262.
46. See for example, the list of preachers born in India and sent out from Serampore in 1813.
The first two named were Armenian. De Bruyn, D'Cruz and probably McIntosh had
Indian mothers or grandmothers. C.C. Aratoon Surat supported by The Mission,
Serampore. Returned to Calcutta 1817 member of Lower Circular Road Baptist Church
in 1859.

John Peter.
Balasore.
The Mission, Serampore.
Gave up 1818.

J.T.Thompson
Patna.
The Mission, Serampore
Based in Delhi 1818 - + 1856

J.C. De Bruyn
Chittagong
The Mission, Serampore
Murdered 1817

N. D'Cruz
Malda
The Mission, Serampore
Recalled c 1815

L.McIntosh
Agra
The Mission, Serampore
Transferred to Allahabad

Krishna -Pal
Silhet
W. Skinner Esq.
Died there 1822

Sebuk-rama
Calcutta
Mrs Skinner.
Previously in Orissa.

Krishna Das.
Oriss
Mr Burns, London.

Bhagvat
 Burdwan
 Mr Cornish,
 Calcutta d 12 Jan 1817

Deepchund
 Calcutta
 Mr Gordon
 d 18 Sept 1813.

Kangalee
 Cutwa
 Mrs Carey
 Long service

Punchanan
 Serampore
 Mrs Marshman

Pran- krishn
 Jessore
 Society of Females in Dingwall.
 Still active in 1825

Manikshah
 Jessore
 Mr Scott Montcrieff, Edinburgh.
 Left 1825

Boodhisah
 Silhet
 Revd Mr Pike of Derby

Sadut Shah
 Jessore

Nidhee Ram.
 Very active with itinerations

Those such as Mut'hoora and Tarachand were supported by own congregations and so were not listed.

When the Serampore Mission was at its zenith, there were 12 stations with 63 workers, more than two thirds of whom were Indian or born in India..

47. Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission. European Series. Bristol 1817 pp 294-332.
48. Balhatchet, Kenneth. Race, Sex and Class under the British Raj. London 1980.
49. The reasons for the schism between the Serampore Mission and the Baptist Missionary Society in London are complex even when due allowance is made for personality clashes and the neurotic obsessions which can develop in a small community in a monsoon climate. One problem was that the small traders who were among the founder members had become prosperous merchants and since 1816 ran the BMS depreciated what they saw as the gentrification of the Serampore Mission. Being as Baptists excluded from university education in England, they failed to appreciate its importance for the churches in India.
50. Johannes Haerberlin was an intimate friend of Lacroix and brother in law of Blumhardt the Director of the Basel Mission Institute. His wife, Charlotte, nee Koehler, wrote a Memoir of him in 1855. He was put in charge of six high caste converts, some of whom had taken refuge in his house, in 1835. However, they found his teaching boring and irrelevant and complained to Archdeacon Dealtry who, to the chagrin of Haerberlin and the CMS, transferred them to Bishop's College. CMS Archives, University of Birmingham. North India. C I/I 087/ 7, 24, 26. Dealtry correspondence. 1836.
51. See Bishop Wilson's correspondence, SPG archives, Rhodes House Library, Oxford. Gibb, M.E The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970 Delhi 1974.
52. Boyd, Robin. Indian Christian Theology. Madras 1969 p 28Of.
53. LMS archives, IDC fiche no 832. Lacroix to 22 Mar. 1858; IDC Fiche 840 Storow 22 Oct. 1859. Blake was born in Vizagapatnam but educated in college in England for three years before being sent out. In Calcutta, it was said he was ignored by Europeans and not invited to sit on any committees, and it was alleged Bengalis would not respect a mixed race teacher. In fact Blake learnt Bengali, worked first in Krishnagar, and then in the Bhowanipore Institution apart from a spell in Benares. He was still active in the 1890s.
54. Eustace Carey and William Yates, in their Vindication of the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries in answer to 'A Statement Relative to Serampore by Joshua Marshman, with Introductory Observations by John Foster' (1828) maintain that the strife between themselves and Carey, Marshman and Ward originally broke out in 1815 over whether Krishna Pal should be reinstated as pastor of Lal Bazar Chapel after a lapse. The Serampore Missionaries thought that in view of his penitence, he should be forgiven and rehabilitated, and the Calcutta Brethren, as they came to be known, thought that he should be disciplined and put on probation. The matter was referred to John Ryland, who ruled in favour of Yates, Lawson and Eustace Carey. p52f.
55. *ibid* p 66.
56. The LMS missionaries in Calcutta were influenced by their experience with Anundo Chunder Mazumdar, Duff's fourth convert, (bapt April 1833) whose sincerity and faith were never in doubt, and whose amiable, cheerful character made him well-liked, but who proved, in Boaz's words, that they were wrong to assume that a native would be a better missionary than a European. The problem was that he came from a wealthy Zemindari family, and had no idea of money, or how to earn any. He could not speak Bengali properly when he returned after five years in Bristol, and although he tried to study, it was useless. Then he announced his engagement to a Miss Bevan of Bristol, and the LMS decided to send him there, with a view to his subsequently studying at the CMS

- college in Islington. However he died shortly after arrival in Britain in 1841. Lacroix to Ellis 21 Sept 1839 LMS archives, IDC fiches 715 -6, 719.
57. Several cases are noted in Ward's Journal, the most notorious being Krishna Pal's son-in-law, Bhyrub. In 1856 Taraprasad Chatterji had to leave the theological class because of a liver complaint, was found secular employment and then recovered sufficiently to rejoin the class and became an eminent clergyman. LMS archives. IDC Fiche 826. *ibid.* Fiche 829 re two trainees who left over the issue of salaries, Chundernath Banerji and Brujo (Storrow thought their complaint justified but seems to have been over-ruled by Mullens and Lacroix) and had to be re-employed as under-teachers.
 58. See Minute Book of the Corresponding Board in connection with the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Meetings in 1833. Kept in Bishop's College, Calcutta, and Duff's correspondence with Charles Brunton, Church of Scotland Letterbooks Foreign Missions. Ref. 7530 National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. The controversy can be neatly tracked through the debates of the Calcutta Missionary Conference. Minutes. Bishop's College. Calcutta. In October 1841 they attempted to pass a unanimous resolution, but failed.
 59. See the excellent book on the background and training of Evangelical missionaries by Pidgin. One example of an India missionary trained in Britain was a Burmese Baptist convert, Schwai-tui, educated at Mirzapore CMS College, then sent to Islington before his return to Calcutta as a CMS agent. Venn to Cuthbert 10 Oct 1860 f. in CMS archives CMS North India CII/L2. A very full debate is recorded in correspondence.
 60. Periodical Accounts. vol. III pp 440-2, Annual Report 1820.
 61. Mrs B Day. Reminiscences Calcutta 1925. Dey was offered Rs400 and a post at Berhampore College. She says that if Duff had offered half that amount and a college post, they would have stayed, but Fyfe and K.S. Macdonald opposed this. The FCSM presbytery voted in favour of his demission. Similarly, K.M. Banerjea wrote to the CMS Calcutta corresponding committee that he was joining Bishop's College not because of enhanced stipend but because the CMS order to go to Nuddea as a probationary catechist for a year meant his wife would not get the post-natal care she needed and because Archdeacon Dealtry was giving contrary orders. CMS archives CI I/I 087.
 62. Converted in Agra through influence of Colonel Wheeler, and instructed, he was baptised in 1838. He worked with Revd James Smith in Chitoura for seven years before being given charge of Delhi. He was caught by sepoys while trying to save Revd Mackay, refused to recant, and was murdered. His wife's eyewitness account was published in the Oriental Baptist 1857. She was saved by a Nicodemus, Prince Mirza Hajee.
 63. Smith, George Life of Alexander Duff Vol. I p 160f; Sherring, Matthew, The Indian Church in the Great Rebellion. London 1860 pp184-6.
 64. re Abdul Masih's conversion, see the various biographies of Henry Martyn. re ministry, CMS North India Mission, CMS archives, University of Birmingham, CI I/I 0194. Anundo Masih's Journals are of particular interest because of his contacts with the Kabirpanthis, and other groups following a sant, such as the Sadhs. CI I/IE *ibid.* 0150 James Innes. 24. May 1843 Copy of the Resolutions of the CMS Committee Meerut re Anundo Masih.
 65. See Coates to Bishop Wilson on the whole question of ordination 14 July 1837 *ibid.* C.II/L2 1829-40.

66. Fully discussed in my own Red Tape and the Gospel. The Life of Dr William Paton. (1886 1943) Birmingham 1980.
67. See Susan Harper's excellent biography of Azaraiah of Dornakal.
68. Rippon, John Baptist Annual Review 1794 p 142; Idem Carey, Eustace & Yates, William. A Vindication etc. 1828 ch IV; Job, G. Rethinking Christianity in India Madras. 1938.
69. Ziegenbalg was the first to comment on this. J.F. Fenger quotes his Dialogue with some Brahmins. in A History of the Tranquebar Mission. Madras, 1905. Periodical Accounts Vol. I p 231. Ward's Journal 25. Feb 1802; Periodical Accounts New Series 1828 p 471.
70. Calcutta Missionary Conference, founded by Geoffrey and W.H.Pearce in 1829 when they invited all Protestant missionaries to breakfast. Minutes pp 142, 147, 349, 390, 545.
71. This is the weight of contemporary evidence, letters to the CMS, LMS and FSCM home mission boards. Paul, Rajaiah. They Kept the Faith Lucknow 1968. Kuriakose, A. Sources for the study of Indian Church History.
72. Ward's Journal . Entries for 10 March 1803, 24 Oct 1803, 7 July 1804 Potts' transcription p 287.
73. Their descendants, whom friendship I was privileged to enjoy, were convinced it was prejudice against an inter-racial marriage in 1860. They have not been able to discover who Miss Griffiths was, but believe she was one of the ladies of independent means who came out to assist missionary work. She was not connected to the FSCM.
74. Bradbury, Notes of a tour Feb-March 1857. LMS archives. IDC Fiche 803 The family were affluent landholders and bought bibles.

Known Baptist Evangelists active for several years.

(in addition to those listed under Footnote 45)

Dweep Chund

Came to Serampore Dec 1804. Itinerant evangelist.
1808 Relapsed, but restored By Chater and
Carapiet.

Helped in Calcutta Jail Ministry Died 'happy' 1813.

Futika

One of the earliest converts, celebrated in Ward's
Holy Deaths D 25 April 1804 a 'holy death'
suffering from dysentery. His mother and sister
were notable Christians in Serampore

Gour

Soojunpoora(Cutwa) According to Fernandez, very effective. Died at Jessore in Feb 1837 after 30 years'

profession aged 105

Hureedas

Testimony recorded in 1822. Itinerant

Jagernath

1806 -?12

Kanta

Succeeded Dweepchand. 1813-15. 1815- d1829 worked at Cutwa
Supported by Gordon.

Komul (died July 1825) Member of Serampore Baptist Church

Koovera

At Erinda in 1806

Krishnadasa

Came to Serampore in 1805. Itinerant from August 1806 Ordained 1808 Impressive preacher in Oriya. Died at Balasore Sept 1813. (See also Footnote 45)

Manika

Cutwa. Died suddenly of rabies Feb 1814.

Manika

Goamalty Died suddenly with chest pains Aug 1815

Muthoor

Active in Barisal (is this Mut'hoora, active in Doobrajapura ?)
Served for at least a decade satisfactorily.

Nripata

Cossipore 1818.

Pitumber Singh

Second ordained minister

Ramdas

Active in Benares from 1829

Ramkrishna

Active in Sulkea, Nuddea Dist. Murdered in 1829

Ram Mohun

Stalwart. Esp in Goamalty area from 1806. Also accompanied European missionaries on long itinerations.

Ram Prasad

Patna. First Hindi speaking convert. 1806 -See Ward, 19/10/06

Ram Rooten

Hindi speaking Brahmin who defected to Wilson/CMS in 1828

Sebuk-ram

Long standing evangelist Converted by tracts read with Jaganath. Ordained 28.8.08. Very effective in Calcutta. Many converts. d1816

Seetuldas

Active in Allahabad from 1825

Sheetaram

1812. Mainstay of Serampore mission. Illiterate but father of the Church in Jessore. Baptised 27

1813. Feb 1803 m widow, Khyemee, first Christian widow remarriage d 1827

Shiva

Initially supported Kangalee in Cutwa, then worked in Calcutta c1806-17

Shurun

Active in Jessore from 1829

Subroo:

Active at Dum-Dum from 1821. Much appreciated by Europeans.

Tarachand

Chinsurah Dist. Self-supported. 1813 - ? 1819

Totaram

Died at Jessore Dec 1816

Vishnuva

Shiooree

Vrinduva

Bapt Cutwa 1807. 1812-16 Kept mission going at Diga. 1817- death in 18 21 at Monghyr

Arakan Mission (Baptist) Work began in 1817 when the first Mugh tribals were converted. Evangelism concentrated on the Bay of Bengal, between Cox's Bazaar and Sahibgung but spread into the hills. Christianity took root among the tribals and flourishes today in the so-called 'Chittagong Hill Tracts' despite persecution and migration. Kong-Ong, Ong gai jying, Kyogorhee were stalwarts for a decade at least.

Rheepooway died in 1829 after faithful service.

CMS Indian Evangelists

Abdul Masih d 1826
 Converted 1812, deacon 1820, priest 1824
 Agra
 Often ill

Anund Masih
 Ordained 1837
 Delhi
 Alcoholic

David Abdullah
 1820s
 Calcutta
 Dismissed (For demanding European salary)

Mira Yusuf Bakir
 Stationed in Allahabad
 OK
 Converted in Calcutta, Protégé of Colebrooke, the Rajah's agent. Elderly in 1829.

Krishha Mohun Banerjea
 Duff convert.
 Ordained 1837
 Vice Principal, Bishop's College Theologian . Footnote (6) d 1885

Tarachand Banerjea
 Santipur 1851-54 'too independent'

Goru Choron Bhowse
 Transferred to SPG 1858

Peter Dilsook
Benares/Kanpur.
Constant complaints about him.
'Useless' but respectable.
First mentioned in 1837.
Converted by Deerr.

G Dutt
Bishop's College student who transferred to CMS and was posted to Burdwan

Felix
Rotonpur
Disaffected

Babu Russick Lal Ghose
Culna
Important role model

Joseph
Bareilly
Converted 1858
Dismissed

Luke
1840s
Krishnagur
Converted 1837 at Burdwan
OK
Mansoor
'Bad lot

David Mohun
Ordained. Important leader 'Assistant missionary'

Mullian
Little known

K.C Mukherji
Duff convert
Nuddea
OK

Narapit
Dismissed for unchristian conduct.

Roop
Poached from Serampore by Wilson.
Mirzapur
'Only consistent worker'

'Pastor Paul'
1840s
Dehra Dun supervised by Mrs Lamb
Ordained 1865
Diary for 1840 extant in CMS archives

Schwai-tui
Burmese Baptist convert, trained CMS Mirzapore/Islington

Timothy
Sterling work at Juanpore then went to Benares
Abraham Tooksa
Voluntary worker around Krishnagar. Very valuable. c 1855

Bukat Ullah
Calcutta
Ill health

(Free) Church of Scotland Mission

Lal Behari Dey b 18.12.1824 d 28.10.94
Bapt July 1843, catechist 1846.
Ordained 1855
Missionary 1855-1867.
Prof. of Eng. Lit. 1866-89 (p2)

Prasanna Kumar Chatterji
Bapt Jan 1842

Jayadiswan Bhattacharya
Bapt Nov 1841.
Still serving in 1885

Kailas Chandra Mukherji
Contemporary of Lal Behari Dey.
Gopinath Nundi
b Calcutta. bapt. 4.1.1833 Worked in Goruckpur then ordained to work with the American
Presbyterian mission in Allahabad.
Captured and tortured for refusing to deny Christ May 1857.

Rescued but died of injuries 16 Mar 1861.

Maddo Sunder Seal Converted by the above.
Ministered in the Punjab with the American
Presbyterian mission.

Koilas Chundra Kundu

Bapt 1 Sept 1853.

Catechist who took a secular post. July 1854

Golab Chunder Biswas

Bapt 24 Sept 1852.

Catechist. March 1856

Biswas Charan Chatterji

Evangelist ordained 16 Aug 1853

Gobinda Chunder Das

Evangelist ordained March 1856

Lal Behari Singh

Became the senior pastor in Calcutta and attended ecumenical conferences in Europe and
America. Contemporary of Lal Behari Dey

Continuing Scottish Mission Catechists

Dina Nath Addhya

Calcutta

Resigned April 1856

LMS workers

The problem here is the habit of giving itinerant preachers the name of their sponsor and referring to them by that name in reports (they did the same with orphans) , and keeping the name even when the employee was replaced by another candidate. Hence 'Ramsey Pattison' was a succession of characters of varying degrees of proficiency and faithfulness. c. 1825-44 until the last candidate was recognised under his own name, Radnanath Deb, who died on the eve of his ordination.

Rame Hurree

Converted by Trawin, bapt. 14 June 1823. Worked at Kidderpore. Lapsed under influence of 'diabolical' wife. Not high caste as claimed. Fiche 629 Fiche 654 re his haughtiness and desire for higher salary elsewhere.

Radnanath Deb

d 1844 after saintly life.(Footnote 23)

Kalicharan Banerji.

Bapt in Union Chapel by Boaz.

1843 Low paid Government clerk who supported LMS mission with time and money into extreme old age. Fiche 131

Parbutty Choron Banerji

Bapt 1855.

Studied in Bhowanipur. Became preacher in 1862

Taraprasad Chaterji.

Oldest native preacher in 1893.

Kulin Brahmin baptised 13 April 1857 after much persecution in Bhowanipur.

Was pastor for 20 years at Karapur.

Nundo Lall Das.

Former Brahmo Samaj member.

Bapt 11. Jan 1857.

Ordained. Visited England in 1887.

Moothora Nath Bose.

Converted as a result of Keshub Chunder Sen's writings.

Gave up post at Bhowanipur Institute to be an independent missionary supported by native Christians at Gopalgunge in S Calcutta swamps.

Surjyo Kumar Ghose

Bapt. 1851 after being nearly murdered by father.

Was ordained at 22 and was pastor of the self supporting Bhowanipur congregation until his death 15 years later.

Tinkaori Chaterji

Pastor in 1892.

Converted via Brahmo Samaj.

'Thomas Scott'

Berhampore succession

'J.H. Kennedy'

Berhampore succession

'Francis Carlyle'

Berhampore succession.

SPG agents (incomplete)

The problem is that most of these are not mentioned by name, that they were almost universally regarded as 'unsatisfactory', and the mission relied heavily on 'country born' graduates of Bishop's College, who were either treated as being 'in European habits' or 'native habits' for living arrangements and salary, which caused friction.

Dwarkanath Banerji

Mohesh Chunder Ghose
Duff convert.
Bishop's College graduate

© Eleanor Jackson 2000

The Indian Rebellion was to be the end of the East India Company. In the wake of this bloody uprising, the British government effectively abolished the Company in 1858. All of its administrative and taxing powers, along with its possessions and armed forces, were taken over by the Crown. This was the start of the British Raj, a period of direct British colonial rule over India which continued until independence in 1947. It accomplished a work such as in the whole history of the human race no other Company ever attempted and as such, is ever likely to attempt in the years to come. The Times, 2n